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THE
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Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἐκάστη τῶν αἱρεσέων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν το ἘΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.

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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JANUARY, 1841.

- Art. I. 1. *Regulations of the University of London on the subject of Degrees in Arts.*
2. *Examination for Matriculation in the Year 1838.*
3. *Examination for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in the Year 1839.*
4. *Examination for Matriculation in the Year 1839.*
5. *Examination for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, 1840.*
6. *Examination for the Degree of Master of Arts, 1840.*
7. *Report of the Committee of Highbury College, London, 1839, 1840.*
8. *Report of the Committee of Stepney College, London, 1839, 1840.*
9. *Report of the Committee of Spring Hill College, Birmingham, for the Session 1839—1840.*

THE London University commenced its operations in 1838, in the autumn of which year it held its first examination for matriculation. Since that period it has twice admitted to the Bachelor of Arts' degree, and once to the Master of Arts' degree, so that more than one entire course of examinations has been completed. The senate have wisely resolved to publish from time to time the examination questions, together with the names of those who have been admitted to degrees, or who have successfully contended for honors or scholarships. Its proceedings are thus before the world, and the character of the examinations to which it subjects its candidates, as well as the value of the degrees and honors which it has to confer, can be easily estimated. It is equally impossible either for its admirers and advocates to exaggerate the severity of its examinations or for its enemies to deride them as flimsy and superficial. To attempt the latter, while the examination papers of the London Univer-

sity continue to be what they have been, would not only betray an utter want of candor; it would impudently contradict the common sense of every one who chooses to take the trouble to inspect them. Of all such calumnies, indeed, they afford an easy refutation. To this subject we shall return after we have made two or three preliminary observations.

It is happily no longer needful to canvass the *principle* on which the new university is founded; the only wonder is that it should have been necessary to contest it so long. But it is 'better' admitted 'late than never.' The very institution of such a university concedes the principle, that honorable degrees for proficiency in the various branches of science and literature should not be restricted to the advocates of any particular form of religious belief, or confined exclusively to those who are willing to subscribe to a certain set of theological dogmas. One finds it quite difficult to understand by what sort of logic the two things have been connected together, or how the premises have been linked to the conclusion. If the system were rigidly carried out, our lawyers and doctors ought to be subjected to the same conditions; we ought to take no physic but what comes from an orthodox practitioner, nor ask advice in law except from those who have duly signed the thirty-nine articles. There is, indeed, manifest injustice and absurdity on the very face of the system. One would think it as obvious as common sense could make it, that *literary* degrees ought to be accessible to all who have made the requisite proficiency, and that to defraud them of such honors because they are unwilling to sign the thirty-nine articles, even although they may have made the highest attainments in science or literature, is one of the many forms of petty persecution.

The hollowness of the system, so far as its *professed* objects go, is only equalled by the injustice inflicted on those who are the victims of it. The avowed object is, that science and literature may exert their influence in favor of religion. Now if degrees were withheld from all those who did not show by their *conduct* that they were under the practical influence of the doctrines which they profess to believe; if it were demanded, not only that the aspirant for a degree should subscribe, but act in conformity with his subscription; if, in a word, an examination were instituted into his *moral* character and religious habits, in addition to the demand of a formal subscription to a system of speculative belief, there would at least be some consistency in the plan, however erroneous and unjust we might still suppose it to be. But who that is at all acquainted with the doings at Oxford or Cambridge does not full well know that degrees are perpetually conferred on those who have subscribed as a mere matter of form; who have subscribed even what they do not understand,

or, understanding, openly declare that they do not believe; who have subscribed as a condition for taking their degree, just as multitudes formerly took the sacrament as a preparation for a political or civil office, while their whole life and conduct loudly give the lie to all their interested declarations, and proclaim that they have no more regard for Christianity than a Mohammedan or a Hindoo. Innumerable acts of perjury and hypocrisy the system may have occasioned, while it has never insured any of the results for which it was professedly instituted. It is attended, moreover, by this additional inconsistency, that while the barriers which it professes to raise against the approach of the irreligious are no barriers at all to the profligate or the unreflecting, it effectually shuts out those who, by the very fact that they will not blindly subscribe to what they do not approve, show that they are upright and conscientious. As in other instances, mere subscription to certain articles, unaccompanied by anything farther, merely tends to exclude the honest man and to let in the knave. It is a system of quarantine which admits the infected and keeps out the healthy; a system of police which contrives to punish the innocent and to encourage the vicious. Purity of life, indeed, and consistency of character cannot be easily counterfeited; they give some trouble, and if the mask is to be worn long, so much trouble that it is cheaper and easier to be than to seem virtuous. If these, therefore, were rigidly demanded, we again say, there would be some sense in the system, although still liable, in our judgment, to unanswerable objections. But mere subscriptions and declarations! Why, every body knows, who knows any thing of the courts of law, that an oath itself can be purchased for half a crown, and that they will go still cheaper if they be ordered by the score at the time. We verily believe that twenty at any time might be obtained for twice the number of shillings.

But the intrinsic injustice of the system under any modifications remains precisely the same. In the name of common sense, why should an accomplished scholar be condemned to be destitute of the ordinary testimonials of scholarship, testimonials to which he can make the most ready and easy appeal, merely because he does not belong to the Church of England?

It was high time, therefore, that the old universities should be dispossessed of their ancient monopoly—of the exclusive manufacture of degrees in arts, medicine, and law, and that some provision should be made for the large and influential bodies who have dissented from the Establishment. Some such step became the more necessary as the old universities had themselves rejected the only compromise that could possibly offer itself—that of extending to Dissenters the privileges which are now exclusively enjoyed by those who are willing to sub-

scribe the thirty-nine articles. Into the moral right of denying this privilege we shall not enter, though considering the avowed purposes for which the universities were instituted, and the fact that the great mass of their wealth is held by a far grosser departure from the terms of its original tenure than would have been involved in the required concession, would dispose us to doubt it. Of their *legal* right to act thus, however, there can be no doubt; they were certainly at liberty to say under what conditions they were willing to confer their degrees. On the inexpediency, the impolicy, and bigotry of such refusal there never was much doubt beyond the walls of the two universities themselves.

But whether their refusal was right or wrong, politic or impolitic, it made the necessity of some further provision for those who could not repair to Oxford or Cambridge the more obvious: and for our own parts we are far better pleased that a new university has been established than we could have been by the admission of Dissenters to the privileges of the old.

It was for some time a matter of regret with many, that 'University College,' which for some years bore the name, and to the founders of which unquestionably the establishment of the new university must be ascribed, did not receive a charter of incorporation as 'the London University.' But we cannot help thinking that the present arrangement, in whatever it originated, will be found far better. Its benefits will be more extended; it will consist of a number of colleges, from all of which students may be sent up to graduate at the university. Government has already granted this privilege to several different colleges situated in very distant parts of the empire, irrespectively of the theological opinions of those who support or conduct them; the only conditions being that the colleges applying for the privilege shall show that they are in possession of property and of appliances of learning which will justify the belief that they will be permanent institutions, and which separate them from all temporary and merely private institutions.

The colleges to which these privileges have been already extended, or which have applied for them, are University College and King's College, London; Bristol College; Oscot College (Roman Catholic); St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw (Roman Catholic); Manchester College (formerly York, Unitarian); and Homerton College, Highbury College, and Spring Hill College, Birmingham, all connected with the Congregationalists. From the last three colleges not less than nine students went up to the matriculation examination last October, and it is gratifying to add that not only were none rejected, but that, with a single exception, all passed in the *first* class. We mention this merely to show that there

is no valid reason why other theological colleges should not apply for the same privilege, if they think proper ; nor, indeed, can we doubt, from what we have heard, that several such applications will be eventually made. We are confident they would be very generally made by all our larger colleges, if those modifications respecting *one* part of the curriculum were effected, which, before we close this article, we shall take the liberty to suggest ;—modifications which seem essentially necessary to enable the students of our colleges to avail themselves of the advantages which the university holds out, and, therefore, necessary to enable the university to fulfil the purposes for which it was instituted. But of this hereafter.

Of the above-mentioned colleges, University College, as might naturally be expected, takes the lead, nor is there any reason to doubt that it will continue to do so. At the examinations which have been hitherto held, scarcely one, if even one, of the students which this college has sent up has been rejected. A very large proportion has been ranked in the first class in the examinations both for matriculation and for degrees. A considerable number have taken honors ; of the eight ‘exhibitioners,’ five are from this college ; the two ‘University Scholarships,’ which have been hitherto awarded have also fallen to students of the same institution. Nor is there the least reason to doubt that from the number and ability of the professors, the thoroughness with which the various branches of learning and science are taught, the severity of the biennial examinations (often, indeed, more severe than those of the London University itself), and from the high spirit of emulation which reigns among the students, this college will still maintain its superiority. Of course there will always be a much larger number of students who will repair to the university for degrees from this college than from the generality of institutions possessing the like privilege. It is of far greater magnitude than any other, with the single exception of King’s College.

Although ‘University College’ is freely open to all classes of the community, it is in fact principally supported by Dissenters, as, indeed, might be naturally expected. We may be allowed, therefore, without any unseemly exultation or the slightest disposition to depreciate other institutions, to rejoice in its prosperity, and to take its past successes as a good omen of its continued and increasing eminence.

It is gratifying to perceive by the published lists of the ‘London University,’ that the number of the students who offer themselves for the successive examinations is rapidly increasing, nor can we doubt that it must shortly become an institution of the utmost importance. In 1838 (the first examination), twenty-two matriculated ; in 1839, thirty ; in 1840, sixty-eight ; while

the number of candidates was, we believe, seventy-five. In 1839, the first examination for the B.A. degree, seventeen passed; in 1840, no less than thirty.

We now proceed to the most important portion of the present article, which is to consider the relations of the university to those theological institutions which have already petitioned, or which intend to petition, for the privilege of granting to their students certificates which shall entitle them to offer themselves for examination. We certainly think they ought to possess this privilege. As to the extent to which they may be able to avail themselves of it, that is another question, and must depend in some measure upon the university itself. If, as regards the subjects of chemistry, animal physiology, vegetable physiology, and structural botany, a choice were allowed the candidate of taking either these or some other subjects to be hereafter specified (but quite unconnected with theology), we have not the slightest doubt that there would soon be at least fifty of the students of these institutions who would annually present themselves for one or other of the university examinations. We now proceed to consider more particularly what modifications of the *curriculum*, or rather of one part of it, would effect the desired object; the reasonableness of such modifications we shall endeavor to prove afterwards.

We remark, however, *in limine*, that in our opinion the general plan of study adopted by the university is as judicious as it is comprehensive. We certainly think that it exacts not one jot more than it ought in those branches of science and literature which have always been considered as the great objects of university education, which are assuredly the great instruments of mental training, and which involve those species of knowledge which are equally necessary in every profession, and of which no well educated man can afford to be destitute. We allude more particularly to Greek and Roman literature; to geometry and algebra; to those branches of the physical sciences in which the pure mathematics are directly applicable (more particularly mechanics, hydrostatics, and astronomy); to history, to logic, and moral philosophy. In none of these departments do we think that the university demands too much, either in the matriculation examination or in that for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. We cannot say the same of the departments of chemistry, animal and vegetable physiology, and botany; and we cannot help thinking that the university would do well to make some slight alteration in this part of its plan. As examination in this department is not *imposed* upon the candidate till next year, the present seems a fair opportunity of taking the matter under fresh consideration. It will be seen that a very slight modification would be sufficient, as we con-

ceive, to meet the circumstances of *all* classes of students. Let it be recollected, however, that we do not plead that less should be demanded of any. The only alteration we would suggest would simply be that of allowing students the choice of taking examination papers *either* in chemistry, physiology, and botany, or in some other departments of study which might be substituted for them. In the matriculation examination, for example, the elements of the Hebrew language* might, we think, be advantageously substituted (if the student preferred it) for the papers on chemistry, physiology, and botany, while instead of the papers in these last departments in the B.A. examination, the rhetoric of Whately might be added to his logic, together with some portions of 'Locke on the Understanding,' and the first book of Bacon's 'Novum Organum.'

As to the Hebrew,—while the university would, of course, make it the subject of examination as a *language*, and would therefore no more compromise the principle on which it has proceeded—that of excluding all subjects strictly theological—than by examining in Greek or Latin, it would, by admitting such a subject of examination, indirectly aid in a very important degree the progress of Biblical criticism, and encourage the cultivation of a branch of learning essentially necessary to the thorough prosecution of theology. It is to be remembered, also, that the paper on this subject would be taken only if the student *preferred* it.

There would seem to be a propriety in this step on two other grounds. First, the greater part of the students who would take this paper would be theological students, and would ultimately wish, in the majority of cases, to pass that voluntary examination in the text of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, and in Scripture History, which the university holds once a year. Now, in that examination a knowledge of Hebrew is demanded; and the option of taking a paper on the elements of this language at an earlier part of his course in lieu of something else, less directly connected with his future profession, would be to such student a most desirable advantage. Secondly, we believe that in every one of the colleges recognized by the university, Hebrew is taught, and in most of them made a very important branch of

* It may be as well to state here, that we have specified this subject because we happen to know that by a considerable class of the students in the colleges now recognized by the university, such a paper would be gladly taken—we mean by theological students. We know that the London University has nothing to do with theology, and of course any examination in the Hebrew would merely be in the *language as such*. But it is not wise to forget that a large and increasing number of its students are engaged in the study of theology. About *half* the candidates last October were such.

study. There are professors of that language at University College, and King's College; at Oscot, at Bristol, at Highbury, at Homerton, at Spring Hill, it is considered of great moment, and in some of them of almost co-ordinate importance with the study of Greek and Latin. Yet in the curriculum of the London University there is no notice whatever taken of it; not even the option is given,—which is all we plead for,—of taking an examination in the elements of this language in preference to some other subjects.

With regard to the proposed substitution in the B.A. examination, no one will pretend that the addition of Whately's Rhetoric and some portions of the writings of Bacon and Locke would not be a fair exchange. With regard to the propriety of introducing any of the writings of Bacon and Locke, some doubts might be entertained, on the ground that though the greater part of the matter they contain is so precious, they contain errors which a more recent philosophy has corrected, and that therefore as text-books such writings would be antiquated. We answer, first, that they would be *taught*, and therefore interpreted and commented upon in every college recognized by the university; mental philosophy is, we believe, already taught in them all, and that to a far greater extent than is at present demanded by the university. Secondly, those portions of the writings of these illustrious men might be selected to which but little error attaches, and which have been and will be the admiration of all ages. Thirdly, that the writings of such men, even when not unmingled with error, will do more to stimulate the mind of the learner,* and imbue it with the spirit of genuine philosophy than a far more accurate text-book destitute of the energy and life-giving power of exalted genius. For this very reason, we continue to read the works of the greatest philosophers long after they have become antiquated; we derive profit not only from the thoughts they have bequeathed us, but from the very manner in which their authors have expressed them. We think, therefore, that Oxford and Cambridge have done well in retaining Locke's great work amongst their text-books, and that they would have done still better if they had added to it the first book of Bacon's *Novum Organum*. We verily believe there is nothing whatever which would so tend to form an enlarged and philosophical spirit of speculation and investigation in *all* departments of philosophy as a thorough study of this portion of Bacon's writings. We do not think it should be put into the hands of a student till he has been pretty well disciplined in Greek, Latin, and mathematics; but this would be precisely the case with one who was just closing his course of preparation for the B.A. degree. We are happy to quote, in support of our views, the following sentences from Hallam's Critique on Bacon

contained in the third volume of his recent History of European Literature. Though we cannot concur with him in his slight estimate of the value of the Aristotelian logic as expounded by such writers as Whately, we do think his views of the benefit which might be derived from at least adding to it the first book of the *Novum Organum* perfectly just. 'The study of Bacon,' says he, 'is difficult, and not, as I conceive, very well adapted to those who have made *no progress whatever in the exact sciences*, nor accustomed themselves to independent thinking. They have never been made a text-book in our universities; though, after a judicious course of preparatory studies, by which I mean a good *foundation in geometry and the philosophical principles of grammar*, the first book of the *Novum Organum* might be *very advantageously combined* with the instruction of an enlightened lecturer.'

Fourthly. It seems but due to these illustrious men,—the glory of our country,—that some notice should be taken of them in every course of university studies; at all events the option should be granted, which is all we ask—of studying some portion of their writings in lieu of some other subjects. Surely the youth of England, if not required to possess, might be encouraged to acquire some knowledge of the history, writings, opinions, and doctrines of these great luminaries of all philosophy. It is not a little curious that no portion of Bacon's writings has been the subject of examination at any English university. It is in the power of the London University to set the first example of due reverence for the memory of this great reformer of all science. There would be especial propriety in its so doing, as it lays so great a stress on all those departments of science which are so much indebted to the spirit he awakened, and to the principles he developed.

But, whether portions of these classics of English philosophy be substituted or not, some such exchange as is now pleaded for might easily be made. There is an additional propriety in allowing the student the option of exchanging for the chemistry, physiology, and botany, some further portion of moral or mental science, if we consider the plan (a very judicious one) on which the university confers its degrees of M.A. The candidate is allowed to take it in any one of the following departments:—I. Classics. II. Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. III. Logic, Moral Philosophy, Philosophy of the Mind, Political Philosophy, and Political Economy. The examination is of course severe in proportion as the subjects are limited. Now, if a student takes his M.A. degree, in the last of these departments, his studies in preparing for his B.A. degree will be of but little service to him; a very small proportion of those studies being connected with the third department just specified. Indeed, we

cannot help thinking that such an extensive examination in the third department for the M.A. degree ought to imply a larger acquaintance with mental and moral science for the B.A. degree: at all events, if anything like proportion be maintained. We admit, indeed, that this extension of subjects for the B.A. examination could not be effected while all the rest of the curriculum is retained, or in any other way but that of substitution (at the option of the student) of some subjects for others; but if that substitution were allowed, it would at once be in perfect harmony with the principle of the M.A. examination, in which an option is given of being examined in any one out of three departments, and would allow those who intend to take their M.A. degree in the *third* department to derive advantages from their studies for the B.A. degree, equal to those which are now enjoyed by the men who intend to take the M.A. degree in the first or second.

Such are the modifications of a part of the plan of study which, if we had a voice in the matter, we should venture to suggest to the university of London; such also are some of the reasons which would seem to authorize such a modification, so far as the *university itself* is concerned. The reasons which should prompt it, *in kindness, and we will even say justice*, to a large class of students, to make some alteration similar to that proposed, are still stronger and more obvious. These we now proceed to point out.

We have already explicitly stated, that as regards the principal subjects of the curriculum, we do not think too much is demanded; that in the classics, history, logic, moral philosophy, the mathematics, and the sciences to which the pure mathematics are applied, nothing is required but what ought to be required of *all* students, and ought to be taught in all colleges. It is only in the department of chemistry, physiology, and botany, that we seek any alteration, and that merely of such a nature as shall allow to the student the option of being examined either in these or some other subjects. Now,

1. If such an arrangement can be made as will meet the case of a considerable class of students without injury to any other class, it would surely be not less wise than kind to make it. That it is no inconsiderable class of the candidates who are interested we have already shown; at least one half of those who passed the matriculation examination in the autumn of 1840, having been designed for the Christian ministry, in connexion with different religious communities. And as all the colleges which have recently sought the privileges of the university, and those which are at this moment contemplating that step are *theological*, it may be reasonably expected that the number of the students of this class will be in a still larger

proportion. We have given our opinion, that if the alteration for which we plead could be effected, at least fifty of the students of theological colleges would present themselves for one or other of the university examinations every year. Unless some alteration be made, we can hardly expect this, and the consequence will be that some of the students in question will be deprived of an opportunity of taking their degrees. And yet—

2. Surely the students in these colleges fairly come under the description of those for whose peculiar benefit the new university was founded. They cannot take their degree at the old universities, and it does seem rather hard to shut them out of the new one by demanding proficiency not only in those branches of study which have always been considered essential to a sound education (for this is perfectly reasonable), but in those which have never been so considered, and which lie so exceedingly remote, not only from their strictly *professional* studies, but from those which are *necessarily subsidiary* to it. We do think it would be almost as reasonable to demand a knowledge of Hebrew from a medical student, as to exact a knowledge of botany from a theological one.

3. It must be obvious to men possessing the good sense of those who compose the senate of the London University, that it is not possible that any of the many subjects which this class of students are compelled to study, but which the university course does *not* embrace, can give way to those it *does*, when these last are totally unconnected either with theology or the course of *preparation* for it. Now, not only is theology itself so vast a field, but it requires such an extensive and varied apparatus of instruments and appliances, purely philological or philosophical, that it is impossible much time can be given to any studies *very* remote from it.

4. It is equally obvious that the departments of knowledge, to which we take objection, cannot be effectively taught in many of the institutions whose connexion with the university has nevertheless been already *recognized*. As regards all the principal departments required in the curriculum, we have already said they are and ought to be taught in every such institution, for they are essential, either in the shape of knowledge or discipline, to the successful prosecution of pursuits strictly professional. But in a college, the object of which is so specific and limited as that of theology, and where the tutors or professors are necessarily few, how is it possible to teach with the due accuracy chemistry, physiology, and botany? These can be taught effectually only in colleges which have a very general object, and a full *corps* of professors; in fact, only in two or three of those which the university itself recognizes. In the

rest, the student would be compelled to acquire the knowledge of all these branches by himself,—unaided by museums, specimens, experiments—merely out of books, with such general directions as could alone be given him. And therefore we remark—

5. That those students of our theological institutions who shall seek to obtain their degrees under existing circumstances will be likely, *as far as the departments in question* are concerned, to *cram* the requisite knowledge; that is, to obtain it for the occasion; but with such haste that it finds no place in the memory, and is immediately afterwards forgotten. None know better than examiners themselves, that it is possible to acquire, in an almost incredibly short space of time, a sufficient knowledge of a subject to make (while it is yet fresh on the mind) considerable display with it, while yet, from the rapidity with which it has been acquired, it has never produced that impression on the memory which renders it either permanent or accurate. This process is technically called *cramming*, and a very appropriate and expressive term it is, indicating the reception into the mental stomach of a great deal more food than can be healthfully digested, or assimilated into the good red blood of serviceable knowledge. Now, it is impossible that theological students can, in addition to all else they have to do, acquire a knowledge of the departments in question in any other way; and thus one of two things must follow—either they must forego the honor and advantage of taking their degree, or, if they do so, will waste a portion of their time.—We are, moreover, convinced that the object of the university is to secure a sound education—not to necessitate the system of *cramming*. Now, as regards the departments in question, and so far as theological students are concerned, we are persuaded it is defeating its own object.

6. We may look at the matter under another, but a most important aspect. We have already repeatedly said, that the greater part of the subjects, a knowledge of which is demanded in the university course, are equally important (either from the discipline they secure, or the *kind* of knowledge they involve), in relation to every department of professional life; they ought therefore to enter into every system of liberal education, and it is perfectly fair to demand that all alike should study them. But when these have been prosecuted to a sufficient extent to secure the appropriate benefit, it is a matter of great moment that the student should spend his remaining time upon those studies which (though not strictly professional) are likely to be most conducive to his success in that department of professional life to which he will probably attach himself, or to which, as in the case of theological stu-

dents, he is already destined. Now some branches of knowledge, under this aspect, are much more important to him than others; and as he cannot possibly find time for all, he should obviously be instructed to acquire those of which he can make the most direct use, or which best tend to form and cherish those habits of mind which will be most essential to *him*. For example, to any one who will probably be a medical man or an engineer, or who is destined to any of those departments of professional life in which a knowledge of external objects, and of their properties and relations, is especially required, a knowledge of chemistry, botany, and physiology, would either be directly serviceable, or would tend to form habits of mind which would be still more valuable than the knowledge itself.

And accordingly, these departments (if any choice were allowed) such a student would be sure to prefer to anything that could be substituted for them. On the other hand, there can be just as little question that to the man who is intended for the bar, or for the pulpit, or for any other department of exertion in which a knowledge of mind is more important than a knowledge of matter, there are many subjects of study which might be advantageously substituted for chemistry, physiology, and botany; subjects of study equally valuable as a general discipline, more conducive to the habits of mind which it is necessary for *him* to form, more readily pursued because intimately connected with those branches which must be his great object, and more extensively applicable to the exigencies of his professional life.


Or, if instead of the introduction of any new subject in the B.A. examination, the substitution pleaded for consisted simply in making the examination in logic and moral philosophy more extensive and searching, we do not know but this would be quite sufficient. Indeed, in some respects we should think this the preferable plan; for though the course prescribed by the London University certainly enjoins the study of nothing but what it is most desirable to know, yet it may be doubtful how far it is possible within the given time to attain a really serviceable knowledge of each branch; that is, a knowledge so accurate as shall effectually secure the great end of all education,—intellectual discipline. In our opinion, the great objects of education are far more effectually attained by a thorough and prolonged study of a few subjects than by a more superficial attention to a great many.

When the London University projected its plan of study, it was felt that sufficient attention had not been hitherto paid, in the generality of universities, to several branches of physical science, which have assumed in our day great value and importance.

To determine how far it was desirable to go,—to demand neither too little nor too much,—to exact enough in each department to ensure accurate study and sound discipline, and yet leave no department of importance absolutely untouched, was a point of great difficulty and delicacy; and it is by no means impossible that the senate have included rather too many subjects than too few.

At all events, we again express our conviction that it would be a great improvement to offer students a choice with regard to the subjects so often mentioned; still demanding of all alike the same amount of knowledge in classics, in mathematics, in those branches of physical science to which the mathematics are immediately applicable, in history, in logic, and in moral philosophy. Unless some such change as this be effected, we cannot but think that the number of candidates for degrees from those colleges the specific object of which is theology, will be far more limited than it need be or ought to be.

If these arguments for the proposed modification be thought satisfactory, we should strongly advise the heads of those colleges who have already obtained or who intend to apply for the privilege of granting certificates to students to undergo examination for degrees, to petition the senate to take the matter into their serious and immediate consideration. If, however, the university be not disposed to concede the point in question, we have but one thing to say. It is this. Though we certainly think our colleges ought to possess the privilege of granting the requisite certificates to their students, for the sake of those who, even under all the existing disadvantages, may be disposed to take their degrees, we do trust they will never forget that their great, their ultimate object, is THEOLOGY, and that they will sacrifice it to nothing whatever. In the prosecution of that object, they ought, it is true, to teach, and to teach thoroughly, all those branches of knowledge which are subsidiary to it, and up to the point at which they will effectually subserve it. This, of course, includes all those branches which have hitherto been thought essential to a liberal education, and on which in all universities, with the single exception of that of London, the taking of degrees of arts depends. But further than this they ought not to go, and their students had better magnanimously forego the tempting title of B.A., than infringe on the time or remit the diligence which the successful prosecution of theology so imperatively demands. It is surely impossible to read the following letter, inserted some time since in the 'Times,' without feeling how possible it is to forget the claims of theology in secular science, and to make what ought to be pursued only as a means to an end, of more importance than the end itself. Let us not fall into this fatal error, from which the Establishment seems just awaking.



‘ We are now about to approach a branch of the great question of church reform, in dealing with which it will be alike our duty and our inclination to move with a cautious and deliberate step. Our justification for dealing with it at all is found, first, in its manifest and vital importance to the well-being of the church ; and, secondly, in its having been already made a subject of public remark by some of the greatest ornaments of the episcopal bench. The subject to which we allude is that of clerical education, and its greatly-needed improvements—not merely by that insensible operation of public opinion and of enlightened conscience, which has already wrought a vast amelioration, but by settled and fixed provisions and requirements, wrought into our university systems, and demanding of all who aspire to that sacred office, that just and necessary preparation which at present only some, and that of their own free will, cheerfully undergo. It is not our object, in the remarks we are now offering, to reflect in the smallest degree upon the clergy of the Established Church. We believe that their acquirements and general fitness are, in the main, far above what might be expected from the system under which they have been trained. Our observations apply solely to the system itself.

‘ Compare that system with the preparation required for an entrance into any other profession. Look at that of medicine, for instance. It is not considered enough to qualify a man to take charge of the bodies of men that he shall have spent three or four years at college, and have taken a creditable degree as ‘ bachelor of arts.’ Far otherwise ; now he would be told his peculiar education for his profession was to begin. For a considerable space of time he must now give himself up to the study of the human frame. He must attend, for month after month, long series of lectures by the very first masters of the medical art on all the various functions of man’s animal existence, with their respective derangements and the methods of cure. Next, he must watchfully pore over the actual exemplifications of both disease and cure in a multitude of cases of every kind, as exhibited in our great hospitals ; and, finally, he must prove that he has actually studied all these subjects, by undergoing several severe and scrutinizing examinations before boards composed of selected judges long skilled both in the practical and theoretical departments of medical science.

‘ Such is the prescribed course, without which no man is permitted by law to offer himself as a guardian of the bodily health, even of the poorest of her Majesty’s subjects. We do not plead for similar restrictions in matters of religion ; we are aware that it would be idle to think of preventing a man from building, if he choose, a chapel, and holding forth in it Sunday by Sunday according to his own fancies or notions. But while we have an established church which professes to supply an order of ministers properly qualified, as well as rightfully commissioned, we may fairly look to her at least for some such precautions in sending forth her ministers as are taken by the lawful guardians and superintendents of the analogous, though infinitely inferior, science of medicine.

‘ Now, what is the course of instruction through which a young

man is required to pass who has come to a determination to devote himself to the ministry of the gospel in the Church of England?

‘Suppose him to select Cambridge, as offering perhaps the less expensive and the shortest course. He there finds, that if he means to do anything more than barely to pass muster, he must plunge, to adopt Dr. Buchanan’s expression, into ‘mathematics, pure and mixed, algebra, geometry, fluxions containing the nature of pneumatics, hydraulics, hydrostatics, the doctrine of incommensurables, indivisibles, and infinities, parabolic and hyperbolic logarithms, summation of series, solution of quadratics containing impossible roots, together with the properties of parallelopipeds and dodecahedrons; not forgetting Sir Isaac Newton, his celebrated corollaries to the paradoxical lemma respecting curvilinear straight lines, together with other particulars too many to be enumerated.’

‘Since Dr. Buchanan’s time, the severity of the mathematical course in this university has been greatly augmented; it clearly leaves any young man who wishes to pass with credit nothing but the shreds and scraps of his time for any other study besides itself.

‘But where are his professional studies all this time? The recently appointed bishop of St. David’s, Dr. Thirlwall, when tutor of Trinity College, the first and largest in Cambridge, thus wrote—‘Among all the branches of learning cultivated in this college, there is none which occupies a smaller share of time and attention than theology.’ Now, Dr. Thirlwall may have stated the fact too strongly, as the remonstrances of other tutors seemed to prove; but, admitting that something is done with Butler and Paley, the fact is still indisputable, that amid the ardent and engrossing pursuit of mathematical knowledge, no sufficient time is left, in the university course of three years and a half, to acquire anything like a competent knowledge of theology.

‘After taking his degree, the student inquires after a curacy, and then sits down to ‘read for orders.’ This reading generally occupies about six months.

‘Now theology is not a trifling or a narrow subject. Blackstone describes the study of the laws of England as ‘requiring the lucubration of twenty years.’ But thoroughly to comprehend the divine law, and the nature and character of the gospel, is a much higher and more extensive study. The Bible, indeed, is not a very large book, but to read and understand it thoroughly, in its original languages, is of itself a great attainment. But this is merely the foundation. How is the infidel to be met, how the Socinian, how the Romanist, without a thorough knowledge of all these controversies? And are these things to be picked up in the spare moments of a college life, or during the six months’ reading for orders?

‘How is this question dealt with by other churches? A correspondent writing from Jerusalem, states that a young Franciscan priest has lately made his appearance there, whose aim and object seems to be to meet and talk with the English travellers. This is his occupation—this his mission there. And for this work he has undergone a ten years’ training at Rome.

‘The education prescribed by the Church of Scotland, as requisite

for a student offering himself for holy orders, occupies about four years; most of which time is given, not to general science, but to professional—i. e., theological studies.

‘ In America the course gone through by a theological student is generally this:—Having completed his general education, he passes under the care of the theological tutors, and spends with them three years—the first, in studying the Scriptures in the original languages; the second, in a course of doctrinal theology; the third, in the composition and delivery of sermons.

‘ No one would propose the adoption, broadly, of either the Scotch or the American plan. But the comparison is a striking one—between their great care and attention, and our singular negligence in this matter.

‘ We are aware that this subject has already attracted the attention, and is now exercising the thoughts, of those best able to suggest a remedy for these defects. The pressure of other affairs, however, has already postponed the wisest and purest intentions through a space of time far too long to have been lost. It is now several years since his grace the archbishop of Canterbury assured a nobleman who applied to him on the subject, that ‘ the matter was then under the consideration of the bishops.’ And it was in his lordship’s primary charge that the bishop of London uttered the striking sentences with which we shall close this article:—

‘ ‘ We are not only authorized, but in my opinion required, to look for a more systematic and laborious preparation for the ministry; and to expect that clerical accomplishments shall be raised with the universally rising qualifications of every other profession. We have, perhaps, some reason for wishing that our universities should do more than, even with the recent improvements in their system, they have hitherto done, towards effecting this desirable result. For my own part, I entertain a very strong opinion as to the necessity of one or more theological seminaries, in which, besides going through a prescribed course of study for one or two years, the candidates for holy orders might be exercised in reading the liturgy of our church, and in the composition and delivery of sermons. The establishment of these, which need not interfere with the accustomed course of academical study, must necessarily be a work of difficulty, requiring much consideration and forethought.’

‘ In the last observation we entirely agree, and have no desire unduly to press a matter of such grave importance. But still we must remember that life is short, and that ten years have already passed away since the above passage was written.’

On this whole subject we do not know that we can do better than quote the following passages from the last Report of Spring Hill College, with every syllable of which, both as regards the desirableness of not encouraging students to proceed farther than the B.A. degree during the term of their college-course, and of generally discouraging the wish to compete for honors, we most heartily concur.

' Your committee feel that, in order to prevent mistake, it is desirable that they should say a word or two, by way of explanation, on a point respecting which the curiosity of some of their constituents may be excited ; they mean—how far their students should be encouraged to proceed in graduating while members of this institution.

' It does not seem desirable, then, your committee think, to encourage any of their students (except under very unusual circumstances) to proceed further than the B.A. degree, during the term of their study at Spring Hill. This degree might very well be taken without infringing on the time allotted to theology, with which, it is conceived, nothing should be allowed to interfere ; and if a student should be desirous of taking his M.A. degree, it should be clearly shown that he can do it without detriment to his theological studies. As, however, the M.A. degree may in every instance be taken at the student's leisure, your committee are decidedly of opinion, that the best arrangement for our students, would be to postpone the taking of it till the termination of their college course ; the more especially as, being allowed to take it in any one of the three great departments of classics, mathematics, and moral philosophy, even their theological studies would to a certain extent advance their object, provided, as would be every way desirable, they should select the department of moral philosophy. But probably the generality of students who might choose to take the B.A. degree, would prefer another, and in some cases, a preferable course. To those who have taken that degree, the University of London offers a separate theological examination, rewarding the successful candidate with a certificate of proficiency. Such is the theological education given at Spring Hill College, that it is not violating truth to affirm, that there are few of your students who would feel any difficulty in creditably passing such an examination, if there were no other obstacle than the requisite amount of knowledge.

' As to the privilege of taking honors in the separate examinations instituted for that purpose, over and above the examinations for taking degrees, the cases are so very rare in which permission would be likely to be asked, or in which it could be granted, that it would hardly be worth while, and would perhaps even be undesirable, to make any general regulations on the subject. In the first place, the expense would be considerably increased ; in the second place, as we must look for stability of character in all who are received as students to such an institution as Spring Hill College, it naturally happens that, in a great majority of cases, the age of students is a year or more beyond that at which, by the laws of the university, the privilege of competing for honors terminates. In the next place, very few students could by possibility devote the requisite time to the very various departments of science and literature to which these examinations extend, without serious injury to their theological studies. On these and similar grounds, it is certain that applications for this privilege must be of the rarest occurrence. Were it otherwise, it would indeed be necessary to make some regulations on the subject ; for it might well become a question whether such competition for literary honors

would not be attended with some injury to that spirit of piety which it is our object to cherish, and whether prolonged absorption in secular science might not induce a partial oblivion of those sacred objects to which with us such science is but subsidiary. It is never to be forgotten that with us the limits within which all literature and science are to be pursued are determined by the question—can they be rendered subservient, either as discipline or as knowledge, to our ulterior object? Up to this point they ought to be pursued; further, it would in us be criminal to go. As, however, cases might occur, in which great mental vigor, extensive attainments, and solid piety would seem so happily united as to justify the conclusion that the desire to be examined for honors might be sanctioned without any hazard to other and higher objects, it would perhaps be most prudent to leave this question to the Educational Board, to be considered as occasion might require.'

As the regulations of the university may not be in the hands of many of our readers, we shall subjoin them so far as they relate to the examinations for matriculation and the Bachelor of Arts degree.

The matriculation examination is far more severe than anything of the kind at either of the old universities, while he who has creditably passed the Bachelor of Arts examination, has no reason to believe that he would find any difficulty in obtaining the like degree either at Oxford or Cambridge; at the same time we must again state that the quantity demanded in the principal departments is by no means excessive.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

REGULATIONS FOR EXAMINATIONS FOR DEGREES.

ARTS.

MATRICULATION EXAMINATION.

THE Matriculation Examination shall take place once a year, and commence on the first Monday in October.

No Candidate shall be admitted to the Matriculation Examination unless he have produced a Certificate showing that he has completed his Sixteenth year.

This Certificate shall be transmitted to the Registrar at least fourteen days before the Examination begins.

A Fee of Two Pounds shall be paid at Matriculation. No Candidate shall be admitted to the Examination unless he have previously paid this Fee to the Registrar; and if he fail to pass the Examination, the Fee shall be returned to him.

The Examination shall be conducted by means of Printed Papers; but the Examiners shall not be precluded from putting any *viva voce* questions upon the written answers of the Candidates, when they appear to require explanation.

Candidates for the Matriculation Examination shall be examined in the following subjects:

MATHEMATICS.**ARITHMETIC AND ALGEBRA :**

The ordinary rules of Arithmetic.

Vulgar and Decimal Fractions.

Extraction of the Square Root.

Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, and Division of Algebraical Quantities.

Proportion.

Arithmetical and Geometrical Progression.

Simple Equations.

GEOMETRY :

The First Book of Euclid.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.**MECHANICS :**

Explain the Composition and Resolution of Statical Forces.

Describe the Simple Machines (*Mechanical Powers*), and state the Ratio of the Power to the Weight in each.

Define the centre of Gravity.

Give the General Laws of Motion, and describe the chief experiments by which they may be illustrated.

State the Law of the motion of Falling Bodies.

HYDROSTATICS, HYDRAULICS, AND PNEUMATICS :

Explain the Pressure of Liquids and Gases, its equal diffusion, and variation with the depth.

Define Specific Gravity, and show how the specific gravity of bodies may be ascertained.

Describe and explain the Barometer, the Siphon, the Common Pump and Forcing-Pump, and the Air-Pump.

ACOUSTICS :

Describe the nature of Sound.

OPTICS :

State the Laws of Reflection and Refraction.

Explain the formation of Images by Simple Lenses.

CHEMISTRY.

The Component parts of the Atmosphere and of Water.

The general characters of the different groups of elementary bodies, namely, of the Supporters of Combustion, the Combustibles, and the Metals.

The influence of Heat upon the bulk and states of matter.

NATURAL HISTORY.**BOTANY :**

The Characters and Differences of the Natural Classes and principal Orders of Phanerogamous Plants belonging to the

Flora of Europe, in the Botanical Classification of De Candolle.

ZOOLOGY :

The Characters of the Primary Divisions of the Animal Kingdom, and of the Classes and Orders of the Vertebrate Subkingdom, according to the system of Cuvier.

CLASSICS.

THE GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGES :

One Greek and one Latin subject, to be selected one year previously by the Committee of the Faculty of Arts from the works of the under-mentioned authors :

Homer One Book.

Xenophon . . One Book.

Virgil One Book of the Georgics, or the Sixth Book of the *Æneid*.

Horace One Book of the Odes.

Sallust The Conspiracy of Catiline, or the War with Jugurtha.

Cæsar The Civil War, or the Fifth and Sixth Books of the Gallic War.

Livy One Book.

Cicero The treatises *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia* ; or two of the shorter, or one of the longer Orations.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE :

The Grammatical Structure of the Language.

Proficiency in Composition will be judged of by the style of answers generally.

OUTLINES OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY :

History of England to the end of the Seventeenth century.

The papers in Classics shall contain questions in History and Geography.

Until the year 1841, Candidates who show a competent knowledge in Classics, Mathematics, and Natural Philosophy, shall be approved by the Examiners.

In the year 1841, and subsequently, Candidates shall not be approved by the Examiners unless they show a competent knowledge also in all the other branches of Examination.

In the first week of examination, the Examinations shall be conducted in the following order :

Morning, 10 to 1.

Monday Mathematics.

Tuesday . . . Greek Classic and History.

Wednesday . . Mathematics.

Thursday . . . Roman Classic and History.

Afternoon 3 to 6.

Monday English History. Geography.

Tuesday. . . . Chemistry. Natural History.

Wednesday. . Natural Philosophy.

Thursday. . . The English Language.

On the Monday Morning in the following week the Examiners shall arrange in two divisions, each in alphabetical order, such of the Candidates as have passed.

Until the year 1841, Candidates examined in Chemistry and Natural History at the Matriculation Examination shall be arranged in the order of proficiency in those subjects.

EXAMINATION FOR THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS.

The Examination for the Degree of B.A. shall take place once a year, in May or June.

No Candidate shall be admitted to this Examination unless he have produced Certificates from the authorities of one of the Institutions in connexion with this University, to the following effect :

1. Of having been a Student during two years at one of such Institutions ;

2. And of good conduct so far as their opportunities of knowledge have extended.

These Certificates shall be transmitted to the Registrar at least fourteen days before the Examination begins.

After the year 1840 no Candidate shall be admitted to the Examination for the Degree of B.A. within two academical years of the time of his passing the Matriculation Examination.

In 1839 and 1840 Candidates shall be admitted to Examination for the Degree of B.A. who have shown evidence that they have completed their 18th year, and who have produced the Certificates as before stated.

The Fee for the Degree of B.A. shall be £10. No candidate shall be admitted to the Examination unless he have previously paid this Fee to the Registrar, and if he fail to pass the Examination the Fee shall be returned to him.

The Examination shall be conducted by means of Printed Papers, but the Examiners shall not be precluded from putting any *viva voce* questions upon the written answers of the Candidates, when they appear to require explanation.

Candidates for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts shall be examined in the following subjects.

MATHEMATICS AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

ARITHMETIC AND ALGEBRA :

The ordinary rules of Arithmetic.

Vulgar and Decimal Fractions.

Extraction of the Square Root.

Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, and Division of Algebraical Quantities.

Algebraical Proportion and Variation.

Permutations and Combinations.

Arithmetical and Geometrical Progression.

Simple and Compound Interest; Discount, and Annuities for terms of years.

Simple and Quadratic Equations, and Questions producing them.

The nature and use of Logarithms.

GEOMETRY :

The First Book of Euclid.

The principal properties of triangles, squares, and parallelograms, treated geometrically.

The principal properties of the circle treated geometrically.

The relations of similar figures.

The Eleventh Book of Euclid to Prop. 21.

The equation to the straight line, and the equation to the circle referred to rectangular co-ordinates.

The equations to the Conic Sections referred to rectangular co-ordinates.

PLANE TRIGONOMETRY :

Plane Trigonometry as far as to enable the Candidate to solve all the cases of Plane triangles.

The following propositions :

$$\sin (A \pm B) = \sin A \cos B \pm \cos A \sin B$$

$$\cos (A \pm B) = \cos A \cos B \mp \sin A \sin B$$

$$\tan (A \pm B) = \frac{\tan A \pm \tan B}{1 \mp \tan A \tan B}$$

The expression for the area of a triangle in terms of its sides.

MECHANICS :

The composition and Resolution of Forces.

The Mechanical Powers.

The centre of Gravity.

The general laws of Motion.

The motion of falling bodies in free space and down inclined planes.

HYDROSTATICS, HYDRAULICS, AND PNEUMATICS :

The pressure of fluids is equally diffused and varies as the depth.

The surface of a fluid at rest is horizontal.

Specific gravity.

A floating body displaces exactly its weight of the fluid, and is supported as if by a force equal to its weight pressing upwards at the centre of gravity of the displaced fluid.

The Common Pump and the Forcing-Pump.

The Barometer.

The Air-Pump.

The Steam-Engine.

ASTRONOMY :

The apparent motion of the heavens round the earth.

The apparent motion of the sun through the fixed stars.

The phenomena of eclipses.

The regression of the planets.

Proofs of the Copernican system.

**CHEMISTRY, ANIMAL PHYSIOLOGY, VEGETABLE PHYSIOLOGY,
AND STRUCTURAL BOTANY.**

CHEMISTRY :

The Atmosphere. Its general nature and condition ; its component parts. Oxygen ; its general properties ; how procured. Nitrogen ; its properties ; how procured. Water and carbonic acid in the air. Proportions of these substances ; deteriorating influences ; renovating processes.

Aquafortis. Its nature ; how procured ; its composition ; proofs of its acidity and powerful action.

Other negatively electric bodies than Oxygen. Chlorine, Iodine, Bromine.

Water. Its general relation to the atmosphere and earth ; its natural states and relative purity. Sea-water, river-water, spring-water, rain-water. Pure water ; effects of heat and cold on it ; its compound nature ; its elements.

Hydrogen. How procured ; its nature ; proportion in water ; its presence in most ordinary fuels ; its product when burnt.

Other combustible bodies. Sulphur, Phosphorus, Carbon, Selenium, Boron.

Oxyacids. Sulphuric acid, Phosphoric acid, Carbonic acid.

Hydracids, Hydrochloric or Muriatic acid.

Ammonia. Its preparation, properties, composition.

Alkalies, Earths, Oxides generally.

Salts, their nature. Sulphates, Nitrates, Carbonates.

Metals generally. Iron, Copper, Lead, Tin, Zinc, Gold, Silver, Platinum, Mercury.

Powers of Matter. Aggregation, crystallization, chemical affinity, definite equivalents.

Combustion. Flame ; nature of ordinary fuel : results of combustion, *i. e.* the bodies produced.

Heat : natural and artificial sources ; its effects. Expansion ; solids, liquids, gases. Thermometer : conduction ; radiation ; capacity ; change of form ; liquefaction ; steam.

Relation of chemical affinity in the voltaic pile ; ordinary electricity ; its excitement and effects.

General elements of vegetable bodies ; of animal bodies.

ANIMAL PHYSIOLOGY :

The mechanical, chemical, and vital properties of the several elementary animal textures.

General principles of Animal Mechanics.

Outline of the processes subservient to the nutrition of the body ; and general plan of structure of the organs of assimilation. Nature of Digestion ; course of the Lacteal Absorbents. Structure of the Organs of Circulation. Principal varieties in the plan of circulation in the great divisions of the animal kingdom : viz. Mammalia, Birds, Reptiles, Fishes, Mollusca, Articulated and Radiated Animals.

Mechanism of Respiration in the several classes of animals ; chemical effects of Respiration in the several classes of animals. Chemical properties of the secretions ; structure of secreting organs.

Functions of the nervous system.

The sensorial functions, comprehending the physiology of the external senses, especially Vision and Hearing.

VEGETABLE PHYSIOLOGY AND STRUCTURAL BOTANY :

Elementary structure. Cellular and vascular tissues ; their properties, modifications, especially those which are more or less characteristic of the larger natural groups.

The axis of a plant. Its anatomy ; the principal modifications of internal structure and external form.

Leaves. Their venous and parenchymatous structures. Inflorescence. The relation of its modifications to each other.

Floral envelopes. Their principal modifications ; the relation borne to each other by their different series ; the theory of abortion.

Stamens. Their structural analogy ; modification ; use ; the theory of their order of development and suppression.

Pistil. Theory of structure ; modifications ; organic analogies ; changes it undergoes while it ripens into fruit.

Seed. Its origin as an ovule ; original modifications ; maturation ; albumen ; embryo ; germination.

Irritability and stimulants.

Processes subordinate to the functions of nutrition, especially those termed Absorption, Digestion, Exhalation, Respiration.

Motions of contained fluids ; circulation, rotation.

Results of secretions, especially those useful in medicine.

Processes subordinate to the function of reproduction, especially the fertilization of the ovule and its maturation.

CLASSICS.

THE GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGES :

One Greek and one Latin Book, to be selected two years previously by the Committee of the Faculty of Arts from the works of the under-mentioned authors :

Homer Six Books.

Sophocles . . . One Play.

Euripides . . . One Play.

Herodotus . . . One Book.

Thucydides . . . One Book.

Xenophon . . . Two Books, from any of his larger works.

Demosthenes. One of the longer, or three of the shorter public Orations ; or two of the private Orations.

Plato Apology of Socrates and Crito.

Virgil The Eclogues and six Books of the *Æneid* ; or the Georgics and the Sixth Book of the *Æneid*.

Horace The Odes and *Ars Poetica*, and either the Satires or the Epistles.

Cæsar..... The Civil Wars and the Fifth and Sixth Books of the Gallic War.

Cicero..... The *Somnium Scipionis*, and two of the shorter and one of the longer Orations.

Livy..... Three Books.

Tacitus..... The *Agricola*, *Germania*, and one Book of either the *Annals* or of the *Histories*.

HISTORY :

History of Greece to the death of Alexander.

History of Rome to the death of Augustus.

History of England to the end of the Seventeenth century.

THE FRENCH OR GERMAN LANGUAGE :

Translation into English.

Translation from English into French or German.

LOGIC AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

LOGIC :

Whateley's *Elements of Logic*, fifth edition, the Introduction, 1st Book, and the 2nd Book to the end of Chap. III.

MORAL PHILOSOPHY :

The First, Third, and Fourth Books of Paley's *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, and Butler's *Three Sermons on Human Nature*.

The papers in Classics shall consist of passages to be translated, accompanied by questions in Grammar, History, and Geography.

Until the year 1841, Candidates who show a competent knowledge in Classics, and in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy shall be approved by the Examiners.

After the year 1840, Candidates shall not be approved by the Examiners, unless they show a competent knowledge in the four branches of Examination.

1. Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

2. Chemistry, Animal Physiology, Vegetable Physiology, and Structural Botany.

3. Classics.

4. Logic and Moral Philosophy.

In the first week of examination the Examinations shall be conducted in the following order :

Morning 10 to 1.

Monday..... Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

Tuesday.... Classics.

Wednesday.. Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

Thursday.. . Classics.

Afternoon 3 to 6.

Monday..... Chemistry, Animal and Vegetable Physiology.

Tuesday Logic and Moral Philosophy.

Wednesday . . History.

Thursday . . . French. German.

On the Monday morning in the following week the Examiners shall arrange in two divisions, each in alphabetical order, such of the Candidates as have passed.'

We have said that if the modifications so often spoken of were effected, a much larger number of our students might take their degree than can be expected to do so at present. Under no circumstances, however, could the bulk of them aspire to this distinction. If there were no other obstacle, the expense* (of course somewhat considerably increased, when the college is at a distance from the metropolis) would form an insurmountable obstacle. 'It is not perhaps very probable,' we quote from the report of Spring Hill College, 'that were this privilege granted to the college, our students (or indeed those of any other college similarly situated) would *very generally* avail themselves of it, seeing that the expense of repairing to London, and remaining there during the examinations for matriculation and degrees, added to the customary fees attending both, would be by no means inconsiderable, and would form in many cases an insuperable bar. But as there would be many who would be well able to take their degrees if it were not for the expense, so there would certainly be some to whom this would be no obstacle, and it would perhaps hardly be fair to deprive those students of the opportunity of obtaining such honorable certificates of proficiency as they might be justly entitled to.'

Though the university is empowered only to grant degrees in arts, law, or medicine, it has instituted, we think wisely, a voluntary examination in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, in the Greek text of the New, in the evidences of Christianity, and in Scripture history; awarding to the successful candidate a certificate of proficiency. Only those can present themselves for this examination, however, who have already taken the Bachelor of Arts degree. We think it would be better to allow any of the students of the colleges recognized by the university to present themselves for this examination, whether they have taken the Bachelor of Arts degree or not, provided they have matriculated. There are many theological

* The matriculation fee is two pounds; that for the B.A. is ten; that for the M.A. ten. These must of course be usually supplied out of the student's own funds. They could not with any show of propriety be supplied out of those of the colleges themselves, even where there was wealth enough; that wealth having been bequeathed or collected for a specific purpose, and that purpose a very different one.

students who could sustain a most creditable examination in this department, who cannot afford either the money or the time necessary to obtain the Bachelor of Arts degree. From those who have not taken that degree, a fee (not large, however, otherwise it would defeat its object) might be fairly demanded. The university has already held one examination on these subjects, and as the papers are likely to be highly interesting to a large number of our theological students, we shall here extract them, merely suppressing the printed passages from the text of the Old Testament.

Tuesday, June 25.—Morning, 10 to 1.

HEBREW TEXT OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

Examiner, Mr. STONE.

Translate *literally* the following passages :

(A.) Genesis, xii. 10—20.

(B.) Genesis, xxviii. 11—15.

1. Give a short account of the argument for and against the antiquity of the Masoretic system of punctuation. What is the prevailing opinion concerning the origin of it? To what extent are the vowel-points useful in determining the meaning of the text?

2. Into how many sections did the Jews divide the Pentateuch, and for what purpose? What is the meaning of the letters פ פ פ—ס ס ס—ס and ס prefixed to certain portions of these writings? Has the expression of our Saviour, Luke xx. 37, *Μωσῆς ἐμήνυσεν ἐπὶ τῆς Βάρου*, any probable reference to these divisions?

3. How do you distinguish between the vowels kamets and kamets-khatuph, the form of both being the same (ֿ)? What is the office of the point dagesh (ֿ)? What letters do not admit of it? What is the distinction between dagesh-*forte* and dagesh-*lene*? State the rules for the use of the latter. How is dagesh distinguished from mappik? What stations do the accents athnach (ֿ) and silluk (ֿ) generally occupy in the verse? What effect do these accents produce upon the vowel-points?

4. Extract A. פִּי־כָבֵד חָרַעַב בְּאַרְץ Fill up the ellipsis and account for the use of (ֿ) under the article and the prefix ב. שְׂרֵי אֲבָרָם What changes were afterwards made in these names, and on what occasion? What do the names signify in their original and altered form? Quote other instances of names altered by the Almighty. נִתְקַח Derive this word. What conjugation, tense, and what effect has the prefix upon the signification of the word?

5. Extract B. וַיָּקָם From what root? Conjugate it at length through the two tenses of Kal. Explain what is meant by the construct case of nouns; illustrate the rules from either of the above extracts. וַיָּקָם וַיֵּקְדָּם, &c. How came these words to be used to express east, west, north, and south?

Tuesday, June 25.—Afternoon, 3 to 6.

GREEK TEXT OF THE GOSPEL OF ST. LUKE.

Examiner, Mr. DRAKE.

1. 'The most decisive proof of the authenticity and inspiration of the ancient Scriptures is derived from the New Testament.' Establish this assertion by quotations from St. Luke's gospel.

2. Give the history of St. Luke, as it may be collected from the New Testament. What peculiarities of style are found in his writings? What is known concerning Theophilus? To whom else is the epithet *κράτιστε* applied in the New Testament?

3. 'Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἐξῆλθε δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου, ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην· αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου—(ii. 1, 2). Paraphrase these verses, and reconcile the statement contained in them with the known date of the presidentship of P. Sulp. Quirinius.

4. Καὶ αὐτὸς προσλεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει Ἡλίου, ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα, καὶ ἀπειθεῖς ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων ἐτοιμάσαι Κυρίῳ λαὸν κατεσκευασμένον—(i. 17). Translate and explain this verse. Who had delivered a prediction to the same effect, and about what time before the appearance of our Saviour?

5. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος, ὣν (ὡς ἐνομίζετο) υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ, τοῦ Ἡλίου—(iii. 23). Reconcile this with the statement of Matthew, Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωσήφ, τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς. κ. τ. λ. What other difference is observable between St. Matthew and St. Luke in their manner of tracing the genealogy of Christ? Assign a reason for such difference.

6. Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ τετραρχοῦντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρώδου, Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τετραρχοῦντος τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας, καὶ Λυσανίου τῆς Ἀβιληνῆς τετραρχοῦντος, ἐπ' ἀρχιερέων Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα—(iii. 1, 2). Translate and give historical and geographical illustrations.

7. Explain the expressions, σάββατον δευτέρῳ πρωτον—σπλαγχνὰ ἐλεός—πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ—ἐξ ἡμερίας Ἀβία.

8. Πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ γαμῶν ἑτέραν, μοιχεύει· καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀπολειυμένην ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς γαμῶν, μοιχεύει—(xvi. 18). Can you account for the introduction of this verse in a passage with which it seems to have no connexion?

9. Give the substance of the parable of Lazarus and Dives. What were the three Jewish expressions for the place of the souls of the just? What is the usual meaning of *αἶδης* in the New Testament? Does the parable above mentioned refer to the final state of the just and unjust?

10. ἦλθε γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ζητῆσαι καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός. This passage has been adduced by one of the fathers to prove the resurrection. Mention his name, and show how he applies the passage to prove his point.

11. Translate chap. xxi. 1—6, inclusive.

Ἀναβλέψας δὲ εἶδε τοὺς βάλλοντας τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον

πλουσίους. Εἶδε δὲ καὶ τινὰ χήραν πεινχρὰν βάλλουσαν ἑκατὶ δύο λεπτά. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἀληθῶς λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἡ χήρα ἡ πτωχὴ αὕτη πλεῖον πάντων ἔβαλεν Ἀπαντες γὰρ οὗτοι ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύοντος αὐτοῖς ἔβαλον εἰς τὰ δῶρα τοῦ Θεοῦ αὕτη δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὑστερήματος αὐτῆς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὃν εἶχεν ἔβαλε. Καὶ τὴν λεγόντων περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ὅτι λίθοις καλοῖς καὶ ἀναθήμασι κεκόσμηται, ἰσχυρὰ Ταῦτα ἂν θεωρεῖτε, ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι ἐν αἷς οὐκ ἀριθήσεται λίθος ἐπὶ λίθῳ, ὃ οὐ καταλυθήσεται. Explain the words γαζοφυλάκιον and λεπτά. State the date of the fulfilment of the prophecy in verse 6.

Wednesday, June 26.—Morning 10 to 1.

PALEY'S EVIDENCES. BUTLER'S ANALOGY.

Examiner, Mr. DRAKE.

PALEY'S EVIDENCES.

1. State what are the suppositions, upon which it is not improbable that a revelation should be made; and define the expression, '*Contrary to experience.*'

2. State the former of Paley's two propositions—and cite the sources of profane testimony which directly attest the sufferings of the early Christians.

3. Give the substance of the principal passages from the Scriptures and other ancient Christian writings, which bear direct evidence to the sufferings of the first propagators of Christianity.

4. By what considerations may we infer that the story for which the first Christians suffered was *miraculous*?

5. State the *four* circumstances which are sufficient to support an assurance, that the story which we have now, is, in general, the story which Christians had at the beginning.

6. State in order the several allegations upon the subject of the authenticity of the Scriptures, which are capable of being established by proof: and enter into the proof of the 10th allegation, *viz. that formal catalogues of authentic Scriptures were published, in all which our present sacred histories were included.*

7. State the argument from the *originality* of Christ's character.

8. State generally the argument from the undesigned coincidences observable in the New Testament, and give one or more instances.

9. What are the grounds upon which Paley founds his assertions, that the two leading objects in the institutions of Mahomet were to make converts, and to make his converts soldiers?

10. Show that the connexion of Christianity with Jewish history affords no fair ground of argument against the truth of Christianity.

11. Show the futility of the objection which requires greater clearness in the evidence.

BUTLER'S ANALOGY.

1. Define and illustrate the word *probability*, as used by Butler.

2. State the several objects of the two parts into which Butler's whole treatise is divided.

3. Show, from various considerations, that the analogy of nature makes it probable that we shall live hereafter.

4. Show that the notion of a moral righteous government is suggested by the course of nature.

5. Show from the analogy of natural religion that the perversion of Christianity is no fair objection to it.

6. How far is the imperfect comprehension of Christianity an answer to the objections which are made against Christianity?

Wednesday, June 26.—Afternoon, 3 to 6.

SCRIPTURE HISTORY.

Examiner, Mr. STONE.

1. Describe the manner in which the earth was divided among the descendants of Noah after the flood.

2. Give an account of the nature of the Israelitish government, and the changes it underwent from the entrance into Canaan till the death of Jesus Christ.

3. What was the extent of territory possessed by the Israelites in the time of Solomon? When and by what means did it commence to decline?

4. Give a short account of the separation of the ten tribes.

5. Give an account of the places of Israelitish worship; viz. (1) the Tabernacle; (2) the Temple of Solomon; (3) the Temple of Zerubabel, and wherein it differed from the former temple; (4) the Temple of Herod; what did the Jews mean by 'Τισσαράχοντα καὶ ἱξ ἱρίων ὠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος,' John ii. 20? (5) the Synagogues; (6) the Proseuchæ.

6. Give a sketch of Jewish history from the edict of Cyrus till the dedication of the second Temple.

7 Give some account of the origin and tenets of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Herodians.

8. Describe the route taken by St. Paul in his three apostolical journeys, related in the Acts of the Apostles.

9. Give a short account of the rise and decline of the Asmonæan family.

10. Give a brief history of David, with the dates of his accession and death.

11. In what year before Christ did the Babylonish captivity end? Assign a reason for its lasting seventy years. Who allowed the Jews to return to Judea? By whom was this deliverance foretold? Is there anything peculiar in the prophecy concerning Cyrus?

12. What is the general character of the book of Job? In what country did Job dwell?

London University Examination, pp. 75—82.

We should hope the generality of the students in our theological colleges would find no very great difficulty in passing this examination. It is, however, very judicious.

Art. II. *Religion and Education in America : with Notices of the State and Prospects of American Unitarianism, Popery, and African Colonization.* By JOHN DUNMORE LANG, D.D., Senior Presbyterian Minister in New South Wales. Ward and Co. 1840.

THE author of this seasonable publication has been laboring for many years in the Australian colonies, in connexion with the Presbyterian church. Though educated under the patronage and imbued in early life with the prejudices of the Scottish church, he has been gradually led to the firm belief that all state-endowed ecclesiastical establishments are calculated rather to retard than promote the progress of genuine Christianity. He was brought to this conclusion, not so much by any process of argument on the case, as by witnessing the actual working of the two systems; especially in reference to planting the gospel in new colonies. The principle carried out in New South Wales is, 'to grant salaries from the public treasury to the ministers of all religious denominations, in proportion to the number of their respective adherents.' Of course, truth forms no item in the matter; nor could it without inflicting an act of flagrant injustice. A large proportion of the emigrants are Irish Roman Catholics; and, as such, are fully entitled to their share in the distribution. Great efforts are making in some of our new settlements to constitute the Romish hierarchy the established religion; towards which the present mode of distributing government support affords every facility that could be desired. It is now perceived, by other parties as well as Episcopalians, that an adherence to the present system will tend to elevate the Romish priesthood and the system of colonial popery, to a pre-eminence and power which it never otherwise would have attained. Besides, as the most diligent and conscientious of the Dissenting denominations refuse to receive their share of such payments, it operates as a premium to the selfishness and indolence of one part, while it restrains and depresses the energies of the other. It is a system which, in the opinion of the author before us, carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction.

'There is a moral certainty that the voluntary system will very soon become the law of the land in New South Wales. The enormous expenditure of a convict colony, which has been unfortunately entailed upon that settlement, already exceeds the whole amount of its ordinary revenue; and recourse has accordingly been had very recently to the suicidal policy of appropriating, for the common exigencies of the public service, the revenue arising from the sale of Crown land—which, it was universally supposed by the colonists, had been appro-

priated exclusively for the promotion of the emigration of virtuous and industrious persons from Great Britain and Ireland. To restore this revenue to its proper use, taxation to a large amount must now be resorted to ; and it cannot be doubted, that whenever the colonists come to be taxed, as they certainly will very shortly, to the amount of from £50,000 to £100,000 per annum, for the support of three or four contemporaneous established churches, they will just do what the Americans found it both expedient and necessary to do, in precisely similar circumstances, by refusing the tax, and leaving all these churches to the Christian feelings and affections of their respective adherents. So long as the salaries of the colonial clergy are paid from the custom-house chest, or the produce of indirect taxation, the colonists are not likely to murmur ; but the case will be prodigiously altered when they come to be paid from a revenue arising from direct taxation. The colonists will then most certainly refuse the rate, and leave the clergy to the operation of the voluntary system.'

—pp. 4, 5.

Dr. Lang was desirous, on returning to his native land for a short season, to visit the United States ; and to witness with his own eyes the result of the voluntary principle, in all its bearings, upon the political, the moral, the literary, and the religious interests of that enterprising people. He traversed the various states, and collected a multitude of facts, solely to illustrate this one point. The result is nothing new to us ; but it is gratifying to have the facts attested by such a witness. What he states may perchance find its way where an argument or a fact from another person would be unheeded. Without awakening suspicion he may perhaps be permitted to unfold the curtains to some small degree which surround the state-church ; and let a little light into an apartment which prejudice has kept for ages in comparative darkness. What we then ask, is the *finding* of this active, intelligent, and withal, this *disinterested* witness ; for be it observed, that Dr. Lang has for the last fifteen years been engaged as a regularly ordained minister of the church of Scotland, and on the highest salary allowed by the state to any minister of that denomination : what, we ask, is the result of his researches ? It is this : that notwithstanding its boundless extent, its scattered population, and its juvenile institutions, the United States of America are absolutely more fully supplied with elementary instruction and the means of grace than are either England or Scotland, notwithstanding the antiquity of their institutions, the amplitude of their endowments, and the full scope which for the last century has been afforded to voluntary agency. Dr. Lang had, moreover, found that the two systems were tried there on equal terms ; that the endowment system was discarded by the ministers themselves in the states where, under British influence, it had been esta-

blished, chiefly on the ground of its inefficiency :—that Unitarianism rose and spread under the shelter of a state-establishment ; but that the voluntary principle is now recording its decline and downfall :—that infidelity, except among recent European emigrants, is little known, and among the intelligent circles, nowhere avowed :—in short, that the United States exhibits a large argument in favor of free institutions for the spread of education and religion ; a national refutation of the entire scheme which unites the church with the state for the benefit of the people.

Information on this subject is just now additionally important, since the rage for colonization is more active than was ever before known. Are we, then, to carry to every country where our overplus population locate, a cumbrous, expensive, inefficient ecclesiastical apparatus to fatten upon the undeveloped resources of our new colonies ? or, are we to trust to the vital energy of religion itself,—to the zeal of those who feel its importance ; and more especially to that innate necessity of human nature which is the strongest impulse to its provision and the surest guarantee for its continuance.

Dr. Lang, though not at all times select in his language or clear in his reasoning, is a spirited, discursive writer ; gathers up facts and anecdotes with insatiable zest ; has his eyes open in every company he enters ; and sees and hears more in a few months than others would in as many years. Independent of the important subject which is discussed, and upon which all his facts have a bearing, this is a very lively and instructive volume : the reader travels with the writer in true rail-road fashion ; and is entertained all along the way by an activity of mind and a range of information which affords no leisure for drowsiness or fatigue.

The work closes with a chapter on Slavery Abolition and African Colonization, which we regret to say is a disparagement to the book, as well as to the judgment of the writer. We can be at no loss to ascertain what animal squatted at his ear, and poisoned him with these absurd misrepresentations. **LIBERIA !** We verily believed that bubble had burst long ago. Our only apology for Dr. Lang is, that he describes a country he never saw ; and was duped, either by men whose interest it was to mislead, or whose characters were pledged to statements they once believed to be true, but who had too much obstinacy to listen or too much pride to retract, when these statements were proved to be false.

Art. III. *The Life of Thomas Burgess, D.D., F.R.S., F.A.S., &c., late Lord Bishop of Salisbury.* By JOHN S. HARFORD, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S. 8vo. pp. 557. Longman.

THE measure of modern episcopal biography is not abundant, and, for the most part, the quality but meanly atones for the defect in quantity. During nearly a century, the bench has supplied but few great subjects, yet there have been several whose talents, character, and actions were sufficient to have rendered a composition vital for generations to come. The inference, therefore, is—and it is also the fact—that the superior class of their lordships, although themselves men of letters, and surrounded by persons addicted to literature, have not been fortunate in respect of biographers. Seldom, indeed, has the history of a mitre been penned by the hand of a master. We are inclined to doubt whether Bishop Burgess be an exception; and, before we terminate our strictures, we shall assign our reasons; but in the meanwhile we must glance at the main facts of his lordship's long and laborious career.

THOMAS BURGESS was born November 18, 1756, at Odiham, near Basingstoke, in Hampshire, where his father, a worthy and pious man, carried on the business of a grocer. He learnt the first elements of knowledge at a dame's school, and in 1768, he entered that of Winchester, where he continued till 1775. Of this school at that period the head master was no other than Dr. Joseph Warton, the essayist on the *Genius and Writings of Pope*. Warton was himself a man of taste, and had no mean talent for poetry; but, like most men of the same class, he disliked philology, and that dislike entailed ignorance to an extent which incapacitated him for his high vocation. Of this fact the work before us supplies examples. He was sometimes sorely put to it, to get through the chorus of a Greek tragedy; and his wit but ill sufficed to conceal his embarrassment. While a scholar was reading the puzzle passage, and was just on the eve of 'sticking fast,' the poetical preceptor would break out with a loud voice, and demand an account of noises among the boys, which nobody heard but himself! So uniformly was this method of solving difficulties resorted to, that the late Bishop Huntingford was wont to say, he so well knew what would happen on the approach of a dark passage, that he often said to the boy next him, 'Now we shall have a noise.' During the settlement of the 'noise,' the reader was allowed to proceed as he best could; thus the slough was passed, and the work went on. In 1755, he was removed to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, upon a Winchester Scholarship, which he honorably gained

by a severe competition. Dr. Lawrence, the future friend of Edmund Burke, entered at the same time. Here again disgraceful ignorance filled the chair assigned to wisdom. The tutor of Burgess and Lawrence soon discovered that the youths were in advance of him, and he, therefore, prudently intimated that he should dispense with their future attendance at lectures! To most young men such a state of things, both at school and at college, would have been fatal; but in Burgess there was a spring and a power that nothing could repress. He felt his deficiency, he saw his danger, and he sought a remedy. With a resolution which did him credit, he betook himself to the study of Greek criticism; Hoogeveen, Bos, and Vigerus became his constant companions, and he actually submitted to the drudgery of committing to memory the whole of Nugent's *Greek Primitives*. Of this weary toil, however, he experienced the benefit through life, and, in after times, he often urged on his youthful friends the great importance of thoroughly mastering first principles, upon all subjects of human inquiry. On this foundation a splendid superstructure was ultimately reared; the four years which he spent at Oxford, previous to taking his degree, were intensely devoted to the study of Greek. The versatility of his mind was indicated also by the fact, that he not only delighted in metaphysical inquiry, but directed not a little of his attention to elegant literature both classical and English. From an admirer, he became a votary, of the muses; and, in the year 1777, he published *Bagley Wood*, a poem. But poetry was not his element; and he had the good sense to consecrate his best energies to more substantial pursuits. In 1778, still before taking his degree, he edited *Burton's Pentalogia*—a work comprising five of the finest Greek tragedies, illustrated by annotations for the use of students. Burgess enriched his edition with an appendix of learned notes, and an improved Greek index. Such an undertaking by an under-graduate, although nothing very marvellous in itself, was an occurrence so remarkable, that it commanded great attention at Oxford and elsewhere, and procured for him the friendship of various learned men. In 1778, he took his Bachelor's degree, and afterwards commenced the preparation of a new edition of *Dawe's Miscellanea Critica*—a work of great erudition, which consists of critical disquisitions on the text of the Attic poets, comprising conjectural emendations, remarks on peculiarities of construction, dissertations on Greek metre, and inquiries into the properties of the *Æolic Digamma*—a letter, for the restoration of which to the Greek alphabet, we are indebted to the learning and acuteness of Dr. Bentley. This publication, under providence, was the pivot on which his ecclesiastical fortunes chiefly turned. He was thus brought under the notice of Mr.

Tyrwhitt, a gentleman, a scholar, a man of genius, a quick discerner, and a steadfast friend of modest worth. This person soon discovered the solid character and singular merit of the youthful Burgess; he devised means to enlarge his straitened circumstances, and he lost no opportunity of improving his fame and fortunes. In 1779, Burgess was a competitor for the Chancellor's Prize at Oxford, 'On the affinity between Poetry and Painting,' but without success, as the prize was carried away by Mr. Addington, now Lord Sidmouth, who, it will subsequently appear, thirty years afterwards procured him a bishopric. In the following year, however, he tried again, and was adjudged a victor.

From this time his circle of friends and of correspondents enlarged, and among them we find Lord Monboddo, a name well known in the learned world, and not less remarkable for genius than for eccentricity. We cannot withhold from our readers a criticism on style, which occurs in a letter of his lordship to Burgess, after the perusal of the *Pentalogia*.

'Since I came into the country, I have had time to go through your work, which, I think, is much improved in the second edition. I am glad to find that you compose in the true ancient taste, and have not got into that fashionable *short cut* of a style, first introduced by Sallust, and made worse by his imitator, Tacitus, who have been the model of French, and of a great deal of English writing, of late years. It is a style of writing that, I think, does not deserve the name of composition; and I would rather call it notes or memorandums for composing. But, abrupt and disjointed as it is, I like it better than such composition as Mr. Gibbon's, loaded with epithets altogether improper for prose, and generally concluding his sentences with two substantives, and each with its attendant epithet.'—p. 44.

In a letter from Edinburgh, dated 1783, we find his lordship laboring hard upon his favorite, though preposterous and ludicrous, theory of human nature. He thanks Burgess for his diligent inquiry concerning *Peter the Wild Boy*. His lordship then launches out in the following singular disquisition on the dignity of our origin, in which he shows that the highest reach of our knowledge of the philosophy of man amounts to this; man in his natural state is simply a beast, and the orang-outang 'is in a stage of human nature a little further advanced.' But let us hear the noble philosopher himself.

'As there is nothing I love so much as knowledge, you could hardly have obliged me more; and I am glad to find that, at the same time, you have gratified your own curiosity,—which, I see, rises to higher objects than that of those who call themselves philosophers, in this age.

These gentlemen are very curious about the Natural History of Plants and Animals, even of the lowest kind ; but the Natural History of their own species has no charms at all for them : and yet I maintain that, without knowing the Natural History of Man,—that is, what sort of animal he is in his natural state,—it is impossible to have any true knowledge of the Philosophy of Man, which, like every other philosophy, ought to be deduced from facts. I will venture to affirm, that, by your visit to *Peter*, you have enlarged your ideas of our species, and acquired a truer knowledge of it than is to be acquired from all the modern books put together, that have been written upon the subject. The people that have not those enlarged views of the species, and cannot conceive the progress of man from a mere animal to an intellectual creature, will not believe but that *Peter* is an idiot. But this opinion, I think, one half of the facts you have related, are sufficient to confute. And if a man has studied so much of the nature of language as to know that articulation is the most difficult art among men, he will not be surprised that a savage who never practised articulation till he was fifteen years of age, should have learned so little of it as *Peter* has done ; though, from what you told me, his vocabulary is much larger than I thought it had been.

‘ The next thing to be inquired concerning him, and what is of still greater importance, is, to know the state he was in when he was caught ; for this we have nothing, at present, but the information of newspapers, which I have collected, and which all agree in this—that, in the year 1725, he was caught in a wood in Hanover, called Home-lin, going on all four, and feeding on whatever he could get in the woods ; and particularly they mention the leaves and bark of trees ; and what you have heard concerning his way of subsisting in his travels, when he ran away, so far confirms this account of his diet in the woods. Sir Joseph Banks, at my desire, has applied to a Hanoverian baron, whom he names, to collect all the accounts that can be got of him in that country. His going upon all four, any more than his feeding upon wild fruits, needs no confirmation with me ; as I hold it is impossible he could have walked otherwise, if he was exposed before he had learned to walk erect ; and, accordingly, all the solitary savages that have been found in different parts of Europe, in the several centuries before this, of whom I have given an account in the first volume of the ‘ *Origin of Language*, ’ were all quadrupeds. But this, as well as a man subsisting upon vegetables not prepared by fire, must appear incredible to those whose notions of the human species are so confined, as to believe that man was always in the state we now see him in, at present, in Europe. I am sorry you can hear no more of the gentleman from Africa, who knew something of the orang-outang. He resembles very much what *Peter* was ; only he is in a stage of human nature a little further advanced,—for he walks upright, uses a stick for a weapon, builds huts, and lives in some kind of society ; and, being born of parents that have been wild since the beginning of the world, he is very much stronger and bigger than *Peter* ever was, who certainly is come of parents such as we are,—but being

exposed very early, and leading a savage life till he was fifteen, I do not wonder at what you tell me of his being so much stronger and nimbler than the men of this country.'—pp. 73—76.

In the summer of 1782, Mr. Burgess was appointed tutor of Corpus, and held the office till 1791. In 1784, he was ordained both to deacon's and to priest's orders, by Dr. Cornwall, Bishop of Winchester. These events, and the employments which ensued consequent upon them, gave a new direction to his studies, and even led to more seriousness of disposition. About this time, too, or shortly after, he betook himself with much assiduity to the study of Hebrew. Still, however, he seemed very much at home, when chin-deep amid the coarse engagements of this lower world. About the beginning of 1785, we find him taking an active part in the formation of an agricultural society in Odiham. But this institution was of such a character that, without much incongruity, an enlightened ecclesiastic might well take a deep interest both in its establishment and in its operations. It had not merely a scientific, but also a moral bearing; for, while it sought to advance the knowledge of its members in matters of rural economy, it offered premiums for useful discoveries and improvements, and rewards to servants for good and faithful service, and promoted the establishment of Sabbath and day schools.

We have now arrived at an important period of the life of Mr. Burgess. On May 2, 1785, he received a note from Bishop Barrington requesting him to meet his lordship at the Star Inn, Oxford, on the Thursday following. He kept his appointment, and soon ascertained the purpose of the arrangement. The uncourtly scholar makes a very awkward figure on the occasion, and rather resembles a lady in her teens to whom a gentleman has proposed a very serious question, than a hard-headed student, or a man of business. His own account is the following:

'Upon the day specified, I received the promised message, and went to the Star, where I found him with Mrs. Barrington and Mrs. Kennicott. He conducted me into another room, seated himself opposite to me, and at once made me an offer, expressed in the kindest terms, of his chaplaincy. I was really so unprepared for the offer, and so surprised by it, that, to use a homely expression, it struck me all of a heap, and I could make no reply, but sat before him mute as a statue. Many persons would have concluded that I could be no better than an idiot, but he penetrated the real cause of my embarrassment, and after a short pause, rising up, said, he trusted he might construe my silence into consent; he then proposed to introduce me to the two ladies in the adjoining room, whither I followed him.'

—p. 99.

Mr. Burgess, in his new relation—which was largely the

result of the friendship of Mr. Tyrwhitt—enjoyed for a long period much satisfaction, and many opportunities for doing good. The bishop was deeply intent on establishing Sunday-schools in his diocese, and found a zealous instrument in his chaplain. They went forward together in their ecclesiastical operations with great harmony, till one day the prelate so far forgot his habitual courtesy, that he reproved his chaplain in rather unmeasured terms on the ground of some trivial occurrence, at which Mrs. Barrington had taken needless umbrage. The modest chaplain sat and heard all in perfect silence, and shortly after, quitting the room, he ordered his horse, and rode off to Oxford, leaving the bishop, when cool and at leisure, to ponder the cause of his chaplain's absence. A generous spirit soon became its own accuser; the bishop sat down, and with the utmost candor and kindness, wrote a letter of apology which amply atoned for the temporary wrong. Harmony was at once restored, and it never after suffered a moment's interruption.

We have now to record a fact which deserves to be had in remembrance. At a time when slavery was rampant, and the friends of abolition were few, although powerful, Mr. Burgess stood forth the strenuous and enlightened advocate of the oppressed negro. So early as 1789, he came forth with a treatise entitled 'Considerations on the Abolition of Slavery, and the 'Slave-trade, upon grounds of Natural, Religious, and Political 'Duty.' This publication was very seasonable; and, coming from such a quarter, it was read by many with less prejudice than would otherwise have attached to such a work. The London Abolition Committee, sensible of the value of his services, passed a vote of thanks to him, which was transmitted by the late Bennet Langton, Esq. It deserves also to be noted, that the proposition of Mr. Burgess so early as 1789, was in exact accordance, in its general provisions, with that ultimately adopted by the British parliament.

From the year 1790, our sphere of vision enlarges before us, and the subject of this work presents a daily more interesting aspect and attitude. In this year he preached his famous sermon before the University of Oxford, entitled 'The Divinity of 'Christ, proved from his own Declarations attested and interpreted by his living Witnesses the Jews,' The ground of his argument in this ingenious discourse may be thus stated. On divers occasions our Saviour uses language respecting his own nature and attributes, which, interpreted according to the acknowledged and established rules of criticism, amounts to nothing less than the assertion of his divinity, and of his equality with the Father. If the slightest doubt could be entertained whether his words are to be interpreted in this their plain and obvious sense, that doubt is completely removed by

the testimony of his Jewish hearers, who, being familiar with the same customs as himself, intimately conversant with their own native phraseology and idiom, in which he addressed them, and fully alive to all the circumstances of time, place, and occasion, were much better judges of the sense which his words conveyed, than even the most learned and critical scholars of modern times. Now the language and conduct of the Jews, on the occasions alluded to, demonstrate that they understood him in this high and peculiar sense ; for the historian represents them not only as burning with the fiercest indignation at the supposed blasphemy of the claim, but as attempting to inflict on him, in consequence, the summary punishment directed by the law of Moses against offenders in respect of this crime. The preacher urges his argument from John viii. 57—59, compared with Exodus iii. 14 ; v. 18, 23 ; x. 33, 36, 38 ; xix. 7. Mark xiv. 55, 56 ; xiv. 60—64. pp. 137—141.

Upon the death of Dr. Thurlow, Bishop of Durham, in 1791, Dr. Shute Barrington was translated from Salisbury to the vacant see. This led Burgess to resign his office of tutor of Corpus, that he might follow the fortunes of his patron, who, in the course of 1794, gave the first stall that became at his disposal to his faithful chaplain, and, before the close of the same year, exchanged it for another of greater value. On this occasion the bishop addressed his chaplain in the following characteristic terms.

‘ It may be matter of doubt, my dear Burgess, whether you derive more pleasure from your preferment, or I from having bestowed it. The thanks of both are due to a gracious providence ; from me, that it has given me the power of rewarding distinguished and unassuming merit ; from you, that you have been the object of my choice. You have obtained the comforts which flow from ease and independence ; I, those which result from the consciousness of having acted right ; from the credit of my appointment ; and from the friendship which this connexion has produced between us, and which I value among the happy circumstances of my life. Be that life long or short, may I, during the remainder of it, never forget that patronage is a trust to be rendered subservient to the great interests of religion and learning.’
—pp. 172, 173.

Ease and honor, however, and the luxuries of wealth and station, failed to impart solid satisfaction to the mind of Mr. Burgess, who sighed for retirement and an opportunity of more complete consecration to the duties of the Christian ministry. In furtherance of his object he solicited the bishop to bestow upon him the living of Houghton, then vacant, and to permit the relinquishment of the prebendal stall, and the chaplaincy. ‘ You shall have it,’ replied his lordship, ‘ but you must now, in

'your turn, do me a favor. You must give it me back again; you shall have a living, but it must be one which will not dissolve our connexion, nor sever you from Durham.' The bishop understood the business of a good churchman much better than the chaplain; he considered the acceptance and holding of a living quite compatible with the stall and the chaplaincy; and according, in 1795, he gave him the rectorship of Winston—a place so famous for its beauty that Arthur Young declares it is worth going a thousand miles to see; and the editor of the *Beauties of England and Wales* expresses his surprise that an incumbent, once in possession, should ever resign it for any other situation under the sun. In this new capacity he seems to have acted in such a manner as to obtain the character of a good 'parish priest'—a character, in that day, easily acquired.

Mr. Burgess, now in the forty-third year of his age, and with three ample sources of revenue, began at last to think of matrimony, and set his affections on a Miss Bright, a lady of an ancient Yorkshire family. The knot was tied by the bishop, who knew his chaplain's want of all worldly wisdom, and conjecturing that he had probably made no provision at Winston Parsonage—whither the wedded pair were immediately to proceed—sent over an ample supply of delicacies to await their arrival. Just as they were about to drive off, the prelate amused himself by probing the fact. 'You have, no doubt, taken good care to provide everything in the best manner for Mrs. Burgess's reception at Winston?' The chaplain started at the question, and confessed it had never occurred to him. The bishop told them it was all right.

Burgess and Dr. Paley often met at Auckland Castle, the bishop's residence; and he frequently amused himself with contrasting the open-heartedness and honest simplicity of the doctor's manners and conversation with the obsequious complaisance of some of the guests. He gives the following example. Mrs. Barrington was one day discoursing in very glowing terms about the happiness of a certain married couple, whose days, according to her ladyship, passed in perpetual harmony, so entirely did they concur on all subjects. The ready sycophants, one after another, exclaimed, 'How delightful! How enviable!' But the great moralist was silent. Mrs. Barrington could not stand it, and thus addressed him: 'Dr. Paley, what do you say to it?' The doctor, in his own characteristic manner, replied, 'Mighty flat, madam;' an expression which implied a principle that upset the discussion on connubial bliss. p. 201.

We now approach an eventful period in the life of Burgess. He had already taken his degree of B.D., and in 1803, on his way to London, he stopped at Oxford, and took that of D.D.

During his stay in town, the Bishop of Durham told him that Mr. Addington, then premier, had a few days before said to him, in the course of conversation, 'I wonder Burgess does not call on me; I was with him both at Winchester and Oxford.' The bishop, who well understood 'the tide in the affairs of men,' and also how to take it at the flood, if men would be led on to fortune, told his chaplain, and pressed his attendance on the prime minister. But the modest man recoiled, and without calling, returned to Durham. Some days after his arrival, he casually mentioned the fact to his wife, who, with the cunning perception that often distinguishes the sex, at once saw the bearing of the matter, and exclaimed, 'Then, of course, you called in Downing Street.' The chaplain replied in the negative, and the mortified wife yielded a tacit acquiescence. The supposed mistake, however, was soon rectified. About a fortnight afterwards the post arrived on a certain day, and among other letters brought one franked by Mr. Addington. It ran thus:

' Downing Street, June 5, 1803.

' SIR,

' Though we have been separated almost thirty years, I have not, let me assure you, been a stranger to the excellence of your private character, nor to your exertions for the interests of learning and of religion; and I have been anxious that your services should be still further noticed and distinguished, and your sphere of being useful enlarged. These considerations, alone, have led me to mention you to his majesty as the successor of the late Lord George Murray, in the diocese of St. David's, and I am happy to say that his majesty has entirely approved of the recommendation. It will not be expected that you should relinquish your prebend in the cathedral church of Durham.

' I have the honor to be, with true esteem,

' Sir,

' Your most obedient and faithful servant,

' HENRY ADDINGTON.

' To the Rev. Dr. Burgess.'

Few episcopal creations have been more honorable than this to all concerned. It is obvious that party politics had little, if anything at all, to do with the business. The act was one which will ever redound to the credit of the premier, and likewise to that of his royal master. Dr. Burgess hesitated at first, and felt disposed to decline the offer; at length, however, the mitre prevailed, and the humble chaplain ascended the episcopal bench. When he attended the levee to do homage, George the Third, with that accurate recollection of incidents in the lives of his subjects for which he was so remarkable, paid him

the following just and elegant compliment. 'You were chaplain, I believe, to the Bishop of Durham, twenty years ago, when he was Bishop of Salisbury?' 'Yes, please your majesty.' 'I thought so; I remember his saying he went to Oxford to select the person best qualified to serve him in that capacity, and that he fixed on you. It was equally honorable to you both.'—p. 209.

The lengthened connexion of Dr. Burgess with Bishop Barrington had sufficed to bring him into a perfect acquaintance with the general routine of episcopal life and duty. He, therefore, entered with great advantage upon his new functions; at the commencement of his career he proceeded not to make experiments but to act upon principles already known and familiar to him. He began with that quiet energy which at all times, and in all undertakings, distinguished him. According to our author, 'His life was divided between the active discharge of his episcopal duties and the laborious pursuits of an author and a scholar. Early and late he was employed with his books and his pen: the dawn of day beheld him at his labors, whether in grappling with difficult theological questions, or composing catechisms for children, or instructions for his clergy; and the midnight oil was not spared in the prosecution of these important objects.'—p. 219. He found his see in a very neglected condition; it had, indeed, long been considered as a mere stepping-stone to preferment—a circumstance ever fatal to the conception, and still more to the prosecution, of well digested plans of improvement. Clerical education and ecclesiastical discipline were in a condition equally lamentable. To rectify the abounding evils, his first step was to form a society for promoting Christian knowledge and church union in the diocese of St. David's. Its objects were to distribute Bibles, Common Prayer-books, and religious tracts in Welsh and English, at reduced prices, or gratis, among the poor; to establish libraries for the use of the clergy of the diocese; to facilitate the means of education to young men intended for the ministry of the Church of England in the diocese; to encourage the establishment of English schools for the benefit of the poor; to promote the institution of Sunday-schools; and to form a fund for the relief of superannuated curates. This excellent project was attended with complete success. He began at the proper quarter with respect to finance—at home. He urged all who partook of the patrimony of the Church to contribute a tenth of one year's income of their benefices to the fund for clerical education. He pressed the point with emphatic solemnity as follows: 'The patrimony of the Church is an awful subject to those who consider for what purposes it was endowed with the temporalities which it possesses. The laborer is certainly

‘worthy of his hire; they that serve at the altar have a right, no doubt, to live by the altar; but it would be well for every incumbent to balance carefully the emoluments he has received with the good he has done; and to remember that Church benefices were intended for the support of religion, and for the honor of the Church, not to confer worldly superfluities and luxuries on individuals, nor for the enrichment of their families.’ p. 232. How desirable had it been to deliver a monthly homily, in a similar strain, upon the same subject to his former patron, the Bishop of Durham! In that event, probably, the documents in Doctors’ Commons might have told a tale somewhat more in unison with those principles which ought to govern a bishop of an ‘apostolic church.’

Bishop Burgess took but little interest in political matters generally; the subject which chiefly called him out was that of catholic emancipation, to which he was a most determined opponent. He was quite unfitted for the arena of politics; the few exhibitions which he made in the House of Lords cost him an incredible sacrifice of feeling; he had none of that valor of spirit and vigorous fluency which, combined with mighty intellect, distinguished Horsley, and which, in him, illumined all subjects, awed all spirits, and crushed all opposition. The bishop cherished kindly feelings towards the Bible Society, the Church Missionary Society, and the London Society for the Conversion of the Jews; and he was a zealous promoter of the Madras system of education. But his library and his diocese were his chosen retreats, and there he solaced his spirit with the luxuries of literature and of benevolence. From an early period his whole heart was bent upon the establishment of a collegiate institution for the education of young men, of limited means, for the ministry. While engaged in raising funds for this great object, he was also adopting means for augmenting the revenue of St. David’s, that his successors might be under less temptation to remove, and that the see might be rescued from the calamities of frequent change. We have already seen him lecturing his clergy on the duty of liberality; we shall now behold him setting a noble example. After eighteen years of patient preparation, the college was on the eve of foundation, and just previous to that great event the bishop adopted a course which formed a most suitable prelude, and which was well adapted to stimulate the benevolence which was necessary to the accomplishment of the object. Upon his entrance on the see of St. David’s, its annual produce was only about £1200; the palace was ill built, and there were divers local drawbacks on the income. His prebendal stall at Durham, however, served to eke out the deficiency, and he was thus enabled to maintain the dignity of his station with tolerable decency. Under

these circumstances he devised the following method of improving the revenue.

Before the act vi. and vii. of William IV. cap. 77, was passed, the revenues of bishoprics mainly arose from fines accruing upon the renewal of lives on leases of the episcopal estates, occasionally amounting to very large sums. These fines he determined to relinquish on certain estates best adapted to the purpose that he had in view, and to run his own life, which he had reason to believe was a good one, against the remaining life or lives on them, till they should all fall in, when he proposed to annex the estates, by act of parliament, in perpetuity to the see. He calculated, that, in all human probability, he should finally secure to his successors, by this sacrifice, a liberal income, and thus lessen their inducements to seek translation; and as he had no desire to obtain it for himself, he saw his way clearly to the entire completion of his plan. In the year 1822, several of the leases having expired, and others being likely soon to fall in, he gave the finishing stroke to his design by the introduction to parliament of a bill restraining himself and all future bishops of St. David's from again letting out on lives the estates enumerated in the act, which were thus permanently annexed to the see, and have doubled its income. The value of the fines, which the bishop thus sacrificed, was estimated at upwards of £30,000. Such is the fact, according to Mr. Harford, who has thought it decent, and felt it safe, to make that fact the ground of a lecture to Protestant Dissenters.

‘Let those in the ranks of nonconformity,’ says he, ‘who have been used to think of bishops as secular, selfish persons, bent chiefly on personal or family aggrandizement, follow this prelate through his whole career; let them especially contemplate this bright display of every opposite quality, and hence learn to discard those blind and systematic prejudices in which they are too prone to indulge against the heads of our ecclesiastical establishment.’—p. 326.

Does Mr. Harford really confide in his own assumption respecting nonconformists? Does he sincerely believe, that one sensible and well informed man among their ‘ranks’ was ever accustomed to indulge such thoughts respecting the bishops? Will he deny to them the capacity of inquiring into facts, and sifting evidence, and the integrity essential to a just conclusion? With these intellectual and moral attributes, and with the religious and political history of the bishops’ bench before them for several generations, how could nonconformists ever entertain the notion that even one of their lawn-sleeved lordships was either ‘secular,’ ‘selfish,’ or at all ‘bent on personal or family aggrandizement?’ The idea is utterly preposterous! This

subject is enveloped in no mystery; it admits of being surveyed from many points; and it may be scrutinized to its very core! Civil and ecclesiastical history, biography, courts of law and of equity, the debates and votes in Parliament, the civil list, the army and navy lists, the personal observation and experience of multitudes, the whole frame of society,—all concur with one voice to attest the purity, the simplicity, the disinterestedness, the official industry, and apostolic spirit and practice of the heads of the ecclesiastical establishment! But seriously,—for this is a serious subject,—was there ever simplicity equal to that of J. S. Harford, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S.? Let our readers look back to his homily, and analyze it. He very coolly, with the utmost self-complaisance, and with all the confidence of a man of science stating an axiom, requests us to identify or confound a part with the whole, an individual with a multitude, and to concede to every member of the mitred fraternity, whatever may be justly claimed for Bishop Burgess! We are called to gaze upon this paragon of prelatical excellence till our eye is dazzled, and our imagination captivated, and then we are to set about our lesson—we are to ‘learn to discard those blind and ‘systematic prejudices in which’ we ‘are too prone to indulge ‘against the heads of the establishment!’ Such is the counsel of John Harford, Esq. Now, according to the adage, one good deed deserves another; we, in our turn, would humbly tender a word of counsel to our ecclesiastical corrector. Should it be his lot to enter again on the field of episcopal biography, we advise him to keep to his text, and not to hazard episodes which may lead to the implication either of his integrity or of his intelligence. The insolent exhortation on which we are commenting is defensible only on one of two grounds: either his position is true or it is false; if true, it requires no other plea of justification; if false, he knew it to be so, or he did not; if he did not, where is his learning? if he did, where is his honour?

Leaving St. David's, we must next notice the translation of Bishop Burgess from that see to Salisbury. This step surprised many, and grieved not a few. After reprobating translation from St. David's, and devising means to render it unnecessary, the unworldly prelate, at the mature age of sixty-eight, packed up his goods and chattels, and proceeded on a pilgrimage to the palace of Salisbury. Mr. Harford seems somewhat troubled about this business. The most substantial reason that he assigns for this important step, was the rheumatism of Mrs. Burgess; perhaps, however, another inducement arose from the fact that Poll the parrot, who was ‘fond of the warm atmosphere of the kitchen,’ like his mitred lord preferred to the humidity of Abergwilly the higher atmosphere of Salisbury, and ‘delighted’ in its cathedral, ‘and in the bowery walks

‘which skirt the precincts of that majestic and elegant fane.’ After all that Mr. Harford has said, it is clear to our minds that one of the bishop’s maxims was, that ‘it is never too late to do well.’

Time, which ruptures the tenderest ties of the dearest friends, terminated the long career of Bishop Barrington, in the ninety-third year of his age. This was a stroke which Bishop Burgess deeply felt. The patriarchal prelate had given orders that his funeral should be strictly private, and, accordingly, none but the executors were invited to attend. When the day arrived for the transfer of the body to Mangewell for interment, Bishop Burgess was seen, between six and seven in the morning, slowly pacing up and down the pavement at a short distance from the house of his departed friend; and as the hearse moved from the door he watched its mournful progress till it ceased to be visible, and then he returned in pensive meditation to his own home.

Among the various things which we feel bound to except against in the volume before us, is a long, dull, and dangerous dissertation on the subject of Confirmation. Mr. Harford asserts that upon this ‘scriptural and apostolic rite,’ ‘there cannot be any diversity of opinion among those who duly consider its meaning, and the effects which may be expected to follow it’ (p. 436). Of these alleged ‘effects’ some idea may be formed from the words of Bishop Burgess, as quoted by Mr. Harford. When the latter had been commiserating the bishop on the exertion required to confirm seven or eight hundred persons in one morning, the purport of his answer was always thus expressed:—‘Be assured that the lively interest which I take in a rite every way so affecting, and of such vast importance to the spiritual welfare of so many of Christ’s ‘little ones,’ precludes any feeling of personal inconvenience. God grant that the ceremony (however imperfectly I may have performed it) may be blessed to them, and that there may have been vouchsafed to them, through me, a portion of that heavenly grace, which shall enable them ‘to continue his for ever.’’ We turn from this popish delusion to Mrs. Hannah More, to record in our pages the following criticism from her pen on the writings of Horsley. In a letter to Lewis Way, she says—

‘My taste is so—shall I say spoilt, or raised—by the old divinity, that a large proportion of the new does not gratify my palate. It has, however, been gratified in a high degree by Bishop Horsley’s Sermons. They exhibit, in no ordinary degree, genius, profound thinking, originality, sagacity in penetrating and unfolding an obscure text, pellucid clearness in conveying it, general soundness of doctrine, deep learning displayed with better taste than in the old divines, not by

‘loading the text, or crowding the margin, but by its results, in making his page more luminous, and his exposition more scriptural. There are some faults arising from his naturally irascible temper and a want of spirituality.’

We now approach the close of the life of Bishop Burgess. On June 16, 1835, while holding a confirmation in the parish church of Warminster, during the service he sunk down of a sudden, from a slight attack of apoplexy; but he soon recovered from the effects of this visitation, and was able to read and to enjoy the society of his friends. His Lordship's last days, we are sorry to find, were much embittered by the Dissenters' ‘attempts to excite bitter feelings of hostility against the Established Church. The very different spirit, or rather the cordial respect and attachment manifested towards it, at this critical juncture, by the Wesleyan-Methodists, called forth his marked commendation, and he spoke with much esteem of that community of Christians’ (p. 504). Amid the infirmities which such language betrays, there were not wanting noble traits of character which deserve to be held in lasting remembrance. He did what few bishops have ever done, and he purposed even more than he was allowed to perform. He bequeathed to St. David's College his valuable library consisting of ten thousand volumes, to which he likewise added a sum of money to promote the same object. Feeling himself incapable of discharging efficiently the duties of his office, he requested permission to resign his bishopric; but was informed that such a resignation was, on many grounds, inadmissible. It had been a serious matter, indeed, to have set such an example, and to have established such a precedent!

The days of the venerable Bishop being nearly ended, he became more and more alive to the claims of the eternal world. His conversations with his friends were of a nature that became his situation, calculated equally to instruct, to edify, and to impress. In the autumn of 1836, he became seriously indisposed; his illness increased till, on the 19th of February, 1837, he gently breathed his last.

Thus we have recorded the principal facts in the history of Bishop Burgess, and we are now in circumstances to form an estimate of his character. As a scholar, his learning was extensive and various, and, on certain subjects, of considerable depth. He was rather, however, a man of literature than of science, and as a divine he was, upon the whole, superficial. His element was slight skirmishing with small antagonists, on matters of evidence rather than of doctrine. He was, however, in the main, sound in his views of gospel truth, but there was little of either depth or power in his evangelical conceptions. There was a great defect of sap and savour in his pastoral

ministrations, although, we think, quite as much of both as falls to the lot of most of our modern evangelical bishops. His own personal religion appears to have harmonized with his system—it was cold and dry, a thing which had much more to do with the intellect than with the affections. Indeed the extensive favor which he enjoyed with Bishop Barrington, and the very lengthened and intimate connexion which obtained between him and that politic prelate, *alone* suffice to demonstrate that his views of gospel truth must have been of a very moderate, if not of a mitigated description, and that his evangelical tastes were not very exquisite. Auckland Castle would soon have closed its gates on Thomas Scott. As an ecclesiastic we have seen much in him to commend, and something to admire; taken altogether he was one of the best men of his order that has appeared in our times.

What shall we say of his biographer? Shall we praise him? We praise him not! Mr. Harford is either chargeable with negligence or with presumption. If he possesses the requisite qualifications for this undertaking, he has not exerted them; if he does not, propriety required his abstinence. The life of an English bishop who lived in the days of Burgess is a great subject,—a subject which requires no ordinary understanding, cultivation, knowledge, and charity—points in all of which we hold our author to be defective. The volume is loose, superficial, and ill put together. From the beginning to the end there is not a single important thought, nor one original observation,—all is poor, flat, and common place. The style—if style it can be designated—is that of an easy gentleman of fortune who reads little, thinks less, and seldom writes anything. We can, indeed, gather from the volume that he is the proprietor of more than one ‘estate;’ and we are glad to find that such is the case; for we are quite satisfied that the rod and the gun rather than the pen are the instruments appropriate to the hands of Mr. Harford. The fact, moreover, relieves our judgment from those restraints, which our feelings might have otherwise imposed, had the comfort of his household depended on his literary labours, and has left us at full liberty to pronounce an honest verdict.

Art. IV. *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece.* By K. O. MÜLLER, Professor in the University of Gottingen. Vol. I. Published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. 1840.

THIS is the first volume of a work, composed by the accomplished author expressly for the Society which has laid it before the English public. The translation has been executed under the direction of the Society, and the greater part has had the advantage of the author's revision; and this, before it has appeared in its native land and language. We had at first intended to wait for the appearance of the second volume, before calling our readers' attention to this; but a fuller consideration has shown us adequate reasons, as we think, for treating this volume as a complete whole in itself. It embraces the Greek literature from its commencement until the close of the ancient tragedy; Euripides being the last author extant on whom any criticism is put forth. Now, whether by design of the learned professor or otherwise, it so happens that this is a remarkable era, separating the poetical from the philosophical and rhetorical age of Greek; so that our present volume might be entitled 'Greek Poetry,' with the exception of the imaginative and half poetical storyteller Herodotus. None of the older philosophers survive to us. It is true, that a few minor writers remain for the next volume, and one more original, yet decidedly inferior poet, the Sicilian Theocritus. But all the nobler and higher minds belong to the earlier period which is now brought before our notice.

It is natural to inquire whether the history of Greece Proper, as transmitted to us, enables us to account for the sudden failure of their poetry. The last poet, Euripides, is often a mere philosopher in disguise; while his contemporary, Thucydides, is the earliest philosophic historian. The school of Socrates at the same time arose; and the orators, beginning from Antiphon, Lysias, and Andocides, are more or less preserved to us. Had any poets worth preserving existed after Euripides, their works could not have been lost.

The history assuredly does give us much insight into the matter; for the era of the last-named tragedian is the celebrated Peloponnesian war against Athens, B.C. 431—404. The intellect of Greece had been growing apace, and that of Athens was well nigh ripe for the most manly discussions; a fact which we may learn from contemplating the mind of Thucydides; who was in his prime, as he tells us, when the war broke out, 431 years before the Christian era. The Grecian communities of Asia

Minor and of Italy, had a considerable start of Greece Proper in every element of civilization ; and with them, accordingly, philosophy and prose-composition also began at an earlier period. But although the growth of the national mind will account for the germination of philosophy, this will not account for the cessation of poetry. We know by the example of modern nations that there is no connexion whatever between the two things. A philosophic age produces poetry of different tone from that which a less mature society pours forth ; but it need not be less sweet, less fervid, less imaginative, less natural. We must look to the Peloponnesian war itself as the fatal cause which dried up the springs of genial feeling in Greece, and hereby blighted her poetic powers. As we are not aware that this subject has been anywhere made prominent, we propose here to develop somewhat the bearing of the facts in this relation.

The *moral* effects of the war are portrayed in terrific colors by the sober-minded Thucydides ; and we know no reason to suppose that he has overcharged his narrative. It was no mere contest against a foreign foe ; it was a civil war coming home to every man's hearth. The contest lay nominally between Athens and Sparta ; really between democracy and aristocracy : and every state in Greece had within its own bosom opposite parties, each ready to betray the general independence for the triumph of its own side. The members of one family would often be found in arms against each other : and where otherwise, yet the kinsman was less intimate than the thoroughgoing and unscrupulous partisan. The factions treated each other with merciless rigor, not seeking merely the political depression of their adversaries, but thirsting for their life-blood. The beaten party, if not exterminated, escaped to foreign towns, and watched an opportunity to return, by plots, by assassinations, or by open marching against their own state, perhaps in the ranks of the public enemy. All Greece swarmed with exiles ; who, from inability to gain any other livelihood, were soon glad to sell their swords to the highest bidder : so that the system of mercenary soldiery now gained rapid extension ; one mark of which is presently seen in the large use of Greek troops by Persian princes, beginning with Cyrus the younger. This convulsion was not confined to continental Greece. In the course of the war, the islands and the coast of Asia were involved in the same calamities. In Argos, Corinth and Thebes, like tumults arose at its termination : Lacedemon only seemed to be free.

As for Athens, her case was peculiar. The policy of the splendid Pericles may be palliated by alleging that he had the choice of difficulties, but it cannot be defended. The charges of

Plato against him for his depravation of the Athenian character,* appear to have the substance of truth. It was no light matter to pay a petty stipend to a poor man for attendance in the courts; a measure which we think the strongest modern democrats would condemn. But the effect of assembling the inhabitants of an entire province within the walls of a single city, must be obviously so disastrous, that the statesman who could *overlook* it, would possess little discernment. That dreadful disease should occur, might have been anticipated as certain. The entire change of habits for all the country people; the loss of many articles of habitual diet, and the unwholesome substitutes to which they would resort; the want of houseroom, indeed of all houses soever, while so many thousands lived in booths and temple-porches; or, as the comic poet says,

‘ Eight years
‘ In barrels, vulture-nests, and sentry-boxes ;

these things must inevitably have occasioned an awful mortality. But the reality was worse than could have been foreseen. Pestilence proceeding from Egypt, touched on some other places, and alighted at Athens. As a bird of prey that has found the plumpest carcass, there it fixed, and gorged itself with carnage. The demoralizing influences of this scourge were worse than the loss of life it caused. Men felt all bonds to be loosed, which before had restrained them: hope and fear, law, custom, and religion, were all powerless to restrain debauchery and mad revelry: all shame of man and fear of God, says the historian, departed. If such a wound to Athenian morals could have been soon healed, the circumstances of the war continuing forbade it. The people, shut up within the city, had no honest mode of gaining a livelihood. They needed to live by plunder of the allies; by fees at the court; by iniquitous judgments, and by taxing the rich. The historian Mitford would ascribe to Pericles all the good, and to the Athenians themselves all that was bad in their character: to reverse the statement would be nearer the truth. It is childish to declaim against the cupidity, frivolity, love of news and of discussion, in a nation so situated: no other result could have been expected. It is on the contrary a high credit to Athens, that though she suffered cruelly from her oligarchal factions, her streets never streamed with civil contest, and the triumphs of her democracy were far milder than in any other city of Greece which had suffered the ordeal of this

* ‘ That he made the Athenians lazy, cowardly, loquacious, and covetous,’ —Müller, p. 284.

war ; nay, the celebrated word *amnesty* was invented by her, for her own use, at the final expulsion of the Thirty.

But although her last war of freedom against these tyrants helped to restore her national spirit, it was impossible to replace Athenian habits, morals and feelings, as they had been before. Athens had learnt to love the claptrap of rhetoric, to delight in sophistical disputes or in the counter pleadings of advocates. The mysterious halo that once encircled the city of Pallas, was no longer powerful on the imagination : belief in the national religion had vanished from cultivated minds ; mere moral strains could have little interest for those who now demanded proof and logical analysis. The few minds which solitude and a higher education might have set apart from the mass, were probably too often disaffected with the state, like Plato and Xenophon, and wholly void of enthusiastic feeling for anything which of old kindled Athenian hearts. On the whole, it is not wonderful that neither Attica, nor all Ionia, nor the Æolic provinces can after this era boast of a bard : and as for true Dorians, they were always deficient in literary genius.

It is clearly made out that Greece attained very nearly the summit of her intellect, without any material effect produced by prose literature. Assuredly the ample intercourse of mind with mind in public business and general society, was highly efficient in making up for the want of reading ; but compared with the moderns, their knowledge was of necessity very superficial, and their vivacious intellects could easily be led astray. For our present task we propose to consider, as well as we can find out, what was the nature and amount* of the ethical nutriment afforded to a contemporary and fellow-citizen of Thucydides. In this inquiry we have no small materials laid before us,—elaborately dissected, and expounded *con amore*,—in the excellent work of Professor Müller. His zealous devotion to the Greek literature and his intimate familiarity with all the fragmentary portions and notices of lost writers, are very apparent. Everything which a writer can do, he has done, for making an English reader take interest in details about Greek metre, music and actors ; and if much of this sort is still tiresome, it must be imputed to the subject. Like most of his countrymen, he appears to consider the imaginative works of the Greeks as in themselves valuable ; nor does he make their moral bearing quite so prominent as we could wish. We allow that intellectual development is a good in itself, since every part of human nature was intended by its Author to be perfected ; but as the

* We take no notice of Herodotus, because it is hard to say little of such a writer.

glory of Christianity is in the subordination of all besides to that which is moral, so we can neither help, nor desire to help, valuing the productions of the Greek *chiefly* as they indicate an approach towards Christian truth. We are the more disposed on this occasion to take a view principally ethical of the earlier Greek literature, because it is not long since we dwelt somewhat largely on Athenian Tragedy in other relations.

The first and most celebrated of Greek poets (following, it is to be supposed, the feeling of his contemporaries), placed religion within the sphere of mere imagination. A few, very few, moral notions mingle with it; but it has been often observed that the Homeric gods are more wicked than men. To study the progress of the Greeks in throwing off these scandalous conceptions, to trace the expansion of moral feeling, and the direction of it into the channel of religion; this is to us the highest contemplation of which the subject admits, and one to which mere questions of taste are infinitely subordinate. We do not mean to find fault with our professor for writing on literature and not on theology: nay, we gladly accept his many notices of the very kind which we desire. A classical student will also be thankful to find numerous technical details here expounded, which could else only be gleaned at the expense of much labor.

The professor's rapid sketch of the relation of the Greek language to other known tongues, and his racy notices of the earliest Greek religion and poetry will be read with much interest. Their earliest mythology was more oriental than the later, having very much in common with Asia Minor and Syria; yet the Grecians (observes he) ever held the just conception of one supreme deity, the god of the heavens, called Zeus; a word which beyond a doubt contains the two ideas of *heaven* and *day*. The queen of heaven, whom we name Juno* from the Latins, was originally a personification of the earth, as several of her names (Hera, Demeter) show. Various physiological speculations were at the bottom of the primitive mythology, which was to receive a singular distortion from the poetical genius of Homer, or from the fancy of the Achaïan tribes to whom his verses were sung.

It is with his works that we suddenly enter the full stream of Grecian literature, and are carried into an ocean of discussion. In Germany the topics of controversy have been so perseveringly sifted, that our professor evidently thinks it needless to go into their details himself. He gives, however, a summary of the reasons for believing that the epic poems were perpetuated by

* *Junoni* for Διώνη or Ζηνώνη—the feminine of Δις or Ζεύς.

memory alone, and by oral tradition ; a fact of which (he declares), 'after the researches of various scholars, especially of 'Wood and Wolf, no one can doubt.' He argues that the power of remembering poems so lengthy, would not be counted a marvel, had not the faculty of memory in modern civilized nations been so much weakened by the use of writing. The great superiority of Homer to all his predecessors, caused the gradual loss of their compositions ; and this attests the vast influence which he exerted on the national intellect.

It surprises us that the learned author has assigned reasons so slight for a judgment, in which he reverts to antiquated views ; viz., his belief that the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* are the work of the same poet. He allows that the *Odyssey* has a 'more 'complicated plan, and 'bears marks of a more artificial and 'developed state of the epos : 'that it 'was written *after* the 'Iliad ;' that 'many differences are apparent in the character 'and manners of both men and gods, as well as in the manage- 'ment of the language.' We would venture to go further. The genius displayed is quite different. Very inferior in vigorous portraiture and harmonious versification, the *Odyssey* displays a love of the fabulous quite peculiar ; while the diversity of its diction is certainly considerable. Professor Müller disposes of the whole question as follows : 'Granting that a different taste 'and feeling is shown in the choice of the subject and in the 'whole arrangement of the poem, yet there is not a greater 'difference than is often found in the inclinations of the same 'man in the prime of life and in old age.' Such a ground of decision might be proper enough, if we had any trustworthy testimony that they both came from one man. But we have no such testimony ; and the traditional report is treated as worthless by Müller himself, when he rejects as non-Homeric even the hymn to the Delian Apollo, against the authority of Thucydides. Nay, he does not think it worth while to assign a single reason for neglecting such authority. Now we contend, that all the internal evidence is against the supposition that the *Odyssey* was composed by the author of the *Iliad*. This evidence may be thought weak or strong, but it is all *in that direction*. It is impossible to prove in any case diversity of authorship, if it is allowable to introduce hypothetical reasons for a change in the poet's genius, powers, musical ear, dialect, and so on. Strange to add, our author, as if feeling after all some misgiving, concludes by hazarding the suggestion, that 'Homer, after having sung the *Iliad* in the vigor of his youthful 'years, in his old age communicated to *some devoted disciple* the 'PLAN of the *Odyssey*, and left it to him for completion.' Deus ex machinâ, in truth.

The religious scheme of the *Odyssey* presupposes that of the

Iliad ; as does the whole texture of the poem : but there is a decided improvement in the inhabitants of Olympus, proportioned to the increase of comfort and luxury ascribed to the human race. Another step onwards is taken when we come to the poetry which passes under the name of Hesiod. The two principal compositions are, the *Works and Days*, and the *Theogony* : each shows a growth in thoughtfulness and wisdom. To poetry, in the high sense of the term, a great part of them lays no claim ; but that is no injury to a work, when prose writing is as yet unknown. The composer does not *aim* at being poetical, but rises and falls with his subject ; and this constitutes the difference of Hesiod or Theocritus from Virgil and Pope. The more recent poets studiously elevate by art and diction that which has no natural elevation : Hesiod, like Crabbe, is homely on a homely topic. Literature in which this spirit prevails is generally more healthy, thriving and productive in sound fruit ; while the opposite order of things may give one or two polished and exquisite compositions, but a rapid decay of taste and vigor follows. In the *Works and Days*, Hesiod undertakes to teach his brother Perses the honest ways of gaining a livelihood, and dissuades him from bribing the kings to give false judgment in his favor. It is striking to observe how large a part of his wisdom is enounced in short maxims, with the air of proverbs : and we know by the works of the later Greeks, that these were actually committed to memory in childhood, and became an efficient instrument of moral instruction. In this work, among numerous other shrewd sayings, are the following :

- ‘ 1. Foolish kings, who take bribes, know not that half is worth more than the whole. [i. e., they ‘ kill the goose for her egg.’]
- ‘ 2. He who plots evil for another, plots it for himself ;
Bad counsel is worst to the counsellor of it.
- ‘ 3. The eye of Jupiter, seeing all things and understanding all,
Inspects this matter too, if he please.
- ‘ 4. Invite thy friend to a feast, but pass by thine enemy :
Most of all invite thy nearest neighbor ;
For if anything unusual happen on thy farm,
Thy neighbors come ungirded to help, but thy kinsmen gird themselves first.
- ‘ 5. No spoil is better to a man than a good wife,
Nor anything more soul-consuming than a bad one.
- ‘ 6. No treasure so good as a tongue sparing of words
If thou speak evil, haply worse will be spoken of thee.
- ‘ 7. Vice may easily be caught in shoals ;

Short is the distance ; she dwells very near.
 But before Virtue the immortal gods have placed toil ;
 Steep is the path to her, and rugged at first :
 Yet when thou reachest the top, it is easy, though rough.'

Hesiod in this work retails some of the follies concerning the gods which were current among his people ; and though decidedly superior in this matter to Homer, it is possible that (if he knew Homer's works, which is far from certain) he was not aware of his own superiority. When he descends to details of precept, many of his ceremonial laws are superstitious, as might be expected, especially as to lucky and unlucky days. This however was in him thoroughly honest : Virgil must have been above such absurd notions, and it is rather degrading to *his* genius, that he should have brought them into his *Georgics* from mere love of imitation.

Whether the *Theogony* was written by the same Hesiod, the professor leaves uncertain. Pausanias states that the Bœotians rejected it. The decision is the more difficult, because the subject is so different from that of the *Works and Days*, as to make it hard to institute a fair comparison. On the whole, we incline to believe that it is from a different author. The story of Pandora is told in each poem, but with considerable variety of manner and of matter. The versification of the *Theogony* is nearer to that of the *Odyssey*, and the whole poem more decidedly implies acquaintance with the Homeric Epics than does anything in the *Works and Days*. Considering also the strong tendency to moralize manifested in the latter, it is hard to conceive the same author so rigidly restraining it in the former.

The marked difference of the religion taught in the *Theogony* from that of Homer, is, that it aims at a philosophical foundation : a great step in principle ; yet the immediate result is only to make the fables more tedious and stupid, sometimes more disgusting, the allegory being the excuse for it. 'Endless genealogies, is indeed a true description of these strange speculations : but the following remarks of Professor Müller on the subject will be read with interest.

'According to the religious notions of the Greeks, the deity who governs the world with omnipotence, and guides the destinies of man with omniscience, is yet without one attribute which is the most essential to our idea of godhead—*eternity*. The gods of the Greeks were too nearly bound up with the existence of the world to be exempt from the law by which large shapeless masses are developed into more and more perfect forms. To the Greeks the gods of Olympus were rather the summit and crowning point of organized and animate life, than the *origin* of the universe. Thus *Zeus*, who must be considered as the peculiar deity of the Greeks, was, doubtless long before the

time of Homer or Hesiod, called Cronion or Cronides, which according to the most probable interpretation means, Son of the Ancient of Days. . . . The idea of *creation*, of so high antiquity in the east, and so early known to the Indians, Persians, and Hebrews, which supposes the deity to have formed the world with design, as an earthly artificer executes his work, was foreign to the ancient Greeks, and could only arise in religions which ascribed a personal existence and an eternal duration to the godhead. Hence it is clear that theogonies, in the widest sense of the word,—that is, accounts of the descent of the gods,—are as old as the Greek religion itself.'—p. 87.

The learned professor is of opinion that Hesiod did not absolutely *invent* his Theogony upon his own abstract physiological speculations; otherwise it could not have met with so ready acceptance. On the other hand it is clear (he argues), that he used skilful selection and arrangement, which indicate that he was guided by certain fundamental ideas, and aimed at a connected system. His most remarkable addition to the Homeric scheme is in the primeval deity Eros (*love*) proceeding out of Chaos. Harmony rising out of confusion, is signified; but it yields him a machinery for the marriages of Earth and Heaven, and puts him into closer connection with the Egyptian cosmogony.

We do not intend to follow our author into the numerous inquiries concerning compositions not extant; for although some of these were very influential in Greek civilization (especially the poems of Simonides), yet in most cases when writers were really much read by the ancients, some at least of their works have reached us: and in the case of those who survive in half a dozen disconnected verses, we should have nothing to do but copy out our author's remarks or conjectures. For this reason we passed over the Ante-Homeric poetry. The Homeridæ, or poets of that same school, are not wholly lost, for what are named 'the Hymns of Homer' are to be referred to them: they do but imitate their master, of course without equalling him, and they need no further remark here.

The next original genius which Greece saw, is the lost poet Archilochus; whom we here mention because Professor Müller has vindicated for his name an eminence which the moderns have seldom given to it. The ancients regarded Archilochus as second only to Homer. He is not merely the inventor of the Iambic measure (a slight thing if it stood alone), but author of a vast change in the whole spirit of poetry, by which it assumed as it were the manly gown. Before his time the system of idle epithets and fixedly recurring clauses, and all the commonplaces of the improvisatore poet, held their places, as was natural or necessary before writing was general. Archilochus first left off to imitate the epic style now obsolete; and set the example of

writing tersely, simply, with diction not prosaic yet idiomatic ; the power of doing which showed not only a superior mind in the individual, but that the time was arrived for a separation of poetry and prose. As his works have perished, except a few fragments, it is not wonderful that we think of him more as the author of spiteful lampoons than as the originator of a terse and pure style. The date of his writing is assigned by the professor as nearly 688 B.C. His birthplace is said to have been the island of Paros, and his life was passed chiefly at Thasos, another island of the Archipelago.

About twenty years later is the era preferred for the poems of Tyrtaeus, who sang in Laconia and Messenia. Continental Greece was behind the islands and Asiatic Greece in cultivation, and nearly a century passed after Archilochus, before the Iambic was introduced at Athens. Tyrtaeus was probably unacquainted with Archilochus, and it is not wonderful that his poetry shows no trace of the latter. Yet a new spirit other than that of Homer animated him, which would ill express itself in the Homeric metre. English readers will perhaps inadequately appreciate the connexion of so accidental a thing as metre, with the substantial qualities of poetry. Yet it is observed, that modern poets who adopt Walter Scott's four foot metre, become involuntarily his imitators ; those who write in the heroic couplet, find it hard to get rid of Pope's cadences, and fall into his style : one who adopts the Spenserian stanza, readily admits the antiquated diction natural to its stiff and pompous dignity. Like causes were more powerful among a people with whom music and emotion, acting strongly by association, chiefly inspired poetry. It was then a significant fact, when the *Elegeiac* measure (known to schoolboys as Hexameter and Pentameter) was introduced. In our author's opinion, the epic stood its ground as long as the old royal families were grand enough to deserve and to repay the attentions of bards ; but with the republican movements another sort of verse arose, of which the earliest specimen extant is given by Tyrtaeus. An ambitious republic and a despotic monarchy, may be to their neighbors equal curses ; if indeed the former be not worse. But in their effects on the citizens themselves, and on the progress of truth, the difference is vast. In Homer's day, as now, nothing was expected from the arbitrary chief but selfish violence : it was not criticized, any more than fierceness in a wild beast. The vindictive conduct of Achilles is avowedly from mere personal pique ; his ungovernable sallies of fury have no pretence of patriotism to screen them. Tyrtaeus may indeed have thought with Pericles, that bravery in behalf of one's country covers a multitude of sins, but the *only* bravery which he extols is that which is consecrated by the public cause. The Dorian freeman

was haughty and injurious to the poor Helot, but compared with the hero of the *Iliad*, he could lay claim to intelligible virtue. While the songs of Tyrtæus retain the Homeric cadences, and many well known junctions of words, they have lost the pomp, the ornament, and the stuffing (so to say) of the monarchal bard. The writer is too much in earnest to seek for ornament; his soul breathes forth in military ardor, and of necessity assumes a severity of style, from which the most chastised Attic taste in later years would find nothing to prune down.

As writing must assuredly have been used in the age of Tyrtæus, it is not wonderful that the excrescences of the epic style were no longer tolerated, and that elegiac verse is destitute of commonplace. The poems of this sort extant which next draw our attention, are those of Solon and Theognis. It is generally believed, that verses of the former have been mingled and confused in a long series called by the name of the latter. In a large part of them, the writer is an exile, driven from his possessions, and bitterly feeling the misery of poverty in a foreign land; disappointed in expectations from his friends, and from time to time not slow to heap invective or even curses on his enemies. Such are the undoubted productions of Theognis the Megarian. Chiefly because the ancients esteemed his proverbial sayings as a treasure of instruction, we select a few of the more striking passages for our readers:—

- ‘ 1. Never reproach a man, O Cyrnus, in thy anger
With heart-corroding poverty and evil indigence ;
For Jupiter inclines his scales, now this way, now that ;
One while he gives riches, another while emptiness.
Speak not, O Cyrnus, a haughty word ; for no man knoweth
What a night and day shall bring forth to men.
Many have dastard minds, but a good Genius,
And what seemeth to be evil, turneth for their good :
But some with good counsel and an evil Genius
Toil ; and no result follows their deeds.
None of mankind is prosperous or destitute,
Or bad or good, save by a higher power.
- ‘ 2. Loved Jupiter, I adore thee ; for thou rulest over all,
Having honor thyself and mighty power.
Well knowest thou the mind and soul of each man,
And thy strength is supreme over all, O King.
Yet how doth thy soul endure, O Saturnian power,
To hold in like dignity the wicked and the just ;
Whether a man’s heart turn to virtue, or to the violence
Of men who comply with unrighteous deeds ?

Why is no judgment set forth on the part of the divinity to
mortals,
Nor the road, by following which, one may please the gods ?

- ‘ 3. Once upon a time I took my course to Sicily,
I took my course to the vineclad plain of Eubœa,
And to Sparta, bright city of reedy Eurotas ;
On my arrival, all kindly welcomed me,
Yet no delight from them entered my bosom ;
For nothing else could be dear, but my own country.
- ‘ 4. Never may aught else hereafter engage my heart,
Than the pursuit of lovely wisdom ; ever holding this,
Let me delight myself with the lyre, the dance, and the song,
And with the virtuous let me keep a virtuous mind.
Injure thou no stranger by cruel deeds,
Nor any native ; but be thou just,
And so, follow thine own pleasure : then of ill-natured citizens
Some will speak ill of thee, but others will praise.’

The last passage does not appear to us to be from Theognis. The writer is no exile, but a student of wisdom, living among his own citizens. The sentiments are eminently Athenian, and may naturally be ascribed to the great Athenian lawgiver. Quite different in kind were the institutions and influence of Pythagoras ; an extraordinary man, of whom it would seem that we ought to know more. His moral precepts, his ceremonial enactments, his political position in Italy, the connexion of his followers with the *Orphic* priests, so called, combine to make him remarkable. We can here only notice the morality and the mythology taught in the Pythagorean schools. The most beautiful specimen extant of the former is the piece entitled *The Golden Verses* : which is not so well known as it deserves ; for schoolboys read it without intelligence, and afterwards it is cast aside. We cannot afford space to translate so long a piece, and we should do it injustice by curtailing it. Its authorship is unimportant, if it be admitted to be an early production used among the Pythagoreans ; and should the elevated tone of some parts suggest the thought that it is the late production of a Christian, this is checked by the strongly marked Pythagoreanism of others. We do not know whether Professor Müller has doubts of its antiquity, when we find that he does not particularly notice it. The learned Fabricius considers its claims to be beyond dispute, and is ready to believe Empedocles the author.

The connexion of this school with the *Orphic* priests and *Eleusinian* mysteries, and the nature of the mythology taught, are explained at full by our professor. After an eloquent and interesting description of the moral improvement in Greek

poetry between the periods of Homer and Pindar, he proceeds to connect it with what may seem to be a strange cause,—the worship of the infernal gods. It would appear that the too great levity and sportiveness of Greek religion, which indulged itself in ascribing every human frailty to the deities of Olympus and of the upper air, was usefully tempered by the more sombre colors in which they invested the invisible king of the shades. In that lower region resided the stern judges who called mortal actions to account, and punished the wicked in eternal night, but sent the good (as Pindar tells) to inhabit the islands of the blessed. These infernal gods alone were worshipped in the secret systems called *mysteries* by the Greeks; and the physiological speculation concerning the yearly renewal of vegetation by the goddess Ceres, was turned to yield support (according to our author) to a belief in the successive and perpetual renewal of each man's life. The Greeks generally appear not to have conceived of our future immortality as an unbroken eternal period,—a single life to be lived by each individual; but rather as an eternal succession of lives; whether by a transmigration into fresh bodies of men and brutes, or in a divine, that is, a superhuman state. Of the songs of Pindar for the dead, only a few short fragments exist: but the professor regards them as proving indisputably that the doctrine of immortality was so inculcated in the Mysteries, as to 'inspire the 'most elevating and animating hopes with regard to the condition of the soul after death.'

But all the Mysteries of Greece were too secret and awful to influence literature generally: a poet might fear to be accused of publishing them, which happened to Æschylus. 'On the 'other hand, there was a society of persons who performed the 'rites of a mystical worship, who were not exclusively attached 'to a particular temple and festival, and who did not confine 'their notions to the initiated, but published them to others, 'and committed them to literary works.' These were the followers of the ancient mythical poet Orpheus. Most of their legends referred to the god Bacchus, who had scarcely any point of character attributed to him in common with the vulgar story of the same god. Theirs was an infernal deity, a personification of rapturous pleasure and deep mourning. His worshippers aimed at an ascetic purity of life and manners. After once tasting the raw flesh from the ox consecrated to him, they ate no more animal food; and, like oriental and Egyptian priests, wore white linen garments. They taught that through Bacchus, the son of Zeus, who had endured shocking atrocities from the Titans, but was destined by Zeus for the throne of heaven, they were to obtain at last an end of strife, a holy peace, when the soul was liberated from its imprisonment in the body.

Orphic opinions are traced by our author even in the poetry of Hesiod. They were accompanied with an improvement likewise in the notions concerning the Olympian gods. Men were shocked to think of Jupiter, as at enmity with his father Saturn and the elder gods called Titans; and the opinion won its way not only that all these were released from the lower dungeons of Tartarus, but that Saturn, the god of the golden age, reigns in the secret islands over the souls of the blessed. Such is the state in which the doctrine appears in Pindar, but it is probably much older.

About the period of the Persian war, the Pythagorean order in Italy had been persecuted and scattered in a political contest upon the triumph of democracy in their cities. The remnant of them united themselves to the Orphic associations, not, as would seem, through any close agreement of doctrine, but from love of (what we might call) a conventual life, and perhaps from sympathy in that which had a religious and unearthly spirit. The genuine extant legends of the Orphic school given by Professor Müller are too long to extract here; but we cannot refrain from translating the Orphic verses quoted in the treatise on the World erroneously attributed to Aristotle:

‘ Zeus, god of the swift thunderbolt, was first, and Zeus was last;
Zeus the head, Zeus the middle: out of Zeus all things have been
made.

Zeus is the foundation of the earth and of the starry heaven:

Zeus became a male, Zeus too was an immortal nymph.

Zeus is the breath of all things, Zeus is the rush of unwearied fire:

Zeus is the root of the ocean, Zeus is the sun and moon.

Zeus is king, Zeus is governor of all, by his swift thunderbolt.

For after hiding all things, again to the gladdening light

He restored them from his sacred heart, achieving wonderful deeds.’

This sounds like an elevated Pantheism; and the two last lines appear to teach the destruction and renewal of life, in a perpetual series; for the words may be understood, conformably to Greek usage, ‘*he is accustomed to restore them.*’ In the Orphic poets, says Professor Müller, ‘we first meet with the ‘idea of a creation.’ While the earlier Greeks considered the world as an organic being, ever growing towards greater perfection, these conceived it as ‘formed by the Deity out of pre-existing matter, and upon a predetermined plan.’ Hence the universe was called by them metaphorically, a bowl, and a gown (*crater* and *peplos*); as mixed of various ingredients, and woven of different colored threads. Thus, as our author remarks, juster views ‘were with difficulty evolved from the ‘notions of a sacerdotal fanaticism;’ and they confined themselves ‘to refine and rationalize the traditional mythology, long

‘ before they ventured to explore the paths of independent inquiry.’

During the same centuries, a literature of opposite nature was growing up in the islands of Greece. The celebrated Lesbian poet Alcæus, and his not less famous countrywoman Sappho, first exhibited the power and variety of the lyrical ode: but their remains are too scanty to enable us to form an *independent* judgment of their merit. The very strange controversies which later times agitated concerning Lesbian purity, appear to transport us into the sphere of a different human nature. Our Professor sedately defends the character of Sappho, and it is indeed pleasing to think that so much can be said in her favor. We pass to Anacreon, the effeminate poet of a tyrant's court; whose elegance and perfection of style ensured him universal admiration among the luxurious Ionians. Very inferior indeed in power is he to the Æolian lyric poets, who excelled in the description of vehement passions: but his beauties can be judged of by all; theirs must appear extravagantly overcharged to all but their countrymen and contemporaries. Ibycus, Stesichorus, and other poets of this age, are passed in review by our author. But whatever literary judgment be formed on the productions of the Æolian and Ionian lyre, our own belief is, that they were a vehicle of corruption to the Greeks, the more subtle for their great beauty. Not such, however, was Simonides, as we may judge from the style of encomium passed on him by Plato, as well as by the fragments which we have: again, not such was Pindar. In the latter we see the haughty and gorgeous poet of aristocratic and monarchal principle; in the former, the tranquil, unostentatious, graceful, and often tender depicter of human feeling in every rank: yet both of them appear to have labored zealously towards a good end,—the elevation of moral sentiment. It is worthy of notice, that the name of Simonides was proverbial among the ancients for the vice of avarice; an imputation incurred by his being the first who claimed definite prices for his compositions. This agrees with the other evidence, that he was quite a *professional* man, a perfect master of his art, in which he displayed wonderful versatility, but not affecting to write by impulse as an inspired bard.

Our summary has reached the era when Æschylus began to exhibit his sublime tragedies; but we have too lately enlarged on his peculiar merits, to make it desirable that we should take up this subject anew. Only let it be steadily remembered, that the Athenian drama was a religious festival, recurring at distant intervals, and attended by the entire city without paying for admittance;—in short, that it was to them, what the Easter mass in the cathedral of St. Peter at Rome may be to the population of that city:—and then we may guess at the quality

and extent of its influence. It appears to be generally agreed among the learned, that Sophocles chastised the crudeness of Æschylus's taste, without destroying his moral features: and even if personally we desired to qualify this opinion, we must bow to the prevailing judgment. It is also proved beyond question, that Euripides did in many points vulgarize his art (of which Professor Müller brings an accumulation of illustration); and that as a *poet*, the third great tragedian does not stand so high as his predecessors. But we think that the admirers of Plato deal rather hard measure to Euripides, in their criticisms on his moralizing speeches. He often ascribes to his characters sophistical reasonings, it is certain; and so too does Plato: perhaps both liked to display their skill on each side of an argument. But when he speaks as if from his own heart, he displays, as we think, much truth and tenderness. The prevailing style of criticism is the stranger, because it is certain that the ancients conceived the closest alliance to subsist between the tragedies of Euripides and the discourses of Socrates. It was pretended by some, that Socrates had himself composed many remarkable passages; and the virulent Aristophanes uniformly attacks the two characters as identical. Yet the modern idolaters of Plato assail Euripides with something like contempt. The tragedian altered the legends as he pleased! no great sin in a man who was enlightened enough to disbelieve them, and with whom they were only a vehicle of poetry, not a form of religion. Indeed it is evident that, like Socrates, he desired to unteach his people a very large part of these fables. We should like to illustrate our remark at large; but we venture only upon two quotations.

1. Iphig. in 'Tauris, v. 380—

‘I blame these fanciful refinements of the goddess;
 For if a mortal touch human blood with his hands,
 Or any impurity, or a dead body;
 She drives him from her altars, counting him polluted;
 Yet she herself is pleased with human sacrifices!
 It cannot be that ever the wife of Jove,
 Latona, bare so silly a daughter. To me, however,
 The feast made for the gods by Tantalus
 Seems to be incredible,—that they were delighted with a child's
 flesh;
 So also I believe, that the men of this place, themselves being
 murderers,
 Have ascribed to the deity their own wickedness.
 For none of the gods do I think to be evil.

2. Hippol. 190—

‘ All life of man is painful,
 Nor is there any respite from toil :
 But what else there is, dearer than this life,
 Darkness, involving, veils in clouds.
 Therefore we are found to be fondly wedded
 To this, whatever it is that glitters on earth,
 From unacquaintance with another life,
 And from the non-revealing of the regions below :
 While by fabulous tales we are borne away in vain.’

But why did corruption so fearful overspread Greece, when she had evidently displayed a living principle growing up? An essay might hardly suffice to exhaust that subject: briefly we will say, we believe the causes were political, and had their root in the system which depressed the *country* for the aggrandizement of the *towns*. This system was at its height, where the country was entirely cultivated by slaves; but generally, in Greece as in more modern Italy, the towns were supreme, and the country people were, politically, as nothing. Now the latter are the ballast of the ship of state: the Greek vessels carried too much sail, and were generally capsized.—The wise Solon forbade his subjects to remain neutral in a sedition. Alas, the great thing needed in Greek party-feuds, was the interference, at the crisis of victory, of a neutral body, which should enforce moderation on the victors. The merciless violence of these contests, in which the pettiness of local strife was armed with the sovereign power, proved a source of demoralization too deadly to resist. Neither the best literature, nor even a divine religion, can repair the loss of the love of country in entire communities. After this, individuals may be enlightened and excellent, but the mass becomes incurably bad.

But we have been long. This work of Professor Müller's cannot be judged of by detached quotations. It is like a production of Greek art, a symmetrical whole, where profound learning, refined and experienced taste, elegant composition, have combined with that sober judgment, which is attained only by long acquaintance with the topic treated, and a leisurely digestion of his own reflections. Such a book is a phenomenon in England, and the more remarkable from the circumstances under which it is published. Its circulation needs not to be confined to classical scholars; for if the unlearned will omit whatever they find to be too technical, the remainder will well repay their study.

Art. V. *The City of the Mayyar, or Hungary and her Institutions in 1839-40.* By Miss PARDOE, author of 'The City of the Sultan,' &c. In 3 vols. London: Virtue. 1840.

MISS Pardoe's former works have rendered her name familiar to the reading public. Though disfigured by some excesses of style and exaggeration of sentiment, they have possessed sufficient inherent vitality to rise above the mass of ephemeral publications, and to secure for themselves a respectable measure of public favor. The volumes now before us will not diminish her reputation, at least in the judgment of those who pass beyond the first volume. The predominance in the earlier part of the work of florid descriptions of natural scenery and feudal ruins, led as to apprehend that we had to wade through three volumes of light and profitless reading; but we were glad to find, as we proceeded, that a far more pleasant and productive labor awaited us. The work is in fact of permanent and sterling value, and may be advantageously consulted by all who are anxious to ascertain the present state of the Hungarian people. Unlike the great mass of summer tourists, Miss Pardoe has not been contented with looking merely on the surface of the society which she undertakes to describe. She has endeavored to trace back the stream to its source, to refer existing institutions and habits to the causes whence they originated, to combine or to analyze, as the case might be, the facts which she has witnessed so as to extract the useful lesson which a sound philosophy teaches. Various opinions will of course be held on some points of the case she has exhibited; but every candid mind will thank her for the information communicated, and readily acknowledge the good sense and right feeling which prevail through the greater part of her discussions.

Hungary possesses great historical interest, and the diversified races of which its population is composed, present some unsolved problems to the political philosopher. Lying on the confines of European Christendom, it was the battle ground on which the opposing forces of the Crescent and the Cross contended for supremacy. Exposed to the frequent incursions of the Turks, it threatened to become an advanced post whence the sultan of Turkey might at his pleasure annoy and overwhelm the other European states. Happily, however, this evil was averted by the course of political events, and the crown ultimately settled, in 1547, in the house of Austria, whose hereditary right to it was solemnly established by an assembly of the states held during that year. The government of Hun-

gary is a limited monarchy, hereditary in the house of Hapsburg; but in case of the failure of the several branches of that family, the crown becomes elective by the diet. On the state of the people we shall have occasion to remark, in connexion with the extracts we propose making from Miss Pardoe's volumes, to which therefore we at once proceed without further preface. Miss Pardoe arrived at Presburg in the autumn of 1839, and was readily admitted to the best society which that city furnishes. The social habits of the Hungarian nobility are greatly preferable in some respects to our own. Our author pronounces them to be the most rational in the world.

‘No morning visits,’ she says, ‘by which the idle and the *désœuvré* contrive with us to fritter away the time of their more busy friends, are countenanced among them. No lady receives company before the dinner-hour, which is usually two, or at the latest, three o'clock; and better still, the hostess is punctual, the repast is served at the given moment, and at five the guests are at liberty to take their departure in order to fulfil their evening engagements, leaving the lady of the house to enjoy the same privilege. Then commences the gaiety of an Hungarian day; visits are paid, new engagements are entered into, the promenades are crowded, and the streets are alive with equipages hastening to the public gardens, the theatres, or the *salons de reception*.’—Vol. i. pp. 6, 7.

Miss Pardoe did not long remain in this city, but hastened to prosecute her journey through the country, along roads which were scarcely passable, and by conveyances which must severely have taxed both her nerves and patience. The Hungarian nobility, like every other privileged class, has contrived to relieve itself to the utmost possible extent from the public burdens. Their policy, however, has been as short-sighted as it is selfish. The repair of the roads and the construction of bridges having been devolved on the peasantry, are in the most wretched state conceivable. The country is thus rendered almost inaccessible to foreigners, whilst all the channels of a profitable commerce are clogged with serious and unnecessary obstacles. The evils resulting from this state of things are just beginning to be apprehended; and patriotic men are not wanting to plead for a more equitable distribution of the charges attendant on such public works. The conveniences of English travelling are of course quite out of the question, and the substitutes provided are miserable in the extreme.

‘There are four distinct methods of progress through the country, but even here the traveller is not free to make his own selection, and cannot consequently form any preliminary arrangements tending to diminish his difficulties. There is the regular government (Austrian) post,

to be found only on the direct high-roads ; the *Bauern*, or peasants'-post, running between Pesth and Vienna, and not to be procured in any other part of Hungary ; the press-post, or *Vorspann*, which compels the peasant to furnish horses to the Hungarian nobles, and by their order to strangers who have sufficient interest to obtain the ' assignation,' as it is termed, on sight of which the *richter*, or chief constable of each village, is bound to forward the traveller to the next station, on payment of a certain sum to the peasant ; and the light wicker waggon, looking like a huge basket mounted on wheels, in which the peasantry themselves travel, built up with hay, and totally without protection against the vicissitudes of the weather. This last is, however, as will at once be apparent, the *dernier resort* of the tourist, who can be compelled to it only by utter want either of money, or other means of transport.

' The inconvenience of the regular post consists principally in its partial action, which, to render it available, limits the wanderings of the traveller to the direct roads from city to city ; for the fact of its frequently requiring the delay of upwards of an hour merely to change horses, is such a comparatively trifling annoyance that it is scarce worthy of mention. The *Bauern*, as I have already shown, is *nul*, save on one line of route ; and with the *Vorspann*, privilege as it is, bad horses, filthy drivers, and stoppages beyond all possible calculation must be submitted to with philosophy, for there is no remedy ; threats, bribes, and entreaties, being all equally unavailing.'—Ib. pp. 60—62.

We pass over our author's description of the picturesque scenery of the valley of the Waag, and of the castellated ruins which ' loom out ' (to use a favorite expression of Miss Pardoe) from prominent points of the mountainous regions ; but must detain our readers a moment at the hamlet of Oszlan, where our author witnessed a scene strikingly illustrative of the social habits of the mountain peasants.

' From the faubourg of Previtz we commenced ascending the mountain side ; the road was rough and steep, and for awhile we walked, thinking that every mile must produce a change for the better ; but at length we resigned ourselves to our fate, and were jolted, shaken, and rattled into the little mountain-village of Oszlan, at the foot of the pass.

' Nothing could be prettier than its site ; wooded heights, stretching away on either hand, far as the eye could reach, were the background ; the valley which we had left in the morning lay far beneath us in front ; and we stood upon a rude wooden bridge, under which a wild torrent, the original engineer of the road we were to travel, tossed, and tumbled, as it plunged headlong down into the lower lands, all foam and fury.

' Beside us, right and left along the lip of the precipice, clustered the huts of the peasantry ; and from the largest of these, which proved to be the modest hostelry of the village, came the sounds of mirth and

music, for here too the festival was kept. I will not mention the name of the saint, but it was precisely she whose skeleton I had seen in duplicate ; and we were obliged to her for crossing our path so opportunely, as the good mountaineers told us frankly on our first apparition, that there was not a horse in the village, and that we could not stir thence under a couple of hours.

‘The carriage was duly examined by a committee of serfs, and we were threatened with oxen to drag us up the mountain ; but as we satisfied them that we carried no luggage, it was at length conceded that we might venture with six horses. Unluckily these horses would not come at a wish, and therefore we had no remedy but patience ; and having eaten some of the black bread encrusted with carraway-seeds, and goats’-milk cheese, and drunk a few drops of the sour wine of the hamlet, with as few grimaces as possible, we walked towards the little *gasthaus* to ‘assist’ at the village ball.

‘It was a curious scene, and we saw it distinctly through the grated and unglazed window which opened on the narrow street. A large room, reeking with the smoke of many pipes mingled with a strong savour of garlic, was tenanted by about forty peasants ; the women and girls were seated on benches along one side of the apartment ; another was occupied by four musicians who were mounted upon a table, and the centre of the floor was alive with the dancers ; the men wearing their large hats, and their heavy leather boots reaching to the knee ; and the women, generally speaking, barefooted, and clad in their thin linen jackets, and petticoats of dark chintz.

‘The dance was intricate enough. It was a species of waltz, where the man suddenly whirled his partner round and round with a velocity and force that almost took away the breath, and then as suddenly loosed her, and whirling away in his turn left her to overtake him in the crowd. When they met, their pace became almost funereal, and they merely set to each other, inclining first to the one side, and then to the other, until the fit returned, when away they bounded again, forming circles which the eye could scarcely follow. Sometimes the girl wearied, and when her partner flung her off, seated herself on the nearest bench, when one of her companions instantly stood up, and the dance went on as before.

‘At times the men gave out a shrill cry or yell, similar to that of Highlanders dancing the ‘fling ;’ and at others they sang, merely balancing their partners from side to side ; reminding me of the Bayadères, or the dancing-boys in Turkey ; in short, although I wished to give an idea of this mountain-ball, I find it utterly impossible.

‘We made them very happy, nevertheless, by paying liberally for our initiation into its mysteries ; and they volunteered to vary the entertainment by singing a national glee, which was as wild as their own mountain-fastness. Half a dozen young men ranged themselves in front of the musicians, each with a glass in his hand, and sang alternate stanzas, relieved by one general chorus, of which the effect was thrilling ; and then, at a given signal, up sprang their partners again, the music burst into a more rapid measure, and the floor was once more covered with dancers.

‘I am compelled, however, in some degree to injure the effect of my village ball, by confessing that among the whole of the women there was not even one who was tolerably good-looking; but I have frequently remarked, that beauty is very rare in mountainous regions. The men are tall, robust, handsome, and athletic; but the women are universally coarse, heavily-limbed, and ungainly; and thus it was at the hamlet of Oszlan; but despite this drawback, they danced away with light hearts; lighter perhaps than that of many a belle whose attractions have been the boast of half London and the glory of Al-macks—for a night!’—*Ib.* pp. 138—142.

Hungary has long been famed for its mineral productions. Several extensive mines are in active operation. About two-thirds of these belong to the government, and are worked on an expensive system by about 45,000 men. Others are in the hands of public companies, who pay a duty to the government on all the metals which they extract. On gold, silver, and mercury, this duty amounts to one tenth part; and on copper and antimony one seventeenth. The following is Miss Pardoe’s account of the annual production of these mines:

‘The average production of the Hungarian mines annually is 2,280 marks of gold—63,905 marks of silver—33,590 cwts. of copper—16,892 cwts. silver of lead—2,560 cwts. saleable lead—6,921 cwts. oxide of lead—295 cwts. zinc—4,671 cwts. antimony—4,000 cwts. kobald—35 cwts. auripigment—205,697 cwts. crude iron—27,544 cwts. cast iron—1,390 cwts. iron vitriol—12,600 cwts. alumine—6,455 cwts. sulphur—392,912 cwts. coal. In value about 4,969,964 florins, at 2s. the florin.’—*Ib.* p. 157.

Miss Pardoe descended into one of these mines, and the account which she gives of her subterranean visit, though somewhat exceeding our limits, is too interesting to be omitted. A less adventurous traveller would have hesitated to encounter the dangers which she braved, but the enterprising spirit which had animated her researches at Constantinople did not fail her amidst the mines of Hungary. We give her narrative with slight omissions.

‘Our first object was, of course, a descent into the subterranean wonders of which M. de Svaiczzer was the guardian; and the entrance nearest to the city being by the mouth of the extensive mine called Bacherstollen, it was at once decided that we should visit it on the morrow; and meanwhile, we learnt that there existed a communication throughout the whole chain, extending for nearly fifty English miles; the mine of Bacherstollen alone occupying a surface of about one thousand square fathoms; its depth being two hundred, and the average number of miners employed in it from three hundred and fifty to four hundred.

‘ By six o’clock the following morning we were all astir ; and armed with a change of clothes for me, we sallied forth to the Accountant’s office, where we were to be furnished with mining dresses for the gentlemen, and our guides with lamps for our under-ground journey. There we were joined by a young Milanese count, a student at the university ; and although three handsomer men will be rarely seen together than the companions of my intended expedition, yet when they came forth in their leathern aprons, black caps, and coarse jackets with padded sleeves, all encrusted with yellow clay, I began to fancy that I must have suddenly fallen among banditti ; nor was the conceit diminished when the miners who were to accompany us joined the party, with their smoking lamps in their hands, and (if possible) ten times wilder and filthier-looking than the gentlemen.

‘ Away we went, however ; and ere we had taken a hundred steps we were in utter darkness :—a low door had been passed, a narrow gallery had been traversed, a few stairs had been descended, and we were as thoroughly cut off from the rest of the world, as far as our outward perceptions were concerned, as though we had never held fellowship with them. We were moving along a passage, not blasted, but hewn in the rock, dripping with moisture, and occasionally so low as to compel us to bend our heads in order to pass ; while beneath our feet rushed along a stream of water which had overflowed the channel prepared for it, and flooded the solitary plank upon which we walked.

‘ But this circumstance, although producing discomfort for the first few moments, was of little ultimate consequence, for the large drops that exuded from the roof and sides of the gallery, and continually fell upon us as we passed, soon placed us beyond the reach of annoyance from wet feet, by reducing us to one mass of moisture.

‘ So far all had been easy : we had only to move on in Indian file, every alternate person carrying a lamp, to avoid striking our heads against the protruding masses of rock, and endeavoring not to slide off the plank into the channel beneath, and thus make ourselves still more wet and dirty than we were. But this comparative luxury was soon to end ; for ere long we arrived at the ladders which conduct from one hemisphere to another, and by which the miners ascend or descend to their work. Then began the real labor of our undertaking. Each ladder was based on a small platform, where a square hole sawn away in the planks, made an outlet to arrive at the next ; and as these had been constructed solely for the use of the workmen, it was by no means easy to secure a firm footing upon all of them ; particularly as the water was trickling down in every direction, and our hands stuck to the rails which were encrusted with soil.

‘ When we arrived, heated and panting, at the bottom of the first hemisphere, the chief miner led the way through an exhausted gallery, whence the ore had been long since removed, and which yawned dark, and cold, and silent, like the entrance to the world of graves. The half-dozen lamps which were raised to show us the opening, barely sufficed to light the chasm for fifty feet.

‘ To the right of this gallery opened another vast cavern, cumbered with large masses of rock, but of which we could see the whole extent ;

this was what is technically called in the mines a 'false blast,' where after having made an opening, the miners ascertained that the ore had taken another direction, and that this was mere rock, which it was useless to work further. Hence we passed through another gallery similar to the first, except that it had been produced by blasting, and that the various nature of the rock had rendered it necessary to line it in many spots with stout timber.

'There was, moreover, something awful in the reflection that the subterranean passages which branched off right and left, and which were clearly seen amid the darkness, extended for upwards of fifty miles, each mine throughout the range being accessible from that last traversed. The very echoes which swept away, and died at last in low whisperings afar off, added to the feeling; while the chill produced by our soaked and clinging garments warned us not to linger too long amid the clammy draughts in inaction, but to move on from point to point without delay.

'Another set of ladders, as steep and as sticky as the last, admitted us to the second hemisphere; and on reaching it we came almost immediately upon a gallery in which the ore had been followed up until the vein had become exhausted. In order to enter it, we clambered over the large masses of stone which had been severed from the rock by blasting, and when we were fairly gathered together in this gloomy cavern, for such it really was, and that our guides raised their lamps, and moved them rapidly along the roof and sides of the chasm, it was beautiful to see the bright particles of silver flash back the light; and to follow the sinuous course of the precious metal which was so clearly defined by these glittering fragments.

'Many large lumps of rock were also strewn beneath our feet which appeared to pave the earth with stars, but they had not been considered sufficiently full of ore to render them worthy of being transported to the surface. These exhausted galleries are gradually refilled with soil and stone in the process of mining, as the rubbish removed from every new excavation is flung into them; by no means a disagreeable reflection, I should imagine, to the inhabitants of Schemnitz, whose dwellings stand immediately above a portion of the Bacherstollen.

'It was curious enough, when on one occasion we came upon an immense iron pipecutting through the side of the gallery along which we were passing, to see M. de Csapoj stop before it, and announce that it was that of the town-pump, in the centre of a square which we had traversed in the morning; and a little further on, that we were standing under the house of the Supreme Count; with whom, on our return to the surface of the earth, we were to dine.

'Shortly after passing this point I perceived that a very earnest discussion was taking place among my conductors; nor was I long in discovering, from the frequent and hesitating glances which the chief miner turned upon me, that I was its subject. As a matter of course, under these circumstances, I begged to be made a party in the consultation, when I ascertained that some doubt had arisen whether I should be permitted to descend lower, as I had now arrived at as great a depth as any lady had yet attempted; but I had no inclination to

stop short so soon in my undertaking, and when I found that I was the first English woman who had ever entered the Bacherstollen, pleaded my privilege accordingly ; but it appeared that they feared the displeasure of M. de Svaicz, as the miners beneath us were employed in blasting the rock in every direction.

‘ As it was, however, quite impossible that I should consent to leave the mine without witnessing this, the grandest exhibition which it could offer, I only insisted the more strongly on the assurance which I had received from himself that everything should be done that I desired ; and satisfied, when rid of the responsibility, the miner once more led the way to the ladders, and we commenced our third descent ; the only variation being produced by an intense feeling of heat, increasing as we got lower, and a suffocating smell of sulphur ; the natural effects of the work which was going on, two hundred explosions having already taken place since sunrise. The result of the blasting as regarded the ore had not yet been fully ascertained, but there was every reason to believe that it had been very satisfactory.

‘ When we arrived at the bottom, the sensation was all but suffocating ; the dense vapors seemed to fold themselves about our wet garments, and in a few seconds we were enveloped in a steam which produced intense perspiration, and a faint sickness that compelled us to disburthen ourselves of all the *wraps* by which we had sought protection against the damps above.

‘ We spent upwards of an hour in strolling through this section of the mine, in order to give time to the workmen for completing a bore on which they were laboring, to enable me to witness a blast ; our conductor obligingly putting more hands to the work to expedite its completion ; and during this hour we only encountered three miners, although nearly three hundred were at the moment employed in that particular hemisphere ; a fact which will give you a better idea of this subterranean wilderness than any attempt to describe its extent.

‘ There was something almost infernal in the picture which presented itself when we at length returned to the spot where the next blast was to take place. A vast chasm of dark rock was terminated by a wooden platform on which stood the workmen, armed with heavy iron crow-bars, whose every blow against the living stone gave back a sound like thunder. One small lamp suspended by a hook to a projecting fragment served to light them to their labor ; and it was painful to see their bare and sinewy arms wield the ponderous instrument, which at each stroke sent a quiver throughout their whole frame. I ascended this platform, which was raised about six feet from the rock-cumbered floor of the gallery, in order to see the process of stopping the bore ; and thence I had a full view of the frightful scene presented by the vault.

‘ Above me, the rock had been rent to such a height, that the lamps of the guides failed to afford a glimpse of aught save dense, pitchy darkness, losing itself in its own shadows ; beside me toiled the group of miners, thin, sallow, scantily clothed, and scarcely human-looking, but seeming rather, as they plied their Cyclopean labor, like a knot of demons preparing for some unholy sacrifice ; beneath me stretched

away far beyond my vision the vapory gallery, where the dense mists were writhing and curling in suffocating eddies ; while immediately under the platform sat or stood such of our party as had been too idle or too prudent to ascend it.

‘ The flames of the lamps, oppressed by the weight of the atmosphere, did little more than define their outline, which in their bandit-looking dresses scarcely tended to give even a touch of human-seeming to the grand but supernatural aspect of the place ; and, in short, during the few seconds in which I contemplated in silence the dark wonders about me, I felt as I had assuredly never felt before.

‘ At length the bore was completed, and a small canvas bag of gunpowder was inserted into the hollow, nothing remaining to be done but to add the fire by which it was to be exploded. This is applied in a substance which it requires some seconds to penetrate, in order to give the workmen time to retreat to a place of safety. We, of course, declined to remain for this latter ceremony, and as

‘ The better part of valor is discretion,’

made our way, before the insertion of the inflammable matter, to the spot which had been already decided on as that whence we might safely await the explosion : a large opening, situated behind an abrupt projection where an exhausted gallery terminated, and where no mass of rock could reach us in its fall ; and we had scarcely crowded together in our retreat, ere we were followed by the workmen at the top of their speed, who, after having secured the aperture which it had cost them so many hours of labor to effect, had rushed to the same spot for safety from the effects of their own toil.

‘ There we remained for full three minutes in silence, listening to the quick panting of these our new associates, ere the mighty rock, riven asunder by the agency and cupidity of man, yielded to a power against which, after centuries of existence, it yet lacked the power to contend, and with gigantic throes gave up the hidden treasures it had so long concealed.

‘ Surely there can be no convulsion of nature produced by artificial means so terrible and overwhelming in its effects as the blasting of a mine ! First comes an explosion, as though the whole artillery of an army burst on the ear at once ; and the vast subterranean gives back an echo like the thunders of a crumbling world ; while amid the din there is the crash of the mighty rocks which are torn asunder, and fall in headlong ruin on every side ; each as it descends awaking its own echo, and adding to the uproar : then, as they settle in wild ruin, massed in fantastic shapes, and seeming almost to bar the passage which they fill, the wild shrill cry of the miners rises above them, and you learn that the work of destruction is accomplished, and that the human thirst of gain has survived the shock, and exults in the ruin that it has caused.

‘ So strange and exciting an effect does this phenomenon produce, that I actually found myself shouting in concert with the poverty-stricken men about me, governed by my nerves rather than my reason,

and with as little cause for exultation as themselves. To me it was nothing that another portion of the earth had been torn asunder, thews and sinews, and scattered abroad in fragments ; it could not operate upon my individual fortunes : and the shirtless wretches about me, who had raised a wild clamor that would have seemed to indicate that they rejoiced over a benefit obtained, like myself had only obeyed their excited senses ; for they were poor, and overtoiled, and shirtless as ever, even though the rock which they had just riven should have opened a mine of wealth !

‘ But it was not so. My visit had wrought them no good fortune : and I am reluctantly obliged to confess that the labor carried on in my particular honor proved to be a false blast ; for the rock gave not up one particle of silver ; and not even that which I distributed in another shape could quite dispel the disappointment of the miners. They had never seen a female at that depth before ; and, with the superstition common to their calling, they had quite believed that my presence must betoken ‘ luck.’

‘ I need not explain that this last explosion had by no means improved the nature of the atmosphere, and we were accordingly not slow in preparing to depart. But my entreaties to descend now yet lower proved abortive ; not an individual of the party would listen to me ; and I found myself compelled to obey from sheer incapacity to persist ; and I knew moreover that I must husband my powers of persuasion in order to induce my companions to permit me to ascend by the chain, an operation so formidable that it had never yet been contemplated by one of my own sex.

‘ To me, the ascent by tiers of six and thirty ladders appeared infinitely more distressing than any process where violent bodily exertion was rendered unnecessary by machinery ; and I consequently felt no inclination to retreat when I was requested to look up and down the shaft near the centre of which I stood, and to examine the chain by which I was to be drawn up, and the leathern strap upon which I was to be seated.

‘ There could be no positive danger where both were solid ; and it was perfectly clear that if barrels of ore could be drawn up by the same means, my weight, and that of the miner who was to ascend with me, must be very inconsiderable in comparison. I therefore only requested that the apparatus might be got ready ; and amid the wondering murmur of the men who steadied the chain, took my seat upon the sling ; and having been raised about six feet above the mouth of the trap, hung suspended until my companion followed my example.

‘ We then commenced our ascent ; and although the sensation was very peculiar, it did not strike me that it was one calculated to create terror. All was dark above ; and save the lamp which was attached to the arm of my companion, all was dark below ; consequently there was nothing in the aspect of the shaft to shake the nerves. The only inconvenience arose from the occasional twisting of the chain, which from its great length (nearly six hundred feet) occasionally swung us suddenly round, and then righted itself, with a jerk, when we had to guard our knees from contact with the timbers which lined the sides of

the pit ; but save this temporary drawback, the motion was rather agreeable, and wet and weary as I was, I should have preferred ascending thus half a dozen times, to braving the fatigue of the ladders.

‘ The men who regulated the wheel by which the chain was worked, and who had been warned to be peculiarly careful on account of my probable ascent, had, it appeared, been so perfectly satisfied that a sight of the shaft would deter me from ascending it, that when I rose through the upper doors, and the trap fell under me, they uttered one simultaneous cry ; and left me for a moment unassisted, in the extremity of their astonishment.’—*Ib.* pp. 179—199.

From the mines we pass on to the Diet, which Miss Pardoe was fortunate enough to find sitting on her return to Presburgh. This assembly is divided into two chambers, and consists of the prelates, temporal barons and magnates, knights, and deputies from the royal cities. As in other countries nearer home, the great mass of the people is unrepresented in this professedly national assembly. In Hungary, as in England, it is held to be a sufficient privilege for *the many* to contribute to the public taxes. The business of legislation is left to the wisdom of their superiors. The Diet, however, is not an unpatriotic assembly. Though based, like our own parliament, on a principle of partial representation, it has nobly struggled in behalf of the national independence and honor, and is consequently described by our author as ‘ an oasis of liberty amid a desert of despotism.’ At Vienna the Diet is represented ‘ as a meeting of turbulent orators whose words are loud and whose labor is but loss of time. A gathering together of factious semi-barbarians craving they know not what ; clamoring for an independence of action which they would obtain only to misuse.’ Such calumnies, however, are triumphantly repelled by the humane and enlightened reforms which have recently been projected, and which promise in their ultimate results to achieve for the Hungarian peasants a complete emancipation from their present degraded vassalage. Like most other European countries, Hungary is evidently in a state of transition. The people have outgrown their institutions, and are beginning to be sensible of wants of which their fathers never dreamed. The cause of the serfs is at length finding advocates amongst the most noble and talented members of the Diet, and cannot fail to force its way to ultimate triumph. The final issue of the contest in which the Hungarian patriots are engaged is not doubtful, but the rate of its progress must be greatly affected by the general course of European politics. Miss Pardoe furnishes a series of personal sketches of the most distinguished members of the Hungarian assembly, but our readers probably will be too slightly interested in such particulars to allow any transfer of

them to our pages. The following description of the general appearance and order of the lower chamber is more to our purpose.

‘ It were difficult, if not impossible, to define the feeling with which I found myself looking upon the scene presented by the Lower Hall of the *Landhaus*. It was on the occasion of a Circular Meeting ; and the first circumstance that struck me was the extreme order, and business-like appearance of the whole assembly. No listless loungers, occupying a couple of chairs with their elaborate idleness ; no boots, looking as though they had collected all the dust or mud of a great thoroughfare ; no members sitting with their hats on, as if tacitly to express their contempt both for their occupation and their colleagues, were to be seen even in the unformal and undress meeting of the Hungarian Deputies. The tables were covered with papers, folio volumes containing the national laws, and the caps and gloves of the members ; and the gallery was crowded with ladies, among whom I recognized the wives and daughters of some of the first nobles in the land ; from whom I always experienced an amiable courtesy so general, and so much a mere matter of course with the high-bred women of Hungary, that its failure would have been to me a subject of surprise had it ever occurred.

‘ The crowd who thronged the lower end of the hall, and extended for some distance between the tables, were orderly and attentive ; and the regularity with which the proceedings progressed was admirable ; and, after all that I had been told on the subject of the ‘ semi-barbarous legislators ’ of the country, surprised me no little.

‘ During the speeches many of the members took copious notes, from which some few of them afterwards declaimed ; but the facility with which the majority deliver themselves in a language, which, although that of their native land, has, until very recently, been almost a dead letter among the upper classes, is surprising. They use little or no action, but speak volubly and energetically ; and there are certain individuals in the Chamber who render their speeches ornate by classical allusions and quotations, which, however, produce no effect save ennui and impatience, as the patriotic Hungarians are anxious to rid themselves altogether of the dead languages in their debates. I could not help smiling, when a member for Croatia rose and addressed the meeting in Latin, at the idea of the confusion which it would have caused in our House of Commons ; and at the nervousness of many a worthy squire who had flung down his lexicon to grasp a hunting-whip, if he were called upon to assist in legislating for his country, by listening for three quarters of an hour to a Latin oration which would put both our universities on the *qui vive*.

‘ In one respect the Hungarian people have the advantage of our own as regards their representation : no deputy being permitted to vote against the feeling of his constituency. I allude, of course, in making this assertion, only to the members for counties whose votes carry weight ; those of the towns merely giving the individuals an opportunity of advancing their personal opinions, without influencing

the measures of the House. Thus a deputy is not responsible for his vote, which is regulated by the voice of the county that he represents in the Diet.

‘ An instance of this popular privilege occurred during one of the first meetings which I attended. The *grief* before the House was that of Count Ráday, while the Royal Proposition was the levy of soldiers. The liberal party were insisting on holding back the troops until the king withdrew his interference with the national right of freedom of speech in the Chambers ; and the government members were urging that the requisition should be first complied with, and the grievance afterwards discussed ; when an eminent speaker in the royalist interest rose and addressed the meeting with great eloquence ; expatiated on the impolicy of refusing soldiers to the Empire, who were as necessary to the well being of Hungary herself as to the dignity of the king ; urged that the question of Count Ráday should not be suffered for a moment to induce discourtesy from the Chambers towards the sovereign ; and for upwards of half an hour advanced arguments, amidst the cheers of the government party, which proved their satisfaction to be equal to his own zeal ; when suddenly he concluded his address by saying :—‘ These are my opinions, my principles, and my views. I cannot look upon the question in any other light. But—I am instructed by the country which I represent, to vote with the opposition ; and my vote must be registered accordingly.’

‘ It was curious to witness the effect of this transition. The acclamations of the liberal party were deafening ; and as the orator was the representative of one of the largest and most densely populated counties in Hungary, the loss to the government interest was considerable.’

—Ib. pp. 241—245.

The second volume commences with an account of the terrible inundation of the Danube in 1838, by which the city of Pesth was utterly overwhelmed, and its inhabitants reduced to the utmost destitution and misery. We must pass over the affecting narrative, however, without extract ; neither can we stay to record our author’s visits to the prisons of Buda. This city is now the capital of Hungary, communicating with Pesth by a bridge of boats across the Danube, and it is affecting to consider that its prisons yet exhibit all the worst features of the old system of such penal establishments. Amidst the many reforms which are needed in Hungary, none are more pressing than this, and we trust that a native Howard may speedily arise to plead the cause of humanity and righteousness.

The age of Robin Hood has long passed away in England, and has left scarcely any other memorial than a few ancient ballads to perpetuate the fame of the generous freebooter. But the case is different in Hungary. Its vast forests were till very recently tenanted by large troops of banditti, nor are these lawless depredators yet wholly extinct. An interesting account of some of their adventures is furnished by Miss Pardoe, from

which we extract the following as calling back a period of English history now nearly forgotten. We simply premise that Sobri was the son of a shepherd, and that his character was compounded of much the same qualities as our own Robin Hood's.

‘ An admirable story is told of Sobri, who on one occasion received information that a Magnate possessing an estate in one of the counties touching on the Bakony was about to celebrate a family festival, and to assemble a host of high-born and high-dowried friends. Sobri at once felt that such an opportunity was not to be neglected, and he commenced operations by furnishing a score of his troop with the local costume of the Comitatus in which the chateau stood.

‘ This done, he introduced them one or two at a time into the village, and thence they wandered to the outskirts of the baron's estate ; a few scaled the walls and busied themselves in the offices : others joined the musicians and dancers ; while Sobri, whom constant success had rendered fearless, boldly entered the building, and amid the confusion and hilarity that prevailed,—a confusion and a hilarity augmented in no slight degree by the crowd of servants, belonging no one knew to whom, and whom it would have been considered uncourteous and inhospitable to catechize, even had there been time to do so,—penetrated even to the dining-room.

‘ Sobri, had he been born a century or two sooner, and of gentle blood, would have been a *preux chevalier* of the first order : but alas ! he had only come into the world in the nineteenth century as the son of a poor shepherd, and although certainly *sans peur*, he was very far from being *sans reproche*.

‘ Time wore on ; the peasants who had been dancing in the hall slowly dispersed, and returned to the village. Such of the musicians as had not partaken too freely of the baron's vintage followed them, while the remainder rolled themselves in their bundas, and slept as though there was to be no morrow to their night of revelry. The firmest footed serving-man began to fail, borne down by good wine and over zeal ; and the loud mirth of the ruder guests was hushed ; while the more chastened enjoyment of the ‘ fair women and brave men ’ in the baron's banquet-hall was at its height, when Sobri gave the signal which was to rally his band about him ; and approaching the lady of the house made a profound inclination as he announced himself, drew a pistol from his bosom, pointed to a score of his followers who blocked up the doorway, and requested the guests not to disturb themselves as no violence was meditated.

‘ He then proceeded to clear the table of all the plate which was scattered over it, while the guests sat by quite unable to interfere ; he relieved the ladies of their diamonds, and the gentlemen of their gold neck-chains ; and having satisfied himself that there remained nothing more in the dining saloon which he could conveniently carry off, he left a sufficient guard to prevent any of the company from attempting to give an alarm ; and proceeded with a few of his followers to ransack the house.

‘ The booty thus obtained was so satisfactory that Sobri felt that as a man of gallantry he could not depart for the forest without paying his compliments to the host, and offering his adieus to the guests ; and accordingly he returned to the dining-room where the company were still seated, awaiting with considerable anxiety the termination of the adventure.

‘ Withdrawing his hat with great deference on the threshold of the apartment, he advanced towards the table, and took his leave, apologizing for having in some degree disturbed the progress of the feast, and wishing the company a renewal of appetite to conclude it.

‘ The thing was altogether so tragic-comic, that a fair young countess who had probably not been a very severe loser by the incursion of the brigands, yielding to the feeling of amusement which the romance of the adventure had afforded to her, replied to his address with a smile ; ‘ We thank you for your good wishes, Mr. Sobri ; but you have yourself prevented their accomplishment, for not a soul at table, I believe, has ever tried to eat with his fingers, and you have left us no other alternative.’

‘ ‘ Your ladyship has reason,’ said the bandit, ‘ and sooner than permit so fair and so courteous a lady as yourself to suffer inconvenience, I will intrude my presence on the company for five minutes longer ’—and turning to one of his followers, who was laden with the plate which had been removed from the dinner-table, he began systematically to replace all the articles, until each guest was provided with the necessary means of continuing his meal ; when once more bowing politely to the assembled company, and begging permission to kiss the hand of the lively young countess, he withdrew, followed by his men, carefully making fast every door through which they passed, in order to retard the pursuit which they had every reason to apprehend.’

—Vol. ii. pp. 242—247.

The Hungarian nobility is represented by Miss Pardoe as the poorest in Europe. ‘ From the gorgeous and princely Esterhazy ‘ with his debt of two millions sterling, to the minor magnate ‘ who rattles over the pavement of Pesth behind his four ill-groomed horses, there are not twenty nobles in the country who ‘ are not *de facto* bankrupts.’ Sacrificing everything to show and ostentation, they are compelled to sell the produce of their estates to a swarm of Jewish traders at a ruinous price. It would be well if the evils of such a state of things were confined to the nobles themselves, but the country at large painfully suffers from the depression and poverty of the higher class.

‘ There is no country under heaven where nobility is at so low a par ; or rather perhaps I should say, on so unequal a basis ; and I was so much amused by the classification lately bestowed on it by a humorous friend of mine, to whom I had frankly declared my inability to disentangle its mazes, that I will give it in his own words.

‘ ‘ The nobility of Hungary are of three orders—the mighty, the

moderate, and the miserable—the Esterhazys, the Batthyanyis, and *id genus omne* are the capital of the column—the shaft is built of the less wealthy and influential ; and the base (and a very substantial one it is) is a curious congeries of small landholders, herdsmen, vinegrowers, wagoners, and pig-drivers. Nay, you may be unlucky enough to get a *nemes* as a servant, and this is the most unhappy dilemma of all, for you cannot solace yourself by beating him when he offends you, as he is protected by his privileges ! and he appeals to the Court of the Comitatus for redress. The country is indebted to Maria Theresa for this pleasant confusion ; who, when she repaid the valor of the Hungarian soldiers with a portion of their own land, and a name to lend it grace, forgot that many of these individuals were probably better swordsmen than proprietors ; and instead of limiting their patent of nobility to a given term of years, laid the foundation of a state of things as inconvenient as it is absurd.’

‘ I was immediately reminded by his closing remark of a most ridiculous scene, which although in itself a mere trifle, went far to prove the truth of his position.

‘ My readers are probably aware that none pay tolls in Hungary save the peasants ; and it chanced that on one occasion, when we were passing from Pesth to Buda over the bridge of boats, the carriage was detained by some accidental stoppage just beside the tollkeeper’s lodge, when our attention was arrested by a vehement altercation between the worthy functionary its occupant, and a little ragged urchin of eleven or twelve years of age, who had, as it appeared, attempted to pass without the preliminary ceremony of payment.

‘ The tollkeeper handled the supposed delinquent with some roughness, as he demanded his fee ; but the boy stood his ground stoutly, and asserted his free right of passage as a nobleman ! The belligerent party pointed to the heelless shoes and ragged jerkin of the culprit, and smiled in scorn. The lad for all reply bade him remove his hand from his collar, and let him pass at his peril ; and the tone was so assured in which he did so, that the tollkeeper became grave, and looked somewhat doubtful ; when just at the moment up walked a sturdy peasant, who, while he paid his kreutzer, saluted the young *Graf*, and settled the point.

‘ It was really broad farce. The respectably clad and comfortable-looking functionary loosed his hold in a moment, and the offending hand as it released the collar of the captive, lifted his hat, while he poured out his excuses for an over-zeal, arising from his ignorance of the personal identity of this young scion of an illustrious house, who was magnanimously pleased to accept the apology, and to raise his own dilapidated cap in testimony of his greatness of soul, as he walked away in triumph. Cruikshank would have had food for a *chef-d’œuvre* !’

—Ib. pp. 150—153.

A particular account is given of several monastic institutions which our author visited, but the character of such establishments is too uniform to allow of any novelties in her descrip-

tions. A ludicrous instance of ignorant credulity is given, which we extract for the amusement of our readers.

‘The house-steward chanced to be ill, and the librarian absent ; and the priest of the village offered himself to the stranger as *cicerone*, a courtesy of which he was naturally happy to take advantage.

‘The good Padre acquitted himself marvellously well among the velvet hangings ; became rather less at ease in the portrait gallery ; and was evidently ‘at fault’ in the museum ; but, like Sancho Panza, he seemed resolved to ‘put a good face upon it ;’ and accordingly when he saw the traveller pause before two skulls, he lifted one of them in his hand, and exclaimed : ‘Ah ! this is indeed a treasure. His highness possesses no greater in his collection. This, sir, is the skull of the famous Rakoczy.’ The traveller looked at the relic with becoming reverence ; and then turning to the smaller one which stood beside it, he asked with some anxiety : ‘And this ? Is this also the poor remain of a hero ?’ ‘That, sir ;’ said the priest with a little hesitation, succeeded by a sudden and immense increase of importance ; ‘That, sir, is perhaps even a greater curiosity than the other—that is the skull of Rakoczy when he was a boy !’

—Vol. iii. pp. 158, 159.

Amongst the benevolent institutions of Buda we have been particularly pleased with the Children’s Hospital, of which Miss Pardoe gives an interesting account. ‘In this institution the ‘mothers are permitted to watch over the sick-beds of their ‘children, and food is provided for them during their stay in ‘the establishment, in the most liberal manner. Much of the ‘painful feeling caused by the spectacle of suffering, was removed in this hospital by the presence of the mothers, many ‘of them accompanied by another child, watching over their ‘sick, amusing the tedium of their confinement, or administering ‘the food or medicines prescribed by the physicians. It gave ‘an ‘at home-ness,’ and a comfort to the whole aspect of the ‘place which one never looks for in a public hospital.’

We have adverted at the commencement of this article to the faults of Miss Pardoe’s former publications ; the same qualities are discernible, though not in an equal degree, in the present volumes. We shall be glad to find, on again meeting with our author, that the good work of improvement has been carried on. In the mean time we commend *The City of the Magyar* to the favor of our readers as a book of substantial value, throwing considerable light on the condition, habits, and institutions of a people but little known to the English public.

Art. VI. *The Arcana of Nature Revealed: or Proofs of the Being and Attributes of God elicited in a brief Survey of the Works of Creation.*
By THOMAS KERNS, M.D., &c. 2 vols. 12mo. Dublin.

ATHEISM, if such a thing really exists, pretends to establish itself upon pure reason; and yet it is an incontrovertible fact, that no system of atheism has ever yet been propounded that did not stultify itself. It is perfectly true that all such systems have laboriously essayed to set aside the word *Deity*; and their authors have possibly imagined that by the substitution of other terms, they had sufficiently disproved the existence of any such being; but it demands no extraordinary measure of critical or logical acumen to perceive that the *idea* is still present, and is absolutely inseparable from their hypotheses, however artfully constructed.

The proper definition of atheism is *a denial of a Creator*, and, upon this negation, various individuals in ancient and in modern times, of various repute for learning, genius, and philosophy, and of no repute for anything but that of denying what every one else firmly believed, have founded crude and inconsistent hypotheses, *in all instances* utterly destitute of proof, and consisting wholly of assumptions and assertions, which have aspired indeed to the honorable denomination of 'systems,' but which have possessed as little pretension to *συστημα*, or orderly connexion, as the phantasms of a dream or the ravings of a maniac.

Lucretius undertook to expound, perhaps to embellish and recommend, the epicurean atheism; but either his poetic inspiration overbalanced his philosophy, or his philosophy disdained to be wooed by his muse, and in consequence abandoned him in the hour of his greatest need: for, as Gibbon observes, 'he 'proves a Deity in spite of himself.' The same is true of all the ancient atheists, though not so manifestly in every case, and for this reason, that some of them have merely suggested their system, thrown it out as a speculation, without any attempt at argument or proof. But all those who have systematized and argued upon the subject, explained and drawn out their conceptions into anything like theoretic reasoning, have fallen into the inconsistency we have indicated, of admitting and asserting the very thing they were attempting to explode. It had in one respect been well if all writers of this school had attempted proof, they would then most effectually have answered themselves. But unhappily most of them refrain from argument, and are remarkable rather for bold assertions and phrases which convey no idea, or a false one. A critical examination of the Greek philosophers might fairly explode the notion of pure

have not been wanting to press those honorable names into the service of this worst of causes, and to vamp up afresh their unmeaning conjectures upon a subject which has always baffled unassisted reason. By a most unjust construction those great men have been classed with the deniers of an intelligent first cause. The distinguishing characteristic of the system of Aristotle seems to have consisted in asserting the eternity of matter. But the very assertion that the Deity created this eternal matter, contains a contradiction so palpable, that the only resource left us, is to ascribe the same imbecility to the acute Stagirite which befell all the other philosophers upon the same subject. Reluctant as we may be to think disparagingly of the immortal Aristotle, yet truth itself, dearer than Aristotle, compels us to place him in the same category. An eternal Being we can admit, but an eternal creation is an absurdity never to be admitted. The very fact, however, of alleging a coexistent Deity, apart from the doctrine of an eternal creation, in which the absurdity consists, sufficiently exempts the system of that eminent man from the opprobrium of denying an intelligent first cause. Aristotle may be allowed to have failed in constructing his hypothesis: his system as a whole may be esteemed incoherent, and he may be said to stumble on the very threshold of the system of nature, where all others before and since, attempting to find out the first cause, have stumbled; but he is at least free from the charge of alleging effects without a cause; and his theory, properly described, is rather that of an incomprehensible theism than of pure atheism.

The attempt to retrograde upon the mysteries of nature, and to develop the arcana of cause and effect—which was constantly made by the philosophers of all the Grecian schools, by merely substituting one term for another, or some terms for nothing that was either known, or knowable, or imaginable, was but a removal of the idea of the first cause into deeper darkness, or an augmentation of their own and their disciples' difficulties, by hypothetically assuming more causes than the facts of creation required, and thereby involving the whole question in a cloud of mysticism that no understanding could penetrate. That speculations so grossly illogical should have engaged the attention of men professing to be philosophers, that any of them should have found shelter under the venerated name of the father and founder of the very science of logic, and especially that any modern philosophers should have overlooked their looseness and inconsistency, and laboured to revive them under new forms for the enlightenment of moderns, is one of the strongest proofs of the imbecility which befalls the human understanding whenever it attempts to exclude the Deity from his own universe, or to account for

than which we can conceive of no higher, no clearer demonstration of design and intelligence. The system, therefore, admitted what it denied, or defeated the very purpose of its invention, by essentially involving a creating power though perversely presuming to deny it.

This doctrine, however, has not yet been abandoned. The most celebrated, we should have said the most *philosophical* of modern atheists, had he not degraded himself by his puerile attempt to graft the theory of Lucretius upon the doctrine of probabilities, has attempted to revive the unmeaning jargon of the ancient school by wedding it to mathematics. The sum of the modern improvement and of the ancient system united, might be expressed in such a problem as the following, which the reader might require our printer, or any other wherever he meets with one, to solve for him—how soon might one expect that all the types in your fount or in your office, being fortuitously shaken together and ‘deflected’ as on wings up and down your composing-room, like bluebottle-flies in a sugar-cask, would arrange themselves perfectly ready for the printing of the ‘*Mechanique Celeste*,’ Sir Isaac Newton’s ‘*Principia*,’ or any other profound work of science—only not more profound than nature itself! Whenever it can be proved that such a chance as this comes within the law of probabilities, and certainly as soon as proof of the fact shall be submitted, but not till then, there will be some hope that La Place may escape the contempt and scorn which have befallen his atheistical predecessors of ancient Greece.

It would seem that all our philosophers, whether of ancient or modern fame, who have attempted to explain the origin of nature without the honest and straightforward admission of an intelligent first cause, have fallen into a confusion of idea and looseness of logic utterly discreditable to their understandings. As if fated to become the victims of their own delusion, they have been allowed to propound the most shallow sophisms, and to publish their own shame while denying the being of a God. It is quite hopeless to seek among them all a theory that will hold together. The silliest and most childish fables have been dressed up in a scientific phraseology, which has but ill disguised the contradictions they contained. Yet on account of these very theories they have been regarded as subtle and profound philosophers, too abstract and rational to be imposed upon by the dogmas of superstition; while, on this question at least, they ought to have been exposed and ridiculed as the most confused of writers, the most puerile and absurd of reasoners.

The system of Plato and Aristotle can indeed scarcely be an object of admiration to our philosophic atheists, though attempts

the abandonment of a doctrine so reasonable in itself, so consistent with our moral instincts, so essential to the very existence of social order, as that of a superintending Deity. And yet modern atheism, in the most erudite and elaborate dress it can assume, has required us to surrender our belief in a Deity to the claims of a new system which consists of the most unproved and baseless assumptions imaginable, and which to name among persons claiming to reason upon all things, ought to prove their condemnation. We refer particularly to the '*System of Appetencies*,' as maintained by La Marck. Many of our readers will probably not find this description intelligible, and we must therefore crave attention to a few additional observations.

The following is the outline of this last edition of atheism, which we shall presently see is as false in fact as it is incoherent in theory; as deficient in the essential premises, as short of the end it is designed to serve. 'The least known animal of creation 'is termed *monas*: and it was once supposed a simple form, 'without organs, either external or internal, or a merely living 'atom, and therefore the lowest form of life. This is said to 'have constituted the first and sole animal creation; and, that 'desiring to improve its condition, this desire, or appetency, 'became sufficient for the acquisition of what was desired, while 'the several marine tribes were the gradual result. Some of 'those fishes forming desires to fly and others to walk, the 'terrestrial creation was produced: while all the improved pro- 'ductions became also perpetuated. And the imaginary transi- 'tions such as the *manati* and the *penguin*, are adduced as 'proofs of the process. The same is asserted of certain varia- 'tions, of parts, in animals of a general similarity; though in 'this case, effort and resistance are added to desire. The bird 'which desired to swim became web-footed, the effort to pene- 'trate the ground caused the woodcock's bill to elongate, and 'the action of the water on the thighs of the wading birds de- 'prived them of their feathers.' *Macculloch*. Whether any of the philosophic admirers of this theory ever gave themselves the trouble of reflecting upon the question—whence did the *monas* first of all obtain that life which, upon the assumption of the theorists, seems to be endued with such a wonderful appetency for improvement?—does not appear. Certainly no such appetency for improvement appears in any animal below man. The progression of life, even in the lowest forms, is the unsolved mystery which it was probably hoped might be overlooked, but which proves fatal to the theory, supposing, in all its subsequent assumptions, it was sustained by the facts of true science. Those who hold it are as far as ever from having excluded creative power; indeed we might even say they have

involved in this single exercise of it far more mysterious facts than attach to the Christian's theory of creation : for they have condensed all the wonders of creation into the single *monas*, and assumed that it is possessed of such appetencies and of such power of gratifying those appetencies, as to become, by ever varying metamorphoses, transformed into all the living creatures of the creation—that is to say, all the various forms and instincts were conceived of and severally desired by the *monas*, before it set about the work of effecting the requisite changes upon itself. This is in fact to attribute all the wisdom, design, and beauty of the animal creation to the lowest animated existence of which we have any knowledge. For, of course, the *monas* must, in its appetency, have had a conception both of the form and all its appurtenances into which it was about to transform itself; and further, the appetency itself must have been different, vastly different from all other appetencies, and superior to them, in having the consciousness of the power necessary to its gratification. The appetency itself would have been like many other appetencies, *abortive*, if it had not been accompanied with this power. But appetency itself is distinct from power, and yet in the present hypothesis both are included. Hence the system literally makes a creator of the *monas*, endowing itself with the power of producing the whole animal creation, not even excepting man, out of the lowest form of life. This is simplifying the mysteries of creation with a vengeance, by condensing them all into the *monas*; and when this infinitely miraculous theory is admitted, and all these wonders of nature, which were thought too wonderful for an intelligent Deity to have anything to do with, are found abbreviated into the *monas*, we are nothing advantaged, nor in any way repaid for our credulity; for still the mystery of the *monas* life, the life that is like no other life, capable of originating all sorts of beings and of forms, remains to be explained—the cause that could wrap up all forms in one, and that the lowest and simplest, must surely be a creator of transcendent skill and wisdom, since the wonders thus attributed to him leave far behind all that revelation has called upon us to believe.

Whatever, therefore, this theory of appetencies may be, it is not truly atheism. It commences with an assumption of a living being endowed with properties of the most extraordinary nature, and capable, according to the hypothesis, of performing all the works usually attributed to a Deity—which amounts to the same thing as making that lowest of animals the very Deity—and yet this is done by those who affect to think there is no Deity. This romance of science baffles all parallel, and seems to revel in the quintessence of folly and extravagance. It deserves no other refutation than a direct denial of all its

assumptions. It is a sufficient answer to say it is not true. It offers no proofs. The supposed philosophical principle on which it proceeds, as if it were an admitted axiom—that all the forms of nature pass through a graduated scale—is proved false by science herself. The species never pass into higher ones. Each has its own defined boundaries. The monias has never been known to pass through the transitions attributed to it. The lowest organizations remain the lowest, and neither originate nor perpetuate the slightest improvements. Wherever transitions occur, they pertain to the completion of the single animal, are limited to its own proper states, and return back again to the primitive embryo, which renewing the same changes interminably within their prescribed circle, demonstrate that they were all parts of the Creator's original plan—and equally demonstrate the futility and falsehood of that theory, which assumes gradual development, from the lowest to the highest, as the mighty discovery which is to explode the doctrine of a deity, and make all the mystery of cause and effect from the first to the last as clear and bright as a sunbeam.

It is irksome, and in reference to human nature, humiliating, to notice such inane and childish speculations. The facts of those very sciences which these philosophers themselves profess to teach, ought to have corrected their mistakes, and rebuked their presumption. True science utterly repudiates their first principles, and rejects their theories as baseless and contradictory.

All the systems of atheism are as inconsistent with each other as with themselves—and yet no sect is more attached to its members than those of the atheistic schools to each other. Every one affects to admire the deep research, profound genius, and subtle reasoning of his predecessor, and yet he cannot refrain from hunting out some new system which shall explode all the old errors, alas, only by bringing in new ones. Buffon told the world that animal nature is mere machinery without intellectual power of any kind; La Marck and De Maillet attribute all forms of life to appetency, powers of conception, and volition. Boscovich adopted the Berkleyan theory of the non-existence of matter to the attempted disproof of a Creator; while a host of physiologists, both of our own country and the continent, explain everything by their doctrine of organization, to the utter exclusion of mind, as a distinct and primary principle. Under these endless contradictions, it is consolatory to observe that the absurdities and extravagancies of the philosophers are wisely ordered in the economy of mind to neutralize each other. The common sense of the world has little to fear from the aggressions of theoretic atheism, while its advocates agree neither in the existence of mind nor matter, and while their greatest me-

taphysical oracle of modern times seriously declares that he could disbelieve both.

We are, however, far from supposing that the spirit of scepticism is harmless, or that practical atheism is anything but a fearful and desolating impiety. The philosophic theorists, indeed, counteract each other, and they write mostly for the scientific world, among whom a large proportion are sincere Christians, and many more have at least too much good sense and too much respect for religion, to look favorably upon atheism, by whatever genius or talent it may be recommended. But we sometimes find atheism vulgarized, and as in the case of Socialism, divested of all pretensions to science, reduced to a naked dogma, for the simple purpose of relaxing the bonds of morality, and proclaiming with the ill-aped airs of philosophy a mere jubilee to animalism. It is this total renunciation of morality, this denial of all laws of conscience and responsibility, that has made Owenism popular with that portion of the lower class distinguished at once for ignorance, shrewdness, and vice. The atheism of the New Lanark Cottonspinner is not adapted nor designed for philosophers—but for the common people, and among them it has won its trophies and committed its devastations. It is scarcely conceivable that such a mass of nonsensical jargon could have prevailed to the extent this has, and certainly its fundamental principles never could have satisfied any man that thought or reflected, had it not been for two circumstances—the oracular self-complacency with which this dogmatic atheist propounds his opinions, and the adaptation of his principles to the depravity of human nature, and especially to that loathing of moral and social restraint which characterizes youthful depravity. It is evident that the stronghold of this system is sheer wickedness. It professes to found a new moral world, and it does so by denying all morality. It would give up all the old rules and principles, not for the sake of introducing any that should secure a higher and a purer morality, but simply for the sake of leaving human nature to the most unbridled and unchecked indulgence of all its appetencies.

But apart from the perfect bestiality which it sanctions and actually produces, we beg the patience of our readers for a few moments further while we present a specimen of its pretensions to reason and truth. Its first principle, assuming to be a grand universal law, and designed to demolish at a blow the doctrine of responsibility, is one of the shallowest, most illusory, and one-sided propositions ever attempted to be palmed upon the world for a complete and self-evident proposition. '*Man,*' says the oracle of the Socialists, '*is the creature of circumstances.*' The infernal motive of such a proposition is obvious—hence he is released from all responsibility for his actions—

for he cannot help being what circumstances have made him. It is intended at once to set him free—and to encourage him to glory in throwing all the blame of his delinquencies, if he has any, on his circumstances. But the proposition itself is virtually an untruth, because it is only a part of the truth pertaining to man. What if it should be reversed, and stated thus—*circumstances are the creatures of man*—man can make, often does make, and always may make, a very considerable proportion of the *circumstances*—the things and conditions around him. The very author of this system acts upon this latter proposition, that circumstances are the creatures of man—by calling upon all to take themselves out of the control of old circumstances and place themselves in new ones. The effort to form a new moral world necessarily implies that men *can determine* their own circumstances. The appeal made by this Monomaniac and all his satellites to the reason and free will of men, violates their first principle, and rests upon the one we have placed in opposition to it. If men are the creatures of circumstances, and not their creators, then the appeal to them to change their circumstances is an absurdity. But if there is any propriety in the appeal, it must be vindicated on the ground that they can change their circumstances at their pleasure, and inducements to do so are held out in abundance by the advocates of the system. Then it is evident that they contradict their own hypothesis—and, while preaching an untruth, they act, and call upon mankind to act, upon its contrary. They deceive the ear of the unwary by a lie that is pleasant to the corrupt heart, but avail themselves of the real facts and principles of human nature, in effecting the change which they seek. The fallacy of the proposition is not perceived by those who hanker for its licentiousness.

This wicked and silly nonsense would not have deserved notice but for the pestilence it has spread through many districts, and the injuries it has inflicted on the minds and hearts of many individuals. We believe it has been too much noticed, and brought into an injurious publicity, by the indiscreet attempts of his lordship of Exeter to put it down. The unfortunate and unhappy man who vaunts his discoveries with such childish and silly egotism, burnt his throat when a boy with a mess of scalding-hot porridge, and ever since has been subject to hallucinations about the circumstances of human life, which have induced him to suppose himself gifted to be a moral reformer. According to his own statement he has spent a handsome fortune in his efforts to introduce a new philosophy of atheism, at the ignorance and vulgarity of which the wise men of the world laugh, at the blasphemy and wickedness of which the good and pious shudder, while the dregs of society triumph in its licen-

tiousness. It is a crude mass of carrion, which though it taints the air for a time, will corrupt and dissolve of itself.

In our brief review of the diverse and conflicting systems of theoretic atheism we found it difficult to leave this speculation unnoticed, but we now pass on to one or two general observations upon all the theories we have named, as well as many others not specified, which may be taken as modifications, and, therefore, as included under the general description.

It will be observed that we have in fact denied and disproved the fact of pure ideal atheism, in reference to these systems and their various modifications. However their authors have contested the existence of an intelligent and designing first cause, their attempt to supersede such a doctrine, by the substitution of another that should exclude all ideas of a Deity, has in all known instances completely failed. They have either left the mystery of life, organization, and mind, wholly unaccounted for, or they have introduced a cause, under other names, indeed, but with the very powers and properties attributed by theists to the Infinite Being. Even the very clumsiest and vulgarest of these speculators admits the existence of power as the cause of all things: whether he ever attempted to realize the idea of infinite power as an abstraction, he nowhere informs his disciples. An effort to do so might convince him that he had assumed an idea for a fact, and that after all this *power* must be attributed to a being. But our wish is to state, that though we have, we think, successfully shown that there is no such thing known as a real system of atheism, and, moreover, that all the systems before the world admit the very thing denied, yet we are far from wishing to extenuate the guilt either of the systems or their authors. If the continued effort to substitute other causes of creation in the place of the Deity, in contempt of that light which both reason and revelation have thrown upon the question, has after all, been abortive, still no thanks are due to the inventors and propagators of these theories. They have done their utmost to destroy the belief of a Deity. All their attempts may have been unsuccessful, in so far as the production of any real and self-consistent theory is concerned; but their intention is the same as if they had perfectly accomplished their object.

Moreover, we are far from thinking that the disastrous effect of these systems has not been much the same as would have resulted, if they had really been what they professed to be. They have probably had all the effects of a real atheism. Multitudes have thought them so, and adopted them as such, and have evinced in their character and conduct the genuine fruits of a practical denial of God. We view the systems, therefore, with just the same detestation, as if they had effectually taught the utter denial of a first cause; and in some respects they are even to

be reprobated more seriously, because they are not honest in their reasonings, but flow from that impatience of moral government, and those other evil affections of the heart which are indications of depravity, rather than from a love of truth. The malignant hatred of a Deity is but ill disguised, when the reasoning powers lend themselves to maintain the most palpable untruths. Man must subdue his understanding, and suffer it to be led blindfold by his imagination, he must reverse all the dictates of his reason, and relinquish the testimony of his senses to the legerdmain of metaphysics, before he can bring himself to assert that there is no God.

The work which is named at the head of this article has suggested to us the propriety of prefacing our notice of it by some general remarks on the pernicious errors of atheism, and we now proceed to make our readers somewhat acquainted with this respectable and well written treatise on natural theology. The author explains the nature of his design in the following extract from his preface.

‘ From the title of these volumes the reader must not expect to find speculative dissertations upon the unexplored phenomena of nature, or discoveries to gratify the demands of curiosity, or didactic lessons in the arts and sciences. The author’s aim is to deduce from the works of God evidences for his being and attributes; and by pressing the sciences into the service of his argument, to penetrate the recesses of nature, and bring from their hiding places those testimonies for a Supreme Being, which, if sought for, may be found on every hand.

‘ In our investigations we have endeavored to abide by the rules of inductive philosophy—being willing to yield up every theory, if contradicted by well attested facts. The human mind thirsts for knowledge, and, impatient of ignorance, is prone to construct systems, and to view with complacency its own ideal achievements. The process of inductive reasoning must indeed be humiliating, when it demolishes some pleasing course of systematizing or finely-wrought theory, round which were cast the imposing halos of antiquity. Yet we must submit, if we expect to study natural theology with profit, or to feast on the intellectual enjoyments which it affords. But while we witness ancient theories crumbling beneath the wand of Baconian philosophy, and the mystery which hung around them receding before the advance of science, their authors should never be named but with respect; for, with indefatigable toil, they have paved the way for us. By their errors we are enabled to steer safely through rocks, shoals, and quicksands, where otherwise we might have shared no better than they; and these considerations should lead us to entertain humble views of our own acquirements, and warn us against dogmatizing upon systems, however confident we may be in established facts.’

After a Preliminary Proem, in which the author discourses upon the limitation of the light of nature, the excellence of the study

of natural theology, the *à priori* argument, atheism, and several collateral subjects, he enters upon his first chapter, which treats of the 'antiquity of the earth, and commencement of the present 'order of things.' The principal difficulties to the maintenance of the popular interpretation of Moses are upon the whole fairly and concisely stated, and the new expositions of the apparently conflicting passages (we mean conflicting with the discoveries of geology) are exhibited. The author has been at considerable pains in collecting what has been written on this important subject, though he does not appear to have made any use of the Lectures of Dr. Smith, which undoubtedly contain the most complete and satisfactory harmony of geology and revelation that has yet been presented to the public. We quote, however, the following as a specimen of Dr. Kerns's manner of treating the same question.

'It is said, 'in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth;' by which we understand the earth, and all those suns and worlds, commonly called the heavenly bodies: for it is well known that among the Jews, the *heavens* implied the atmosphere, the starry heavens, and the heaven of heavens, or throne of God. It is also worthy of remark that after that period, when the heavens and the earth were created, we do not find any material substance called into existence; or in other words, all things are made from some portion of matter, which the Omnipotent first had previously caused to exist. We have already endeavored to show that the indefinite antiquity ascribed to the earth was quite compatible with the Mosaic account of the creation. We may now be permitted to see how far we can with safety allow an equal antiquity to the sun, moon, and stars; which appears necessary, unless we suppose the earth to have been not only the first of our system, but the only solitary world created previous to all the suns and systems of the universe. If the sacred record declared such was the fact, I would respectfully receive it; but in the absence of this, we think it is extremely improbable that our earth, a lesser world of perhaps a lesser system, should be first created; and then, to counteract such premature effect, a series of miracles should be performed: first, to counteract the gravitating force of the earth, previous to the existence of the sun, a miraculous interference was necessary, operating contrary to all the laws of matter; second, the production of light previous to the sun called forth a miraculous interference with the laws of nature, which would be unnecessary had the sun been created simultaneous with the earth, nor can anything we know of the nature and properties of matter lead us to a satisfactory explanation of this light, independent of the sun. Another miracle was necessary to give the interchange of day and night; for if no sun existed, even though the earth should revolve upon its axis, no such effect would be produced. When we reflect upon this succession of miracles, consequent upon the earth being created before the sun, all which would be unnecessary upon the reverse supposition, what order of creation appears

more in accordance with infinite wisdom? This superfluity of means for the accomplishment of an end has never been observed as a trait of divine conduct; rather the reverse, great ends accomplished by few means. Therefore, we are led to contemplate the sun as created, if not previous to, at least simultaneous with the earth, by which we behold the grand operations of God in greater harmony with each other, and with the laws which he has thought fit to impress upon matter. But we rest not our argument upon a probability; we consider the text to be express upon the subject. It is said, 'in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth;' therefore, whatever is implied in the word *heavens* must have been created co-existent with the earth; for if any interval had elapsed from the creation of one to that of the other, the latter could not be strictly said to have been created in the beginning; and we are confident the inspired penman wrote with an accuracy which fears no cavil. We must again refer to the import of the word *heavens*; the best commentators are agreed that in the sacred writings three heavens are distinctly mentioned. First, the atmosphere or firmament, mentioned in the sixth verse of the chapter before us. Second, the starry heavens; and third, the regions of felicity or throne of Jehovah. *Paul* confirms this when he speaks of being caught up to the *third* heaven. These are frequently mentioned in Scripture as the *heavens*, and are evidently intended in the passage under consideration. Therefore, the conclusion forced upon us is, that God in the beginning created the starry heavens, including all their suns and systems of the worlds at the same time with the earth, the antiquity of which period is entirely unknown to us: and consequently, that the operations of the six days consisted in forming out of the pre-existent materials of this earth, the sublime structure of our terrestrial economy which then commenced.'

—Vol. i. 48—50.

Our author then proceeds to collect opinions upon the Hebrew word which has been translated *create* and *make*, for the purpose of reconciling geological discoveries with some other passages. But into these criticisms we need not follow him. Those who wish to peruse what has been written upon these difficulties must have recourse to the work itself. Our object being not to submit an epitome of the entire treatise, but mere specimens of its subjects and of their treatment, we must hasten to present another passage from the chapter on 'Laws of Nature.'

'In entering upon a brief consideration of the 'laws of nature,' we must first premise that by *nature* we mean in a general sense the universe which God has created; and in a more limited sense it implies peculiarities of constitution, inherent in any particular thing or object in that universe; and consequently, that the laws of nature mean certain principles or modes of action, originally impressed upon matter by the Creator: and by which he governs, with system and uniformity, the whole material universe. Therefore, we would desire once for all to impress upon the reader's mind, that when in any part

of this treatise we speak of nature's laws, the resources of nature, and such like expressions, they should not be understood as conveying the idea of a power acting independent of God.

'In this sense we reject, as ridiculous and absurd, the theories which magnified nature into a nondescript something with plastic powers; in reference to this we regard nature and nature's laws as nothing; God is all and in all. Thus when a thing is said to be effected by the laws of nature, it is virtually so by Him who impressed on nature that law. For example, if pain follows the infringement of nature's law, and pleasure be consequent upon obedience to it, does it not as fully evince the government of God as if he put forth his hand on each occasion, and by an immediate act dispensed the reward or punishment adjudged to our conduct? And here we must be careful to observe, that the pain is not to be charged to the law, or Him who made it, but to the infringement of that law. If a man suffers for the crime of wilfully taking away the life of his fellow, no fault is found in the law, though its sanction causes so much pain: because it was established, and the consequences of an infringement of it so well known. Also, if a man rushes into the fire, according to the physical laws of nature his body is decomposed by the fiery element. This is a punishment inflicted by the Creator, through that law he has thought fit to impress upon matter; yet no one would think of charging God with unjustly destroying the self-devoted victim; because it was an established law, and highly beneficial to mankind, that fire should burn combustible substances: and not only were the consequences of an infringement of this law known, but it was specially guarded by the sentinels of pain. And we may remark that the production of pain to the human body, by the application of fire, is not the effort of a vindictive sanction of nature's law, but instituted by the Creator as a powerful incentive to self-preservation.

'By the physical laws of nature, we understand those which the great Governor of the universe has established with reference to mere matter; such as the laws of motion, gravitation, optics, &c. These laws are beyond the control of human power; they are undeviating and inflexible, unless stayed by the hand of Him who first ordained them. Thus, according to the law of gravitation, a stone will fall to the earth, and iron will sink in water; yet by the miraculous interference of the Supreme Being, this law is suspended on a particular occasion, and iron is found to swim (2 Kings vi. 6). According to another of nature's laws, fire is destructive to the human body; yet the same omnipotent hand suspends that law, and on a particular occasion men are found to walk unhurt in a fiery furnace (Dan. iii. 25). These instances of miraculous interference serve to show us that the laws of nature are subject to the control of the Creator, but they are of such rare occurrence, and under the present dispensation so little to be expected, that we may with great confidence regard these laws as steady and undeviating.'—*Ib.* pp. 200—202.

It is well that Dr. Kerns has made a stand against the atheistic absurdity of deifying *nature, laws, and order*, after the

fashion of the Greeks—and this for the sake of excluding a deity altogether—another notable instance of the fatuity we have before pointed out. The philosophers, from Anaximander downward, have been so long in the habit of using these terms in place of the power and wisdom of the Creator, that they seem to have become unconscious of the illogical and absurd character of their phraseology. A mere prosopopeia is identified, under the term nature, with the Deity; and from this supreme authority laws are represented as emanating, which again are charged with the absurdity of being themselves a power efficient to the production of whatever we please to suppose involved under them. The terms have been favorites with all the atheistic schools, and on that account evince their eagerness to forget God, because in their haste they have adopted terms, and nothing else; so that ‘professing themselves to be wise’ they have become fools.’ The absurdity of announcing laws that have no lawgivers, or the parallel absurdity of representing unconscious nature as instituting law for itself, need not be pointed out. The whole vocabulary of such terms, chosen as it has been, by the spirit and for the purposes of infidelity, might be readily turned into effective missiles against the theories they were designed to serve. We can have no objection to the terms and phrases in question when used for purely scientific purposes, to save the needless familiarizing of the name which is not to be taken in vain; and when it is explained that they are mere substitutes for that name, or representatives of his order, the course of his working, or the objects of his creation; but against that use of them which designedly disconnects them from the Divine power, and really from all substantial ideas, reason and piety alike protest, and every Christian philosopher ought to make the most determined stand.

We find, however, that our remarks are leading us into discussion too extended for our pages, and we must hasten to sum up our opinions of the work. We can cordially recommend it for the judicious summary it presents of the discoveries of modern science, as these bear upon the evidences of natural theology. The author does not strictly confine himself, however, to natural theology, but avails himself of every fair opportunity of vindicating revelation from any of its supposed discrepancies with science. There is one chapter of his work which we think would have been advantageously omitted, not only because it was not necessarily involved in his subject, but because he has evidently not mastered the elaborate discussions to which it has given rise—we mean the chapter on the ‘Origin of Evil.’ The hopeless nature of all discussions upon that question seems to admonish us to let it alone. We cannot say that Dr. Kerns has advanced our knowledge or evinced his own, by his brief

and incompetent essay. In excepting, however, to this chapter we wish to be understood as approving generally of the rest of his work. There are a few things on which we might have taken the liberty to animadvert had our space allowed. But a revision, which we hope he will have the opportunity of making, may probably lead to the detection of such things as should be corrected. The work is generally so perspicuously written and so comprehensive, that it will no doubt prove eminently acceptable to the young people in Christian families and the members of mechanics' institutions.

Art. VII. *The Leicestershire Mercury*, Saturday, November 21, 1840.

WHO is WILLIAM BAINES, the new Church-rate Prisoner? This is an important question, and we can answer it satisfactorily. But it will be borne in mind, that it is not the moral character of the sufferer, still less his orthodoxy or his heterodoxy, which can determine the moral character of the proceedings against him. The justice or expediency of resorting to coercion in matters of conscience, is a question quite independent of any estimate of the recusant's character. He may be a good or a bad man—with that the law has nothing to do. Legal proceedings are utterly indiscriminate: when the case arises they may be used equally against the moral and immoral, the religious and profane. It is the employment of legal force in spiritual matters at all, irrespective of the character of the party who suffers under compulsory measures, that we should learn to detest. In dealing with opponents the question of character will often arise, and this is the soundest way of meeting that point.

But what is the practical operation of these high-handed methods of procedure? That good men, and good men only, are the victims of persecution. There is no fear of the bad falling into the clutches of the prelates; still less need we be under any apprehension on account of the infidel or indifferent. For such as these, there is no chance of the slightest injury at such considerate hands. The prelates, therefore, have always been obliged to seek out their victims from among the best men which the country affords, and they have seldom been so unfortunate as not to meet with them. From the days of the reformation amongst us (to go no higher) these purveyors to their 'grim idol' have never been able to find subjects for even partial, much

less capital punishment, except in the very ranks of the professed disciples of Jesus Christ: nor shall we limit the terms of this assertion to the orthodoxy or the heterodoxy of the dissidents. Our own history is full of the sufferings inflicted by them on righteous men; for an unrighteous man to be in the hands of the ecclesiastical tormentor, would be an equally fearful and novel spectacle. The former cases may gravely be said to be quite common and natural; the latter would be both unnatural and uncommon. State-priests were never known to lay their gentle hands on any of the delinquents described in the last eight verses of the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans. They always reserve the crown of martyrdom for those who are fit for it. The pious are the only persons whom the prelates, whether Popish or Protestant, have ever sought after. True to old and hereditary instincts, modern prelacy revenges its uncharitable heart on the excellent of the earth: its victims are selected on account of the reality of their religion; or, in other words, earnestness, decision, simplicity, and uprightness, are infallible marks for the guidance of its severest censures. A mysterious Providence seems always to have so arranged affairs, civil and ecclesiastical, ever since priests would be lords and lords would be priests, not only for the trial of His witnesses, but for the exhibition and illustration of the real character of those institutions, which are opposed to His own. HE permits the state-church of England to continue, in order to show the viciousness of her constitution and the wickedness of her usurpation; and accordingly instances are presented day by day, which, in spite of all the blandishments of courts and the refinements of the times, demonstrate her origin in superstition, and her support in corruption and terror. When the very heart of this vaunted mother is pryed into, torture—bodily torture, will be found written in its inmost core as her only *ultimatum*. Her crosier has always been the ready lever of the rack. And let her filial champions shift and shuffle as they please, they will find that this dire *ultimatum* is only resorted to against the pious, the devout, the sincere—in fact, against the best men of the community, which still endures her abominations.

Prelacy has succeeded in obtaining, by means the most flagitious, the power of suppressing obnoxious religious opinions by force. We know how this power was exercised formerly. But now-a-days and with us, the obnoxious opinion is to be suppressed indirectly—by allowing a man to entertain and publish his opinion—that is, toleration—but by doing something at the same time, or insisting upon something being done, which the very tolerated opinion renders intolerable: this leads to resistance, active or passive; and that leads to suppression, and

thus we arrive at the modern *ultimatum*—we come back to prisons again, which, under their former *regime*, used to lie midway between the prelate and the stake. In no hands and at no time could these prerogatives be usefully or justly placed. We should feel the absurdity and wickedness of resorting to these torturous means and appliances for the support of any truth of philosophy or science; but to attempt by force to compel the conscience to believe in or support any *Christian* truth would be worse still, because we have the most specific instructions on this head from the great Teacher himself. How rank, then, must be the offence of compelling a Christian, in the name of Christianity, to support what he may believe to be an *untruth*—to uphold what he may believe to be a great *lie*—or to contribute to the perpetuation of a system which turns Christ's spiritual church into a Civil Corporation, or rather into a Rotten-Borough of the State.

To corroborate our assertion, we find that these prerogatives have ever been inoperative for the suppression of the evil, and have only been exercised for the distress and ruin of the good. Force, and not truth, the only weapon, is tried; and tried only on those who never acknowledge any other authority than truth. In short, the only parties with whom it cannot possibly prevail are the only parties on whom it has been, or will be tried. There is then, every probability—reasoning as well from experience as from the nature of the case—that the prelates' victim, *the sufferer for conscience sake*, is a professed Christian—and, in the vast majority of cases, a sincere and humble believer in Christ, and a devout observer of all his commandments. *Because* he is such, he has fallen into the prelates' traps; *because* he is a disciple of Christ he is condemned from the blackest chair of judgment which ever confronted the mercy-seat—from the chair of a Protestant Inquisition; and consigned to punishment by a priest, who professes to be acting under the most direct and exclusive commission from Christ himself.

For the truth of what has now been advanced, we may appeal to contemporary instances, as confidently as to those which history has indelibly recorded. The spirit of prelacy is the same to day as yesterday; the same now as when its movements filled England with the groans of the puritans, and dyed Scotland's mountains with the blood of the covenanters; the same now as when it fell under the stroke of Parliament, to rise again in all the plenitude of vindictive malignity, with the restoration of the royal Bacchanal. Antagonism to liberty of conscience and hatred of every form of freedom are its 'marks,' and will ever identify it. Need we say, that the victims of prelatical persecution are the same? of the same class and

the same character? Now, as formerly, they are good Christian men. Take the two recent cases of CHILDS and THOROGOOD, men of different degrees of talent, and moving in different spheres, but each of them worthy, intelligent, and estimable members of society. The one, indeed, is a gentleman of no ordinary ability in the affairs of life, whose exertions as a private citizen for the public benefit have been great, and his circle of friends is uncommonly large. Above all, he is a pious Christian man, regulating his life by God's word and law,—and he has need of 'strong consolation,' for he has fallen on evil tongues, he has been a great personal sufferer, and death has very lately invaded the sanctuary of his heart and home. The other individual has also evinced his sincerity by his sufferings; and by those sufferings, so meekly and yet so courageously endured, he has revived the interests of liberty, and sustained the character of his religious profession. But he too is a pious Christian man, and we could mention sacrifices made by this humble person for the cause of Christ and the benefit of his neighbours, which would put to the blush many a more respectable professor.

But our readers may still be curious to know something of Mr. William Baines, the new church-rate prisoner: he will not be found to furnish an exception to the preceding remarks. He is (or should we not rather say he *was*) a successful young tradesman at Leicester—much respected by his fellow-townsmen—highly esteemed in his Christian profession—of a quiet, unobtrusive disposition—shunning all political notoriety—living in the bosom of his rising family—anxious, but in due subordination to higher principles, for the 'happy fire-side clime'—modest, but firm, in the assertion of his convictions—active and generous in the promotion of every good work—leading, in very deed, as he was commanded, 'a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.'

From his business—from the spiritual ministrations, so thankfully enjoyed and zealously supported—from a home so endeared—he is now severed. His customer misses him from the shop—his friends from the cheerful circle of kind and neighbourly reciprocities—his pastor from his wonted place at worship—his Sunday-school class wonder where their 'teacher' has gone—his brethren and sisters of the little community see him not, either on the Sunday going up to the house of God with his family, or wending his way with willing steps, on the week-day, to the place where prayer is wont to be made—and his HOME! Go and see—and you will find a house without a head, servants without a master, children without a father, and a wife bereft of her husband. The morning comes, but there is no father to open the Book, and gather the family, and return

thanks and pray for mercies ; the decent meal is spread, but he who has earned it, is not there to ask the benediction and say the grace ; the night falls, the hour of rest comes, the children gather round their mother to breathe their artless prayer, but there is no father's encouraging smile or parting caress ; and all is quiet save the beating of that mother's heart ; his familiar voice and face have not been heard or seen in that dwelling all the day—and a day is a long time, it is a great part of life, and its renewal may not be vouchsafed ; but the charities of home and life have not been tasted for a day, nor will they be for many a day to come, if indeed they ever be tasted again ! But the reader will best picture to himself a scene, which would be desolate indeed could the persecutor reach the gentle hearts there, or shake the firm resolution of a sufferer, whose duty is patience.

We have answered the question with which we set out, almost in the spirit of an epitaph. Were the prisoner to die in his bonds, it would be the epitaph of a good man, who died in the bosom of 'The Church,' so aptly typified by four stone walls.

Need it be asked *where* Baines is ? No. Need it be asked *how* it is that this outrage on an English citizen, and an English Christian, comes to pass ? No. Need it be asked *who* has done it—by whose encouragement—or whose connivance ? No. These practices may be enormities, but they are perfectly notorious—nay, they are not so much notorious outrages, as outrages of course, *now*, in this brilliant era of intellectual advancement, under the mild sway of a young Queen, and the administrative superintendence of a Party who, if they had not been so safely ensconced about the throne as her majesty's advisers, would have been the first as patriots to denounce these oppressions of her best subjects ; the land would have rung again with their indignant fulminations against both the priestly authors and the cabinet abettors of these tyrannous proceedings—they would have been rampant in their old vocation of rousing the greatest passions and appealing to the highest interests, for the promotion of self-regarding ends ; their rallying cry would have been the watchword of 'civil and religious liberty' to be quieted *only* by victory—to cease *only* with success ?—no : but to be dropped, rather than quieted—to be sopped, rather than ceased—on restoration to office and reinstatement in place !

Need we ask, *why* is this ? We answer by asking, IS HE NOT A PROTESTANT DISSENTER ? He is ; and this accounts for all. Such treatment is perfectly legal and constitutional. The assertion will startle only the nonconformists who have not inquired into the true character of those arrangements which the state has made with the hierarchy, for their comfort and accommodation. The sanguine amongst them may probably

have over rated their importance, by measuring their actual power by some obsolete standard of Christian probity or civil rectitude. Let us no longer deceive ourselves or delude others, by these overweening estimates. Let the Protestant Dissenters acquaint themselves with their political state and condition. Their numbers may be great—their wealth considerable—their intelligence at least on a par with that of their neighbors—their zeal and usefulness in the promotion of religion and the diffusion of knowledge, testified by all. They may come of a noble stock, however unworthy of such ancestry—noble for genius, courage, and piety—the earliest advocates of religious, the first teachers of civil, freedom—its first assertors and its first martyrs. They may have fought and bled in battle for their country—contributed to its burthens—enriched its literature—sustained its piety. They may be patriots by birthright, and yet loyal; they may be the stay of order, and yet democratic. They may love their father-land, and their prayers to God may be stirred up like the sound of many waters about His Throne, for the stability of its eminence and the lustre of its righteousness—for the safety of its queen and the prosperity of its people. But the Protestant Dissenter is dealt with as we have described. He, as such, according to the law of the land, has no rights—they are favors; he has no wrongs—they are incidental inconveniences. The law graciously *permits* such a subject to contribute to the support of the state only on condition that he shall contribute to the support of the church. This is the sum and substance of his position. If he put up contentedly with this conditional toleration, all is well; he may be a traitor to his conscience, but he will not be molested. He may rejoice in the unquestionable privilege of paying for his pew, and listening to his minister; he may be a trustee, executor, school-master, and so forth;—and thousands of Dissenters comply with this condition and enjoy their reward. But if a nonconformist do not recognize the condition—if he regard *political* conformity to the state's requisition on behalf of its church, as no less a violation of his Christian rights and duties than *ecclesiastical* conformity to the state's requisition on behalf of this church, then will he find, that he forfeits all the blessings of a constitution, which, thenceforth, vouchsafes not protection in return for allegiance; his property is pillaged, or his person is incarcerated, by law, and neither one nor the other will be released till he has endured the penalty or paid the uttermost farthing.

Toleration is plainly a sort of middle state between tyranny and liberty. It is an open truce rather than a peace; and every day's events show how hollow it is. Being made up of aliquot portions of tyranny and liberty, it is therefore almost equally

nauseous and unsatisfactory to both parties. To the friend as well as to the enemy of liberty, it means mutual degradation, grounded on conditional submission. The party tolerating looks upon it as a just sentence—compulsorily suspended, but not as a pardon; the party tolerated feels that it is a reprieve from execution, where the sentence of guilty has been solemnly pronounced, but where there has been no crime. Lord John Russell, in acknowledging a late memorial of his constituents, plainly intimates that the Dissenters had better comply with the terms of this contract, or their opponents may repudiate it as well as themselves!

This intermediate state cannot be an abiding one. It cannot be reconciled with the genius of our age or of our constitution,—of our common religion, or of our common humanity. It is not in the nature of things that mortals should abide in it. Government, be it Whig or Tory, must get out of it, at one side or the other; either by going backwards to old tyranny, or forwards to new liberty. In other words, the state must abrogate toleration and give us pure Equality; or they must abrogate toleration and give us sheer Despotism. The former will be the object of a patriotic, the latter the object of a despotical, government. We are evidently advancing to the recognition of one or the other. They are cardinal points in modern politics. The alternative is presented by the hand of fate—rather let us say, by divine providence—and one course or other must be embraced. Can the side which ‘politicians’ will take in this controversy be doubtful? We know that the state-church will be supported to the *outrance* in all its doings by the whole force of the crown and aristocracy. Its plots and machinations, through its press and its priests, its landlords and its representatives, are clearly, energetically, and avowedly directed against God’s truth and man’s liberty. Since Laud’s days its priests have not been so bitterly arrogant as at present. True enough, the church will now and then make a beggarly commutation of great spiritual claims with the state, but it yields only in order to secure and to make sure. In the instance of church-rates, it has partially abandoned the high prerogatives of unmitigated spiritual censures in its own courts, for the sake of more summarily administering its highest functions by the hands of the magistrate. The state-church loves certainty; and a six months’ imprisonment suits better than a longer, but less certain, term of punishment. It matters not as to the time or the mode. If the Church can fairly impale its victim on one of its many fangs, it will profess its readiness to forego the vengeance of the rest; because, like the dragons of old, it can concoct as much remorseless venom in a single tooth as is needful, to relieve its wrath and wreak its sweltering spite. The time and mode do

not alter the nature of its atrocities. The prelatical Church feels what the Dissenters should never lose sight of, that, let the nature of the infliction for recusancy be what it may, it is infliction; and that is an infliction which vindicates its attributes, and contains the essence of all infliction. Let the value of the goods spoiled be what it may, costly or cheap, 'vessels of silver' or 'rugs,' it is a spoiling; and contains within itself the essence of all robbery. Let the amount of the torture be what it may, let but one groan be wrung or one tear extorted, it is torture; and contains within itself the essence of all torture. This the state-church knows right well; this it will strive to uphold against the aggrieved of all classes; and in this it trusts to be maintained, by the wealth and chivalry of England. But with all its arrogance the Church is weak—weak in proportion to the very closeness of its alliance with the state—weak, demonstrably weak, in proportion to the nervous eagerness of its unceasing and terrified appeals to the magistrate.

These atrocities, committed against good men and peaceable citizens in the name of religion, and for the furtherance of Christ's kingdom, will not be endured. Such proceedings strike at the root of civil government. The policy defeats the end and object of *all* government. The ruler who persists in upholding this policy is not a ruler, but a despot; the subject who submits to the ruthless sway, is not a subject, but a slave. Protection and obedience are correlative duties. It is indisputably sound law that an Englishman owes no civil obedience to a political tyrant: and it is equally sound gospel that a Christian shall not yield one jot or tittle of spiritual obedience to an ecclesiastical oppressor. RESISTANCE (and would that the word were blazoned in letters of light, not only on every Englishman's Magna Charta, but on his holy Bible as well!)—RESISTANCE must be made to either or to both oppressors; but it will be the resistance which becomes an Englishman—it will be the resistance that becomes a Christian. That his resistance may become an Englishman, it will be political; that it may become a Christian, it will be religious. To be commensurate with his duties and his rights it will be both a political and religious resistance.

In offering a few suggestions as to the policy of the Dissenters, our observations will be limited to two points: resistance to church-rate, and the aggressive dissemination of the voluntary principle. We assume that the one is an iniquitous impost; and that the other is the only Christian mode of supporting Christianity.

With regard to the grievance of church-rate—it would be a mere waste of time to discuss its origin or nature—nor need we trouble our readers with a history of the many efforts for its abolition. We have had more than enough (if that be possible)

of discussion. If it be really meant that the impost shall be abolished, we must act. Were we asked for the reason why this trumpery tax is still retained, we should say because the bulk of the Dissenters still pay it. Were we asked the readiest way of ridding all parties of it, we should earnestly and respectfully answer, **RESISTANCE TO ITS PAYMENT.** The sum and substance of our recommendation is this—oppose the rate, if you please—vote against it in parish vestries, if you please—decline to recognize the ‘court Christian,’ and compel that court to render a legal account of your custody to the superior tribunals, if you please—agitate and petition against it, make it a test of your vote as an elector, if you please—but **DO NOT VOLUNTARILY PAY IT.** Judged of either as a mode by the test of expediency, or as a duty by the test of God’s word,—resistance, passive resistance, is at once the simplest, surest, and purest course that can be taken for its eventual abolition. To adopt the language of our greatest Advocate, it is to measure wisdom by simplicity, strength by suffering, dignity by lowliness; this is the truly evangelical method, of confuting wisdom by foolishness, binding strength by weakness, vanquishing pride by despisedness. The conscientious nonconformist has only to imitate the highest examples—he has only ‘to stand still’—he has, perhaps, yet to know ‘that the most innocent as well as the most ‘invincible of all powers, is the power of refusing to do.’

We wish to be understood as addressing ourselves to individuals, not to Societies. Let each look to himself. The best societies may be but indifferently managed; or they may feel some practical difficulty in recommending this course—but each individual can act for himself. What our case and our time need is not the mechanical aggregation of our fellow-citizens, associated together for the accomplishment of high objects. Such we have, and such we rejoice in,—but we want the excitement and stirring up of the dynamical power within the hearts of men. We want more self-reliance, and less gregariousness. We ought to ask at the year’s end, not what has such or such a society done, but what have I done? Not what report has this or that association made to its constituents, but what report do I make to my conscience? Not what are its resolutions, but what are mine? Not what brilliant things have its orators said, but what self-denying actions have I performed? Let the society take its course—you take yours. If you differ, and the society should attempt to trammel your free agency—if it should seek to put a yoke on you—renounce all connexion with it. Follow out as far as in you lies that course of action which will bring *you*, at any rate, into a direct and personal, though peaceful struggle, with the bad system. If you feel more in love with the system that spoils your goods, it

will be wonderful. Perhaps you would not oppose it the less zealously, consistently, or effectively, on account of seizures remembered, or seizures anticipated. Bear in mind 'that the 'most invincible of all powers is the power of refusing to do.'

But you will be told, and told by people of 'tender consciences' too, that it is the 'law of the land' for you to pay; so it is, otherwise your resistance would be active, not passive. Were it not the law of the land, one would be justified in treating the priests' executioner as you would not hesitate to treat a robber or an assassin. The fact is, you honor the law of the land by submitting to its penalties. The law is not always to be actively obeyed, though it is always to be passively obeyed, except in certain extreme cases, which citizens can better define than jurists. The law of man may violate the law of God, by ordering that to be done which God has said should not be done, or by commanding that to be left undone which God has ordered to be done, or by bringing its physical sanctions to bear on that which cannot recognize them. Is the law of the land to be obeyed? No. Is it to be resisted? Yes. How? Passively. It was by the unquestionable law of the land that our Saviour was crucified; it was the law of the land which inflicted torture and death on his apostles. Ask the noble army of martyrs, whence they came?—and they will answer with one voice, that they suffered by resistance, passive resistance, to the law of the land.

Fear not, we would say to the individual nonconformist, that there will be any lack of sympathy. You will have this in abundance, if you deserve it. Look at the cases of John Thorogood, and William Baines. Their consciences prescribed the course which they followed. They resisted as citizens. They disputed the rate, as they had a right to do, before the magistrate; they were cited into the prelatical court, and very properly took no notice of the citation; the court pronounced them in contempt, and they were sent to gaol. This is the brief history of their opposition to church-rates. Be it known, however, that if the promoters of this suit had not been actuated by vindictive feelings, they might have avoided the extremity of imprisonment. *They had the OPTION, instead of taking their persons for the contempt, of getting them pronounced in contempt—of proceeding with the suit, as if they had appeared; and when they had obtained judgment, they had the OPTION of taking either the goods or the person in execution.* We mention the option as to prison or goods, because it will be recollected that the judge of the court boldly denied, in the face of the House of Commons, that any other course than imprisonment was open to the churchwardens! But let this pass. There was no lack of sympathy. We pretend not to recommend their

precise course of conduct ; neither shall we pretend to dispute it. We do not assert, as advocates of passive resistance, that it shall be mere and sheer passive resistance. We say not, away with *habeas corpus* writs ; let the *significavit*s take their merciless course ; merge your birthright as an Englishman in your whimsies as a martyr. By no means. What the common law will do for you, avail yourself of, if you please. But such constitutional methods have been tried in both cases, and have not eventually succeeded ; nor is success again to be looked for ; because the prelatical courts have now been taught the knowledge of their own business. Still it was the sympathy of multitudes for these conscientious tradesmen that enabled them to resort to such proceedings, which have had the happy effect of attracting the attention of all classes to the iniquity of an impost which is the occasion of equal annoyance to all parties. It was sympathy which led a certain noble person,—who, however, was understood to have said in his place in parliament, that he approved of the incarceration itself,—to pay the costs which Thorogood was detained for—sympathy, or perhaps compunction, led him to ‘do good by stealth,’ and we hope he will not ‘blush to find it fame.’

Mr. WILLIAM BAINES is to remain for six months (it *may* be for life) in Leicester gaol. The parish of which he is a rate-payer is the only one in that large town where a church-rate can be made. He was not satisfied with simple enrolment in the lists of a society ; he was pleased probably with its honesty, zeal, and progress—its resolutions and reports—its agitation and its petitions ; he was not, however, to be enticed out of his individuality, or to be deprived of ‘the most invincible of all powers, the power of refusing to do,’ by the most flattering reports of dulcet interviews, and melting moments, and great gatherings, and splendid promises. He, as well as Thorogood, endeavoured to give vivid, personal actuality to his opinion. Determining to afford palpable evidence of sincerity, to himself at least, he determined to ‘refuse to do.’

The course, the simple Christian course, which we have recommended may be adopted, whatever steps may be taken by the government, with respect to this tax. Lord John Russell and the bishops, who represent between them ‘Church and State,’ propose, not to relieve Dissenters of the impost of church-rate, but to make its imposition and collection easier ; that is, the recommendations of the ‘ecclesiastical courts commissioners’ will be adopted. It will be collected by the magistrate’s warrant ; and in the event of a parish refusing a church-rate, it will be made at quarter sessions. There will then be no ecclesiastical court to deal with ; but the rate, the obnoxious payment, will not be abolished. We would beg of Lord John

RUSSELL to pause. We would appeal to him, as one of the most upright and influential of her Majesty's servants, to pause, before he commits himself to this scheme. For the sake of the country he rules, we beg of him to consult with his own conscience, and not to take counsel with the turbulent and tyrannous against the peaceable and free. We beg of him, by all that is reverend in the sanctities of religion, or majestic in the forms of virtue, not to become an instrument of torture—not to lend the weight of his talents, station, and office, to the work of desolating the homes and the hearts of the kindest of his supporters, the most zealous of his well-wishers, and, perhaps, not the least loyal of her Majesty's subjects. But if he persist, as a politician, in permitting the prelates to disturb the peace of the community, and, as a Christian, in countenancing the use of unhallowed weapons against the disciples of Christ, for the promotion of the Saviour's cause, we shall lament his determination more for his own sake than for theirs—for the course of the nonconformist is very plain. RESISTANCE there must still be—that resistance must be passive—and that resistance will be invincible. The nonconformist may resort, and that thankfully, to the laws of his country, but he finds a surer refuge in the laws of his God. He may gladly avail himself of the forms of the constitution; but he can remove his plea into a higher court, and leave the issue with a higher Power. He can refuse and yet comply; he can acknowledge and yet repudiate; he can resist and yet obey; and he conquers even when he falls.

To come to the other point to which we proposed to advert.

The agitation of every dissenting question raises the whole dispute as to the support of religion. A bold and honest statesman might have staved off this formidable discussion for half a century longer, by redressing and settling every 'practical grievance;' but such a politician has not yet appeared; and the consequence is, that *the dissenter starts up as a voluntary, and the discussion wears the aspect of the final controversy.*

This, we doubt not, is a most serious topic in the eyes of the establishment. So long as the Dissenter was content to invest his political energies in seeking the redress of 'practical grievances,' the hierarchy was placid, and the government complacent. A routine was gone through, of periodically 'asking' on the one side, and courteously 'postponing' on the other. We must protest here against the indiscriminate censure of the management of the dissenting political societies, as if there were treason in all their offices. In endeavouring to account for the stationary position or backward movement of dissenting interests, some have ventured on the hypothesis that they were sold to the Whigs. It must be shown that they were worth

purchasing. But the true solution, both of the activity of the church and the quiescence of the 'grievance societies,' will be found in the real character of that great question which has been brought forward. The 'Voluntary Principle' throws the points called 'practical grievances' into the shade, and neither committees nor constituents can move the world by them. The bare mention, rather than agitation, of that principle has roused the church from the snore of ages, and blackened the brows of cabinet ministers with rebuffs in perpetuity.

The hierarchy knows, and trembles while it knows, that *the Bible is more than equal to an act of parliament*. A church of Christ resting upon an act of parliament *may* not be allowed to rest there—it *must* not be allowed to rest there. The whole hierarchy, we repeat, recoils at the first touch of this controversy, which is scarcely opened yet.

Believers in the voluntary principle must avail themselves of all constitutional means in order to its full recognition, and the total abandonment of the compulsory principle, by the civil power. Let them boldly, truthfully, charitably, and systematically, on all occasions, in all places, at all times, proclaim *the voluntary principle*. At parish meetings, vestry meetings, election meetings—at special meetings and general meetings—in the House of Commons and out of it—at their chapels and gatherings—in their pulpits, periodicals, and newspapers,—let them proclaim this Principle. The whole people are anxious to hear *them*. Let them speak, and preach, therefore, largely, intensely, and affectionately upon this theme, with the special view of diffusing information and deepening conviction. So long as they wrangle and quibble about the little, they forget the great; and the hard-hearted politician, surrounded by bishops, only laughs.

One practical suggestion, with a view to this great end, we may make; and that is, the formation of clubs of electors, exclusively, in each constituency throughout the united kingdom, for the promotion of the voluntary principle.

Here is work enough for Protestant Dissenters; and if they do it well, their labours in the political field might be excused. But they will carry forward this great work much better, far more easily, vastly more effectually, if they zealously and heartily assist their fellow-countrymen—tens of thousands of whom are Protestant Dissenters too—in conquering back from the aristocracy their enfranchisement. Let not the friends of religious freedom forget the cause of political freedom. They are identical—they are one.

Were this high matter of the royalty of Christ in his church to be left to the free discussion and decision of the people, the issue would be safe and happy. Whether it will be so left God

alone knows, and He only will determine. We know who they were that watched the Saviour's sepulchre to keep him from rising; we know who set them there, and we know with what success. Whether the cause of His Church's deliverance from the charnel of the state will be so used and so served, by those who can combine the same means now, as were employed then, to suppress its joyous resurrection in these realms, can scarcely be doubted. But our duty is plain—let every one lend a hand or lift up a prayer, to 'roll away the stone.'

Brief Notices.

1. *Deutsche Orthoepie. A Practical Guide to the attainment of a Correct Pronunciation of the German Language.* By Wilhelm Klauer-Klattowsky, of Schwerin in Mecklenburgh, late Professor of German in the Nobile Academia Ecclesiastica in Rome, &c., &c. Third edition, entirely revised and improved. Price 4s. London. 1840.
2. *Deutsches Handbuch. The German Manual for Self-Tuition.* By the Same. Third edition, entirely revised and improved. Part I. Price 2s. London: 1840.
3. *Praktisches Handbuch. A Course of Exercises, Progressive and Entertaining, for learning to Write and to Speak correctly the German Language.* By the same. Second edition, enlarged and improved. Part I. Price 2s. London: 1840.

The titles above transcribed sufficiently explain the objects of the works to which they are respectively prefixed. The first of them is complete in a small and elegant volume of 114 pages, and is well adapted to its design. The instructions are full, and as clear as it is possible to render them without oral exemplification. We were particularly pleased with the portion of the work relative to accent, which is treated under the heads of 'prosodical accent,' the 'accent of foreign words,' the 'accent of compounds,' the 'accent of multi-compounds,' and the 'pathetic accent.' The appendix also, 'containing thirty-four specimens of the principal German dialects,' will yield considerable interest to such persons as are devoted to linguistic studies.

The two other works are still, we suppose, in course of publication. Each is to be comprised in two volumes, 12mo. Part I. of No. 2, i. e., of the 'Manual for Self-Tuition,' contains an introduction of xxxii. pages, forty-eight pages of reading exercises, and seventy-two pages of analysis on the interlinear plan. The corresponding portion of No. 3, the 'Course of Exercises for learning to Write and Speak German,' contains also an introduction to the work (xl. pages), followed by forty-eight pages (which constitute, however, but a part) of 'Haroon

and Zobeideh, a tale of the ninth century,' to which succeeds forty-eight pages of an English-German dictionary and glossary of phrases, designed to aid translation into German. The principles and plan of both works appear to be good as far as they are exemplified in the parts before us. We have looked through the German extracts, both prose and verse, in No. 2, and find them for the most part beautiful in themselves, and adapted to the object of the selection. If completed as they are begun, both works would justify a strong recommendation.

Memoirs of the Court of England during the reign of the Stuarts, including the Protectorate. By John Heneage Jesse. Vols. III. and IV. London: Bentley.

The former volumes of this work were noticed in our journal for March last, and we are sorry to report that the blemishes by which they were disfigured are equally conspicuous in those now before us. Mr. Jesse has prosecuted his undertaking in the spirit of a royalist pamphleteer, and his work is consequently to a great extent valueless and uninteresting. A large portion of the anecdotes recorded are utterly trifling; many of them are confessedly apocryphal, and the few of any value which remain are too well known to be worth purchasing at the price of these volumes.

The Holy War made by Shaddai upon Diabolus, for the Regaining of the Metropolis of the World; or, The losing and taking again of the town of Mansoul. By John Bunyan. London: Religious Tract Society.

A neat edition of a work which, though overshadowed by the superior glory of the Pilgrim's Progress, is every way worthy of the genius and piety of Bunyan.

On the Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some parts of Geological Science. By John Pye Smith, D.D. F.R.S. and F.G.S. Second Edition, with many additions. London: Jackson and Walford.

Having already expressed our high estimate of this work,* we need do nothing more at present than point out the nature of the alterations which the author has made in this neat and cheap edition. This will be best learned from the following extract from Dr. Smith's brief advertisement. 'The author has felt himself bound to review every part of the book with close attention. In respect of the sentiments, he has not found reason to change anything; but he has endeavoured, in many places, to remove obscurity or difficulty, by alteration of words, insertion of clauses, or addition of sentences. He has also introduced, in the supplementary notes, dissertations upon topics of great importance, and which have a close connexion with the general subject.'

* New Series, Vol. VII. Art. V.

The Church Member's Monitor, &c. By Charles Moase. Royston : A. Smith. London : Ball. 1840.

Stern Dissenters as we are, we are not quite sure that this admirable little work would not have been more effective had it assumed less of a polemical form at its outset. In the first three or four sections the author shows the nature of a Christian church ; and, though the subject is treated with gentleness, we cannot help wishing that all topics of an agitating nature had been avoided, so that the reader might have been led, with undisturbed tranquillity, into the delightful and edifying matters of the volume. We admit, however, that the importance of the subject is great, and we are not confident in our own judgment. The author may have acted as wisely as we have no doubt he has done conscientiously.

'The Church Member's Monitor' is one of the most valuable manuals we have seen ; and is admirably adapted to the use, not only of young Christians, but Christians of every age. It is just the work which is wanted for distribution in our churches : small in compass yet abundant in matter ; pungent, energetic, and exciting ; yet pervaded by the mild and holy spirit of the gospel. Those pastors who ardently desire the increase of piety in their flocks will find it an efficient aid, and will do well to circulate it extensively.

An Historical and Descriptive Account of Iceland, Greenland, and the Feroe Islands, with Illustrations of their Natural History. (Edinburgh Cabinet Library, Vol. 28.) Edinburgh : Oliver and Boyd.

A volume of considerable merit, comprising a large mass of information respecting a region of the globe but little known to British readers.

The Illustrated Commentary on the Old and New Testaments. Chiefly explanatory of the Manners and Customs mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures, and also of the History, Geography, Natural History, and Antiquities ; being a republication of the Notes of the Pictorial Bible ; of a size which will range with the authorized Editions of the Sacred Text. With many hundred Woodcuts from the best and most authentic sources. Vols. II. and III. Joshua—Solomon's Song. London : Charles Knight and Co.

We have already noticed the first volume of this work, and are glad to find by the rapid appearance of the present volumes that the publication is likely to be speedily completed. We cannot too strongly recommend the work to the attentive examination of our readers. To all classes, but especially to intelligent young men, it will prove an invaluable companion.

The Classical English Vocabulary, containing a Selection of Words commonly used by the best Writers, with their Pronunciation and Deriva-

tions, Terms of Sciences, &c., &c. By Ingram Cobbin, A.M. Second Edition. London: Simpkin and Marshall.

For pupils who do not learn Latin this will be a useful book, and will be advantageously adopted, especially in ladies' schools. The meanings are fully given, and the derivations are generally pretty correct.

A Peep at Grammar, for Children, with Questions and Exercises. By a Private Teacher. London: Darton and Clarke.

We do not like the peeping system in teaching, especially in teaching grammar. Still it cannot be denied that the purchaser if he masters the contents of this little book, will have no reason to complain of his sixpenny peep.

The French School, comprising the Echo de Paris, Gift of Fluency in French Conversation, &c. By M. Lepage. London: Effingham Wilson.

This the third part of a book we have noticed before. It differs in no material point from a score other elementary grammars which might be named.

A Collection for Junior Classes, consisting of Moral and Religious Pieces, in Prose and Verse, Selections from Natural History, &c., &c. By Andrew Veitch. Berwick: Thomas Melrose.

This is a respectable collection of prose and poetry. We say *collection*; the pieces are hardly *select* enough to admit of its being called a *selection*. But it is a very cheap book, and will no doubt be much used in schools. It is the *kind* of work which is very much wanted. But we do not like to see such names as Belfrage, Chapone, Grahame, and some others, so frequently in a model-book for children. It is quite a mistake to suppose that what are called easy and simple (that is, inferior and badly written) pieces are best or even most intelligible for children.

The Congregational Calendar and Family Almanac, 1841. London: Jackson and Walford.

A cheap and useful publication, which has been prepared with great care, and contains a large mass of interesting information. 'The astronomical portions have been supplied by a gentleman long connected with the Royal Observatory at Greenwich; and the latest and best authorities have been consulted to perfect the historical, statistical, and miscellaneous intelligence.'

What can be done to Suppress the Opium Trade ? By William Groser. London : Richardson.

An able pamphlet, which satisfactorily disposes of an inquiry by which too many are inclined to evade the claims of an urgent duty. We trust that it will obtain the wide circulation which it merits.

Voyages and Travels Round the World. By the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, Esq., deputed from the London Missionary Society to visit their various Stations. Between the years of 1821 and 1829. Compiled from original documents by James Montgomery. The second edition, corrected. London : John Snow.

The present is an age of cheap publications, of which the volume before us is an admirable specimen. It is printed in a neat and elegant style, and sells at the very moderate price of seven shillings. Such a reprint cannot fail to be an acceptable present to a large class of readers.

A History of British Starfishes, and other Animals of the class Echinodermata. By Edward Forbes, M.W.S. Illustrated by a Woodcut of each Species, and numerous Vignettes. Part I. London : Van Voorst.

Little attention has been directed to that department of natural history which the present work is designed to comprise. Though amongst the most remarkable inhabitants of our seas, the starfishes have hitherto eluded the researches of modern science. No work has been devoted to their history since the time of Link, who wrote in the early part of last century. Mr. Forbes 'has enjoyed peculiarly favorable opportunities of observing them in their native haunts as well as in the cabinet ; and several distinguished naturalists, who have directed their attention to these animals, have kindly promised to contribute to his stores, so that he hopes in this work to fill up a blank in the fanna of Britain and of Europe, which has too long remained open.' The work will be printed uniformly with those of Mr. Bell's and Mr. Yarrell's, and will be completed in four parts.

The Book of Quadrupeds ; or Outlines of a Popular History of the Class Mammalia : with a Particular Notice of those mentioned in Scripture. Illustrated by upwards of Eighty Engravings. London : Religious Tract Society.

An excellent book for our intelligent young people under the guidance of which they may advantageously prosecute the study of an extensive and interesting department of natural history. The work is written in an admirable spirit ; its execution is highly creditable to the printer and the artist, and its low price places it within the reach of almost every class.

The Voice of Conscience. A Narrative founded on Fact. By Mrs. Quintin Kennedy. London and Paris: Fisher. 1840.

This is an extraordinary narrative. Its fascinating style and important truths commend the book to the attention of our readers. It sets forth the subtle influence of temptation,—the fallacious judgments of an infatuated conscience,—the agony of conviction, and the only source whence peace can be obtained. We invite the attention of all to this interesting volume, but especially the young, in the hope that they may be spared the pains the subject of this narrative endured.

Both one in Christ; or the Middle Wall of Partition taken away. By Alfred Moritz Thyers; *with an Introductory Preface*, by Charlotte Elizabeth. Third edition. London: J. and G. Seeley. 1840.

The Jew. By the Author of 'Both one in Christ.' A new and enlarged edition. London: Seeley. 1840.

These interesting volumes, the productions of a converted Jew, are designed to show the Jewish nation their sin and inconsistency in rejecting the Messiah, and to direct the prayers and efforts of Christians to the great work of 'gathering the outcast of Israel' into the church of Christ. It has seldom been our happiness to see these important topics more ably discussed.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Mr. J. E. Ryland is preparing a Translation of Dr. Neander's 'History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles (second edition, Hamburgh, 2 vols. 8vo. 1838); the first volume will shortly appear in the Biblical Cabinet.

Captain Abbott, of the Bengal Artillery, is about publishing a Poem, entitled the *T'hakoorine*, a Tale of Maandoo.

A Manual of British Algæ (Seaweed). By the Hon. W. H. Harvey. 8vo.

A Journal of a Winter at the Azores and a Summer at the Baths of the Furnas. By Henry Bullar, Esq., and Dr. Joseph Bullar. 2 vols. 8vo.

A Grammar of Entomology. By Edward Newman. A new edition, almost entirely re-written, 8vo.

The Vicar of Wakefield, with thirty-two designs, engraved by Thompson from drawings on wood by W. Mulready, R.A. Post 8vo.

The Heraldry of Fish. By Thomas Moule. 1 vol. 8vo., with Illustrations.

Just Published.

Sermons by Robert Sanderson, late Bishop of Lincoln, with a Life of the Author, by Isaac Walton; and an Introductory Essay by R. Montgomery. A.M. 2 vols.

Family Prayers for every Morning and Evening throughout the Year, with additional Prayers for Special Occasions. By John Morison, D.D. Sixth edition.

Hints on the Best and Shortest way of Cultivating the Mind. By a Student of University College, London. Third Thousand.

Analysis of the Bible, with Reference to the Social Duty of Man. By R. Montgomery Martin.

The Congregational Calendar and Family Almanac, 1841.

The Works of Josephus. Part VII.

The Principles of Nonconformity. By J. P. Mursell, of Leicester.

Canadian Scenery Illustrated. Part 8.

Sonnets. By Sir John Hanmer, Bart.

Tendrils Cherished, or Home Sketches. By E. B.

Ward's Library of Standard Divinity—The Rare Jewel of Christian Contentment. By Rev. Jeremiah Burroughs.

A Help to the Unlearned in Reading the Epistles—Romans and Galatians.

Popular Errors Explained and Illustrated. By John Timbs.

The Parables of Jesus Explained and Illustrated. By Frederic Gustar Lisco. Translated by Rev. P. Fairbairn.

On the Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some parts of Geological Science. By John Pye Smith, D.D.

The North American Review. No. CIX.—October 1840.

Le Keux's Memorials of Cambridge. No. IX.

The Illustrated Commentary on the Old and New Testaments, being a republication of the Notes of the Pictorial Bible. Vol. III.

The Christian Visitor. By Rev. W. Jowett, M.A.

Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III. from 1696 to 1708, addressed to the Duke of Shrewsbury by James Vernon, Secretary of State. 3 vols.

Ancient Christianity. No. 6, containing a Sketch of the Demonolatry of the Church in the Fourth Century.

Pastoral Annals. By an Irish Clergyman.

Peace for the Christian Mourner.

Voyages and Travels round the World. By Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, Esq. Compiled by James Montgomery.

Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare. Twelfth Night. Part 27.

Pictorial History of Palestine. Part 16.

Lane's Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Part 31.

A Second Letter to Lord John Russell on the Plans of the Society for the Civilization of Africa, By Sir George Stephen.

Report of Operations in Translating, Printing, and Circulating the Scriptures in the Languages of India, by the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries.

Oratory; a Lecture delivered at the Literary Institution, Staines, by the Rev. Robert Jones, D.D.

British Birds.

The Holy War. By John Bunyan.

The Hour and the Man; a Historical Romance. By Harriet Martineau. 3 vols.

Bible Stories from the Creation to the Conquest of Canaan. By G. M. Bussey, with Illustrations by Martin and Westhall.

Lectures on the English Comic Writers, by W. Hazlett. Edited by his Son.

Poems, by a Slave in the Island of Cuba. Translated from the Spanish by R. R. Madden, M.D., with the early Life of the Negro Poet, written by Himself.

Reliques of Ancient English Poetry. By Bishop Percy.

Intemperance the Idolatry of Britain. By W. R. Baker.

The Bible Monopoly Inconsistent with Bible Circulation, a Letter addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Bexley. By Adam Thomson, D.D.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR FEBRUARY, 1841.

- Art. I. 1. *The Hebrew Wife, or the Law of Marriage examined in relation to the Lawfulness of Polygamy, and to the extent of the Law of Incest.* By S. C. DWIGHT. *With an Introductory Recommendation.* By RALPH WARDLAW, D.D. Gallie: Glasgow.
2. *Marriage Act (5th and 6th of William IV. chap. 54), commonly called Lord Lyndhurst's Act. 'Reasons in support of an application to the Legislature for an Act declaring that Marriages with a deceased Wife's Sister are not within the prohibited degrees, and shall therefore be valid.'*
3. *Considerations on the State of the Law regarding Marriages with a deceased Wife's Sister.* By a Barrister of the Middle Temple. Longman and Co.
4. *Summary Objections to the Doctrine that a Marriage with the Sister of a deceased Wife is contrary to Law, Religion, or Morality.*
5. *Observations on the Prohibition of Marriage in certain cases of Relationship by affinity.*
6. *The Present State of the Law as to Marriages abroad between English Subjects within the prohibited degrees of affinity.* Seeley and Burnside.

MARRIAGE was antecedent to all law; and arose out of the necessity of man's condition, as a being who was to live and enjoy the physical and moral advantages of his existence by the continuation of his species.

The law which invested marriage with the sanction of heaven was announced in Paradise, and from that period has been a binding obligation upon all the families of the earth. It is simple and of universal application. It has never been the creature of circumstances, but has remained invariable and un-

changeable; the basis of society, the only foundation on which it immovably rests, the source of its increase, and the one great instrument of its prosperity and happiness. Chastity, the parent of love, and love the guardian of chastity, and both the source of pure thoughts and holy affections, delight to wear the golden chain of marriage,—they entwine themselves around the principle of consanguinity—from which spring forth the social virtues which are indebted not only for their beauty and energy but for their very existence to the sacredness of this union. The deterioration of marriage has been the deterioration of man, in all his capacities and relations. The law of marriage, as originally promulgated, was intended to embrace two objects; the universal adoption of the practice, and the unmixed purity of the relation as subsisting between the husband and the wife. The legality or the illegality of marriage within certain degrees of consanguinity became, long after its existence, the conventional affair of states. The morality or the immorality has always depended upon the will of God, either as expressly revealed in his word, or as it may be gathered from the light of nature, or the law written upon the heart, which becomes increasingly legible as our nature advances in intellectual and social improvement. Where these laws, namely the laws of states and the laws of God, are said to be identical, or believed to be so, or where the human are declared to be expressly derived from the divine, we have no alternative as Christians but to obey them; that is, if we are convinced that the statement is just, and that the human legislation is indeed based upon divine authority. This, as it regards the Canon and Statute laws of our own country, we think cannot be established; nay more, we are persuaded that the whole weight of proof is in the opposite scale.

We affirm that there has been no subsequent law to that originally announced obligatory upon mankind or binding upon Christians, which interferes with the state of marriage, except so far as to restore its inviolable sanctity, and to enforce its mutual duties. We admit that the Levitical law is a divine institution, and that it does tolerate changes in the law of marriage materially affecting the other social relations of life, but we maintain that it was intended for the government of one people—that it was applicable to them alone, and that it is of importance as affecting mankind in general only so far as it inculcates an immutable and universal morality; and that while we may profitably derive instruction from an investigation of its principles and a voluntary application of them to any given circumstances of our own, we are not required to submit to its authority, or to acknowledge ourselves bound by its peculiarities or amenable to its sanctions. We are, however, free to ac-

knowledge that even in its peculiarities the Levitical law has not so far trenched upon the law of nature by imposing novel and arbitrary restrictions as is generally and ignorantly believed. It is for its *concessions* and *indulgence* on the subject of marriage rather than its *harshness* and *restraints*, that the Levitical code is chiefly remarkable. Those who contend for its abiding and universal obligation would obtain far less by their motion than they imagine, even could they succeed in compelling us all to pass under the Jewish yoke. The truth is that the Judaical law of marriage is little understood by those who profess to hold it in the greatest veneration.

But supposing that all the prohibited degrees, within which we are told it is not lawful for Christians to marry, were every one to be found in the Jewish law, our plain answer would be, we are willing to be instructed by Moses as well as by other legislators, as to what is expedient on this or any other grave subject affecting our social well being. But the only law to which we reverentially defer is that which God has equally imposed upon the whole human family, and which is equally applicable to them all in their infinitely diversified circumstances of illumination and ignorance, of civilization and barbarism. They may not all in every particular read it aright—there may be circumstantial, minute, and unimportant differences in their application of it to themselves, but among them all none will be found to have stumbled on anything so absurdly wicked as the prohibitory regulations professedly derived by Christian Canonists from the Judaical Institutes.

As there has been much superstition, much priestcraft, and, as we think, gross immorality mixed up with the law of marriage, and which prevail to a great extent in the Canons, and supposed to be sanctioned by the statute law of this Protestant country, in order to put our readers in full possession of the subject, and to prepare the public mind for those beneficial changes which enlightened public opinion firmly expressed can alone obtain, we shall briefly examine the divine law of marriage as applicable to all mankind—the same law adapted and restricted to the civil and ecclesiastical polity of the Jews—the perversion and abuse of this code by the church of Rome—the modifications in both produced by the reformation in England, or subsequently arising out of it—the change effected in the law by Lord Lyndhurst's Act; and the present unsatisfactory state in which he has left it.

The original law of marriage, with the occasion of its promulgation, is thus recited in the second chapter of Genesis: 'And the Lord God said, it is not good that the man should be alone, I will make an helpmeet for him. And the Lord God brought the woman unto the man, and Adam said, this is now

‘bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh, she shall be called
‘woman, because she was taken out of man. Therefore shall a
‘man leave his father and his mother and cleave unto his wife,
‘and they shall be one flesh.’

The comment of our Saviour on this law, in the nineteenth chapter of Matthew, will help us to explain it. The Pharisees tempting him, inquired, ‘Is it lawful for a man to put away his
‘wife for every cause?’ To this he replied, ‘Have ye not read
‘that he who made them at the beginning made them male and
‘female, and said for this cause shall a man leave his father
‘and his mother and shall cleave unto his wife, and they twain
‘shall be one flesh; what therefore God hath joined together
‘let no man put asunder.’ On both these passages, the text and the commentary, Mr. Dwight makes the following pertinent and explanatory observations.

‘1. The words ‘for this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh,’ were not, as some have supposed, the words of Adam, but were uttered by God. The language of Christ is, ‘He who made them at the beginning said, For this cause,’ &c. The maker of Adam therefore, and not Adam said this; and the thing uttered was not a prediction of Adam, but a command of God.

‘2. This is the great original law of marriage, binding on the whole human family. It was not a part of any ceremonial law, or of the national law of Israel; but was promulgated at the original institution of marriage to the first parents of mankind, as the representatives of the whole race. Men and women about to contract marriage were the only beings, and the very beings on whom it was binding. By the terms of it Adam and Eve were personally exempted from its operation, since they were already married, and Adam had no father or mother whom he could leave. It was made, therefore, for their posterity; and since in its binding force on them there are no restrictions nor limitations, it was clearly given to bind the whole human family. On this point the comment of Christ is express. The Jews inquire of him whether it was lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause. In his reply he admits that Moses, *for the hardness of their hearts*, allowed divorces in certain cases, but asserts that *in the beginning it was not so*. He then declares that, except in the single case of incontinence, it is not lawful for a man to put away his wife, and marry another, and assigns four reasons for it—first, the fact that God originally created but one man and one woman, and joined them in marriage; and thus expressed his own pleasure that marriage should subsist between one man and one woman: second, that at the time God instituted marriage he declared, ‘For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh’ (which in the nature of things cannot mean a personal but a virtual identity): third, that that is the reason why two married persons are no more twain, but one flesh: fourth, that all

who are united in marriage are joined together by God. Here, then, is an express recognition of this law as the original law of marriage.'

It is evident from hence that this original law knew nothing of divorce—that it was intended to constitute each marriage the root of a distinct and separate family—that it forbade adultery by implication, and most expressly condemned polygamy. This law, with the exception of allowing divorce in a single case, received the sanction of the Christian Lawgiver; and is the only law on marriage which Christians, *as such*, are under any obligation to obey.

It must likewise be observed, that this divine law of marriage, as it is *morally* binding upon all mankind, takes no cognizance whatever of near or remote affinities between the contracting parties. It prohibits no degrees of consanguinity; what it really demands is purity and fidelity on the part of the husband and the wife. This is all. The inferior yet important questions of relationship and affinity, which ought to form a barrier to the marriage union, it leaves to be regulated by the dictates of nature, and the reason of the thing as affecting the increase of the species, the virtue of individuals, the happiness of families, and the well-being of the state. All that the moral law in the commandment enforcing the sanctity of marriage prohibits is comprehended in one sentence, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery.' This command is co-extensive with the obligation of marriage between one man and one woman, but like the original law on which it is founded, it is perfectly silent as to any previous relationship which might have subsisted between them.

The degeneracy of morals which brought destruction upon the antediluvians was produced not by any abuse of the relations of consanguinity, or by intermarrying with each other, but from polygamy, and the intrusion into their families of aliens and strangers; for we are told 'that the sons of God seeing 'that the daughters of men were fair, took them wives of all 'whom they chose;' that in consequence of this the wickedness of man became intolerable, so that God said 'I will destroy man 'whom I have created from the face of the earth.'

After the deluge the world must have been peopled as at the beginning. Cousins at least of every degree, and all the other relations of mere affinity, must have been within the comprehension of the law of marriage. The patriarchal history is full of instances confirmatory of this assumption. Abraham married Sarah, his half-sister. Isaac married Rebecca, his second, and Jacob married Rachel, his first cousin. The patriarch Judah caused his second son to marry the widow of his eldest son. Amram, the father of Moses, married his aunt, so that even at

that late period it was customary for good men—men celebrated for their faith and piety, to marry their near relations ; and it is remarkable that the patriarchs Abraham and Isaac should not only marry near relations themselves, but that at the approach of death, they should take pains to procure wives of near kindred for their sons, without expressing any remorse for their own conduct, or imposing any restrictions upon their children. The following passage is striking, as it exhibits the views and feelings not only of Isaac, but of Rebekah, on the subject of marriages between those who stood in close and natural affinity to each other—their own nearest and dearest relations. ‘ And
‘ Rebekah said to Isaac, I am weary of my life because of the
‘ daughters of Heth : if Jacob take a wife of the daughters of
‘ Heth, such as these which are of the daughters of the land,
‘ what good shall my life do me ? And Isaac called Jacob, and
‘ blessed him, and charged him, and said unto him, thou shalt
‘ not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan. Arise, go to
‘ Padan-aram, to the house of Bethuel thy mother’s father ; and
‘ take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban thy
‘ mother’s brother.’

From these marriages of affinity no evil consequences were anticipated ; on the contrary, they were deemed a protection against the immoral and irreligious alliances which Rebekah deprecates, and which had proved so degrading and destructive to the antediluvians. The polygamy of Jacob was, in the view of the divine law, highly reprehensible. But his uniting himself to two sisters during their lifetime clearly intimates that the marrying of sisters in succession, as well as cousins in the first degree, was the common practice of the members of the patriarchal church, and that through these marriages God fulfilled the desire of Isaac, when in blessing Jacob he said, ‘ God
‘ almighty bless thee, and make thee fruitful, and multiply thee ;
‘ that thou mayest be a multitude of people.’

Even at this time the daughters of the land, the Canaanitish women, were considered as in a state of moral degradation, as unfit to be introduced into the families of the patriarchs. As the depravity of mankind increased, as idolatry, one of its worst forms, spread pollution and engendered impurities of the most revolting and detestable character, marriage became prostitution, wives and concubines were strangely multiplied and mingled together ; and the most criminal excesses, in utter contempt of all affinity and relationship, were sanctioned by religion and practised in its groves and temples.

The floodgates of a gross licentiousness were thus thrown open, and fearfully demoralized must have been the state of the world, when Moses, clothed with the authority of heaven and

endowed with super-human wisdom, was appointed to be the lawgiver to Israel.

In legislating for this singular people, expressly chosen by God to be the conservators of the true religion, the depositaries of its oracles, and eventually the dispensers of its blessings, Moses constructed a civil and ecclesiastical polity, which should separate them from the idolatrous world around them, and preserve them in twelve distinct tribes under one government and system of laws and worship of so peculiar a kind, and so exclusively adapted to those on whom they were originally imposed, that they could be regarded as obligatory on no other people, and binding upon them (the Jews) only so long as they retained their nationality, and the economy under which they were placed by their divine lawgiver.

Of course whatever peculiarities were intended to distinguish this mixed polity of Moses, it was first of all necessary to lay its foundation in the immutable principles of the moral law, which was, therefore, solemnly announced from Sinai. In the peculiarities themselves we are naturally led to conclude that the law of marriage would be reinforced—that it would be modified and explained so as to ensure unbroken the genealogy of every family of every tribe—that the tribal distinctions might be preserved free from all admixture and confusion, in order that the promise made to Abraham, and afterwards limited to the tribe of Judah, ‘that in his seed (the Messiah) all the families of the earth should be blessed,’ might be eventually accomplished. This necessarily involved, as we shall afterwards have occasion to show, the necessity of intermarriages between near collateral kindred.

Nor, considering the firm hold which the practice of polygamy had upon all the nations of the east, and which had taken deep root among the descendants of Abraham, ought we to be surprised if the inspired lawgiver, while carrying out the great principle of the law of marriage in all his institutions, should lay positive restrictions, with severe penalties annexed, to their violation, upon an evil which in the then state of the Israelites it would have been impossible by any legislation totally to eradicate. Nor can we imagine a code of laws designed for such a people, under such circumstances, would have been complete had it not been raised as a special guard and barrier against the loathsome and disgusting vices which prevailed among the idolatrous heathens from whom they were so recently separated, and which, originating in sexual impurity, had polluted their hearths and altars, and imbruted and debased their domestic and social intercourse.

Now these are in fact the three grand divisions of the Levitical law regarding marriage and chastity. In these divisions, how-

ever, we cannot discover any precise degree of relationship as the limit of matrimonial intercourse. We doubt not that the law of nature prevailed, that society was so framed as to enable every man to secure his own happiness without invading the present or future happiness of another, that marriages were not allowed that would have disturbed the general system of happiness, by levelling distinctions and confounding duties the observance of which are essential to the prosperity of the social state, and we infer therefore that marriages between persons related in an ascending and descending line were tacitly or by implication prohibited.* Beyond this we have no evidence to guide our decisions. We have, indeed, certain proof that a marriage between a man and his deceased brother's widow was not deemed immoral in itself, because, to secure certain advantages peculiar to their domestic polity, it was expressly enjoined. In the case of offspring the lawfulness of such a marriage was not denied.† But where the brother died childless it became an imperative duty, which if the survivor neglected to perform he was to be stigmatized for ever.

The universal law of marriage, that which was imposed in the beginning, and embraced the whole human family, as we have seen was expressly directed against polygamy, yet it is evident that the strictly Mosaic law, while remotely intended to work its extinction, was immediately applied to its regulation; and we have no reason to conclude that there was any necessary contrariety between the law of absolute prohibition, extending through all time and comprehending the entire species, and the law of temporary adjustment which was limited in its application to a single people. Indeed, so far from being opposed to each other, they are identical in principle and in their final cause. The apostle Paul speaks of 'times of ignorance which God winked at,' and our Lord assured the Jews that in forming his scheme of legislation Moses had special regard 'to the hardness of their hearts;' and he particularly refers to his relaxation of the law of marriage having in view the inveterate practice of polygamy, the evils of which he was resolved as far as possible to counteract and neutralize. Thus his granting divorces not only for great, but comparatively trivial

* These indeed, from their very nature, carry with them their own prohibition. It is absurd to imagine that children would marry their parents or parents their children: and wherever the social state has advanced in civilization, the union of brothers and sisters has grown into desuetude, and in all Christian lands is totally abandoned, and requires not to be forbidden by any law.

† The twentieth verse in the twentieth chapter of Leviticus contains no prohibition with regard to marriage; see 18th verse.

causes, was a wise expedient for diminishing polygamy; a divorced wife making room for the introduction of another without two or more being compelled to dwell together.

In another instance we observe the jealous care with which the rights of a wife were guarded if her husband for any cause originating in himself resolved to take another; having dealt deceitfully with her, he must either remit the price of her redemption, she being the purchased handmaid of the family, as well as his own betrothed, or he must continue to her his protection and support; nor forget that she was still his wife, and entitled to all that is implied in that peculiar relation. We refer our readers to Exodus xxi. 10, 11, compared with Genesis xxx. 14, 16.

There is one violation of the sanctity of the marriage state, a peculiar aggravation of the turpitude of polygamy, on which the law of Moses has fixed the stigma of fornication and adultery, placing it amongst those impurities which are denounced in the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus; the offence is thus described, 'Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister to vex her, to uncover her nakedness beside the other in her lifetime.'

Some consider this passage as directed against polygamy generally; perhaps it is levelled against polygamy under aggravated circumstances. But whether one or the other, or both be intended, no criticism can torture it into a restriction of the law of marriage. If against polygamy generally, it has nothing to do with affinity—it merely amounts to this, 'Thou shalt not take one wife to another in her lifetime.' If it be directed against polygamy under aggravated circumstances, it is a prohibition with two reasons to enforce it; 'Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister in her lifetime to vex her:' the first reason is the vexation it would cause to the sister wife, and the second is the unlawfulness of such a connexion during the life of both, and its perfect legality in the case of the wife's death. This is strongly implied, for Dodd, *in loco*, remarks, 'though a man might not marry two sisters together, it seems a natural conclusion from the phrase 'in her lifetime,' that he might marry two sisters in succession; and thus we learn from Selden, the Jews generally understood it.'*

* Mr. Fry, who nearly a century ago published his able work entitled 'The Cases of Marriages between Near Kindred particularly Considered,' observes on this text, 'Many learned men have thought it to be a prohibition of polygamy; but that sense of it is rejected by the best commentators.' He quotes Poole in confirmation of this remark, and proves that the passage does not refer to marriage at all, but is a prohibition of a most offensive and indelicate practice, which he numbers among the abominations of the Canaanites,

The more closely this whole chapter of Leviticus is examined the stronger we feel will be the conviction of every one competent to form a judgment on the subject, that it has no relation whatever to marriage; but that it belongs to the third division of the law regarding sexual purity, which is at the same time a rehearsal and denunciation of the worst offences of this nature which prevailed among the Canaanites. The enumeration is made with a view of justifying the severity of God in destroying them, and of exhibiting to the Israelites those particular species of crime, with their various aggravations, which, being connected with idolatry, would always kindle his indignation and bring down upon the offenders the most terrific punishments.

Sir William Jones, in a letter published many years ago in the appendix to a treatise entitled ‘The Legal Degrees of Marriage Stated and Considered, by John Alleyne, Esq., Barrister at Law,’ has written fully on this point, and demolished the foundation on which canonists and civilians have built the monstrous structure of what they have called the prohibited degrees. With pleasure we quote his authority, corroborated as it is by Hammond, Poole, and other learned commentators. Sir William Jones thus writes to Mr. Alleyne, ‘I have read over the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus in Hebrew, with a view to discover the true meaning of the words which you desire me to interpret; and I have examined all the passages that I could find in the historical and prophetic parts of Scripture, in which the same expression occurs.’ Here follows the learned author’s criticism on the somewhat indelicate phrase ‘thou shalt not uncover the nakedness,’ &c., which he observes is never used throughout Scripture to signify *marriage*, but the contrary expression is always used in the case of marriage, viz., ‘spreading a skirt over a woman, and covering the nakedness.’* Of the accuracy of this interpretation every Hebrew scholar will be able to judge for himself.

‘But from what root soever,’ continues Sir William Jones, ‘the Hebrew words are derived, or whatever may be their meaning in the dialects of Asia, it is surprising that the chapter before us should ever have been taken for the *law of marriage*, since it is apparent that all the laws contained in that chapter relate only to the impure *lusts and obscene rites of the Egyptians and Canaanites*, to the abominable cus-

against whose gross impurities the eighteenth and twentieth chapters of Leviticus are specifically directed.

* ‘The phrase of ‘uncovering the nakedness’ is literally translated from the Hebrew; as *orvah* signifies nakedness, and *gala* (or, as the Arabians pronounce it *jalu*) to *reveal*, to *disclose*, to *unfold*, to *expose*, to *lay open*.’ The same word, *orvah*, is used in Exodus xx. 26, to which we refer.

toms and *ordinances*, as they are called, of the idolatrous nations who were extirpated by the chosen people. This must be evident to all unprejudiced and attentive readers, from the whole tenor of the chapter: first, they are commanded to beware of the *doings* of the Egyptians, and the inhabitants of Canaan; then these *doings* are enumerated, with a special law against each of them; and, lastly, the general command is resumed, ‘Defile not yourselves in these things, for in all these things are the nations defiled which I cast out before you.’ Now what these impurities were we learn from history, where we find that the most shocking and disgusting ceremonies were actually performed in Egypt and Syria, by persons of both sexes, in honor of those deities who are described by Selden and Milton, and who were worshipped in Europe under the names of Venus, Adonis, and Priapus. A nauseous picture of human depravity! That obscenities, which none but a Romish casuist could figure to his imagination, should have been practised as *religious rites*, not in Asia only, but in Greece and Italy! I cannot help believing, therefore, that the whole chapter from which our prohibited degrees are deduced, contains laws, not against marriage within certain degrees, but against all obscenity whatever, and especially against the unnatural prostitutions committed by the idolaters of Canaan and Egypt. If any argument can be drawn from Asiatic philology, it may be worth while to add, that the Arabic verb, from which *orvah* or nakedness is derived, signifies, in the twelfth conjugation, to commit any shameful action, that *aura* means obscene, and that *ara* is interpreted by Golius *Promiscue facta aliis rei potestas*. But I lay no great stress on these minute circumstances, which may happen to be accidental. No man has examined this subject more diligently than *Fry*, the author of a pamphlet which you justly commend, and you see my opinion perfectly coincides with his. He makes another observation, which I think decisive, that the phrase of concealing the nakedness, not of exposing it, is constantly used in Scripture for the *nuptial rite*. I turned to the passage in Ezekiel, where that vehement poet, or rather orator, is describing the covenant with the Jewish nation, which covenant is very often (we know) expressed by the allegory of a *marriage*. His words are, ‘Thy season was a season of love. I spread the border of my mantle over thee, and covered thy nakedness;’ that is, I married thee. What is conclusive evidence if this be not? And if this interpretation of Leviticus be just, what will become of the canons and rubrics in the Levitical degrees?’

That Sir William Jones’s view of the Levitical prohibitions is critically just, and that they have no application whatever to marriage, may be further proved by considering that the reasons assigned for them refer to the present, and not to the past. They are all in the present tense: ‘It is thy father’s wife;’ ‘She is thine aunt,’ or as it is rendered in the margin of our Bibles, ‘She is thy father’s brother’s wife;’ ‘She is thy son’s wife.’ This phraseology fairly implies that these various relations must really exist in order to constitute the heinousness of

the crime forbidden. It proceeds on the assumption that they are not dissolved by death, that the father, the father's brother, and the son would be the injured and the living parties, and therefore that the offence prohibited could not be marriage with the widow of either, but adultery with the wife under circumstances the most revolting and detestable.

There is also a moral reason deeply seated in human nature which adds peculiar force to this argument. The intercourse forbidden in many of the instances specified cannot possibly refer to marriage. The very idea of them is too monstrous to have been entertained by any beings, however profligate and depraved, in whose hearts the notion of family and affinity was not totally extinguished. As crimes against all the social and domestic relations of life, they could only have been conceived by the impure imaginations which had their origin in idolatry, and were inspired by the worship of demons. St. Paul describes them as the characteristics of heathen immorality in his time, and traces them to the same diabolical source. Let the reader compare with attention the prohibitions in the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus with the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, from the twentieth verse, *passim*.

To this interpretation of the Levitical prohibitions an objection has been raised which, however specious, is not tenable. It has been urged that if these prohibitions do not relate to marriage, they leave criminal desire to luxuriate through the whole range of sexual impurities which they do not specifically denounce. The reason for their special enumeration we have already stated—they were the abominations that caused the destruction of the idolatrous Canaanites. But our direct reply to the objection is, that the original law of marriage has clearly defined the limit of sexual intercourse, and that to transgress it in any case, whether specifically denounced or not, is most strictly forbidden by the moral law of Sinai, which condemns by implication every act offensive to chastity, as is evidently shown by our Lord, who declares, that to look upon a woman with an impure desire, is a species of adultery.

If further proof were necessary in establishing this argument against the application of the Levitical prohibitions to marriage, it is to be found in the marriages sanctioned by Moses during his administration of his own laws, which were considered the most honorable among the Jews in after times, and a deviation from which is in so many words declared to be a sin to be avoided, and when committed to be worthy of condemnation and punishment. We refer to the thirty-sixth chapter of the book of Numbers, verses ten and eleven, 'Even as the Lord commanded Moses, so did the daughters of Zelophehad; for Mahlah, Tirzah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Noah, the

‘daughters of Zelophehad, were married unto their father’s ‘brothers’ sons.’ So in Judges it is stated (chap. i. 13), that Caleb gave Achsah his daughter to Othniel, the son of Kenaz his younger brother, to wife. The case of Ruth is also in point; Boaz felt hesitation in making her his wife, not for want of affection, nor because of the affinity between them, but for a contrary reason. ‘It is true that I am thy near kinsman; ‘howbeit there is a kinsman nearer than I;’ and in the next verse he promised her that if that kinsman refused to take upon him the nuptial obligation, he would himself marry her. And in a later age, we find Tobit, who had married his kinswoman, thus instructing his son—‘My son, chiefly take a wife of the ‘seed of thy fathers, and take not a strange woman to wife, ‘which is not of thy father’s tribe; for we are the children of ‘the prophets, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.; remember, my ‘son, that our fathers from the beginning, even that they all ‘married wives of their own kindred, and were blessed in their ‘children. Now, therefore, my son, love thy brethren, and ‘despise not the sons and daughters of thy people, in not taking ‘a wife of them.’—Tobit ix. 12, 13.

From these instances, and from the whole tenor of the Jewish history, it appears that near affinity was always regarded as a reason for marriage, and not an objection against it. And it is equally clear that marriages with strangers were strongly reprobated, and when contracted were visited with divine severity. We can only refer to Deut. vii. 2, 3; Ezra x. 10—14; and Nehemiah xiii. from verse 23, *passim*.

The truth seems to be, that with one express addition, namely that of marrying the childless widow of a deceased brother, and certain provisions of indulgence on the subjects of divorce and polygamy, the Levitical code left the original law of marriage untouched; that in fact, with regard to degrees of relationship within which marriage would be unlawful, it contains no prohibitions. Yet as the abominations denounced and forbidden in the above chapter are greatly aggravated by their incestuous character, the Jews must have had some definite views on the subject of incest in reference to marriage; what these were we have no means of ascertaining. It is certain that several of the affinities expressly named by the Jewish lawgiver as enhancing the guilt of mere sexual intercourse, have never been regarded by the Jewish nation as forming any barrier to the union of the parties by marriage. Thus, while violating a brother’s wife is severely censured, the Israelite is expressly commanded to marry her should she become a childless widow.*

* It is a practice among the Jews that no childless widow can marry a second time without offering and subjecting herself to the acceptance or refusal of her

We trust that the stand we have thus taken will either bring down upon our statements contradiction and refutation, or that the Levitical degrees will be abandoned, or that the law of marriage as it regards propinquity of relationship, will be enforced on the ground of a reasonable humanity—alike unswayed by ascetic superstition and licentious infidelity. Till, however, these views of the Levitical law are equally entertained by the litigant parties as to the point where lawful marriages end and incestuous criminality begins, the controversy must be encumbered with all the old notions. But it is satisfactory to feel, that even with this admission, the state of the canon and statute law, as it now exists in England, has no sanction whatever from the Jewish code; and this will appear as we advance in our inquiries.

On the subject of the degrees of kindred and affinity, as it was understood during the time of Christ, the New Testament sheds very little light. The only case which is mentioned, and reprobated as a violation of the law of nature, is that which occurred in the Corinthian church—it does not appear to have been a case of marriage, but of aggravated impurity—which the apostle declares ‘was not so much as named among the Gentiles.’—1 Cor. v. 1. This determines nothing on the subject of the degrees of affinity within which it would be immoral for

deceased husband's brother. The command rendering marriage imperative in the instance of a brother's childless widow is purely conventional. Christians and heathens were always at liberty to disregard it. But as the command, though conventional, could not be a violation of the eternal principles of morality, it is a necessary inference that to marry the widow of a deceased brother under any circumstances is perfectly consistent with those principles, and on this point the Jews entertain no scruples. The reason for the command—in this particular relation as a principle—is much stronger when applied to one of similar degree of affinity. If a Jew was compelled to marry the widow of his brother in order to raise up seed to his brother, it ought certainly to be permitted to a Christian to marry the sister of his deceased wife. The reason, as Dr. Franklin observes, ‘being rather stronger in the one case than the other; if the one were enjoined that children might be produced, who should bear the name of a deceased brother, the other ought not to be forbidden, as it is more apparently necessary to take care of the education of a sister's children already existing than to procure the existence of children merely that they might keep up the name of a brother.’ In their present state of dispersion the Jews regard this law as oppressive, and utterly unadapted to their altered circumstances. In order to evade it they not unfrequently, before a marriage is contracted, exact from the brothers of the intended husband, in case of the survivorship of the wife without children, a written engagement to renounce their claim; and where this has been neglected, the friends of the widow have been known to purchase her release by paying to the exorbitant claimants a large sum of money. For in England the Jews are placed in this awkward dilemma,—if they obey Moses, they must violate the law of their adopted country.

either Jew or Christian to *marry*. To seduce and to prostitute, is in all cases a crime; even where marriages would not only be lawful, but most commendable; and the nearer the degrees of affinity existing between the parties—which might not be a barrier to their conjugal union, would be nevertheless a most heinous aggravation of their guilt should their intercourse be criminal. It is evident that the Jews felt no repugnance to the marriage of one woman with seven brethren in succession; and when our Lord was interrogated as to whose wife she should be in the resurrection, he passed no censure either on the impiety or the immorality of the supposition (it may be reasonably doubted whether it was not a *fact*), but simply replies, that ‘In heaven they neither marry, nor are given in marriage.’ A strange answer to such a question if, indeed, the fact or supposition implied in it had been founded in wickedness; if it implied either a Levitical or a natural offence. But the instance of Herod, and the intrepidity of John the Baptist, which cost him his head, have been relied upon as establishing the canon law of Christendom on the Judaical law of Moses, namely, that it is immoral or impious to marry a brother’s widow. Herod lived adulterously with Herodias, his brother Philip’s wife—what has this to do with the question of marriage? Philip was alive at the time.

Thus it appears that the original law of marriage has no reference whatever to degrees of kindred and affinity; that the most favored servants of God did not feel themselves under any restraint with respect to marriage in any case of relationship by affinity; that the law of Moses does not interfere with the law of paradise, nor with the practices of the patriarchs and founders of the Jewish nation; that its prohibitions contained in the eighteenth and twentieth chapters of Leviticus have no reference to marriage, or if the contrary, for the sake of argument, be admitted, that their restrictions do not extend to a deceased brother’s wife, on any moral ground, nor to the sister of a deceased wife, nor to several other degrees of propinquity condemned by the canon law of Christendom; that we have no reason to suppose that marriage was prohibited in these cases in any later period of the Jewish history, and that Christ enjoined nothing on the subject of marriage affecting its validity on the ground of any relationship that might exist between the parties contracting it, but that he left it to his followers to adapt their marriage laws to the circumstances in which they might be placed. And well would it have been for mankind if those who in after times presumed to be rulers in his church, had observed the same discretion. There are two ways of weakening the bonds of moral obligation. By extreme tension, on the one

hand, and by undue laxity on the other. The law of marriage has suffered by both. Superstitious asceticism and infidel licentiousness have wrought to one and the same end. The former began by forbidding to marry, and the latter by declaring the conjugal relation dissolvable at the pleasure of the parties. Infidelity, however, has been far less mischievous in this respect than superstition, which was soon taken advantage of by priestcraft, and became the foundation of an enormous system of prohibitions, exactions, dispensations, and impositions, by which the Roman pontiff filled his coffers and augmented his power ; while Christians were robbed of their dearest immunities, their social and domestic rights annulled, and every charity of the heart sacrificed on the altar of spiritual domination.

One of the pamphlets at the head of this article succinctly and satisfactorily accounts for the rapid progress of these enormous abuses.

‘The purity of the early Christian converts, not satisfied with the rejection of the wanton allowances of Gentile customs, not contented with the voluntary adoption of the severest Levitical prohibitions, invented for themselves new rules of continence, which God had never imposed upon his chosen people, whom, in this as in every other virtue, they were ambitious of surpassing.* Thus before long, the fair face of Christianity began to be deformed by a dark stain of ascetism, altogether alien from the benevolent and social spirit of its divine Founder. Then it was, in process of time, that austere men began to talk

‘Of purity, and place, and innocence ;
Condemning as impure, what God declares
Pure, and commands to some : leaves free to all.’—*Milton*.

And thus, the venerable rite of marriage, which in our admirable liturgy is described as ‘instituted of God in the time of man’s innocence, signifying unto us the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and his church ;’ that holy law by which

‘Relations dear, and all the charities
Of father, son, and brother, first were known.’

began to lose the ‘mysterious reverence’ with which it was regarded

* ‘Recte tamen fecerunt Christiani veteres, qui leges non illas tantum in commune datas, sed alias peculiariter Hebræo populo scriptas, sponte sua observarunt : imo et ad gradus quosdam ultiores protenderunt verecundiæ suæ fines, ut hâc quoque in virtute non minus quam in cæteris,—Hebræos antecederunt.’—*Grotius de Jure Belli, &c.* l. II., c. 5, s. 14, 3.

by the earliest followers of that Saviour 'who had adorned and beautified it by his presence,' and 'to lie in disgrace with most of the ancient doctors, as a work of the flesh, almost a defilement, wholly denied to priests, and the second time dissuaded to all; as he that reads Tertulian and Jerome may see at large.'—*Milton*. Thus under a state of feeling, in which the natural emotions were branded as a crime, and marriage only tolerated as a necessary evil, it is not surprising that celibacy should soon have been regarded as the nearest approach to the divine perfection; that the monastic principles and institutions should have been established, with all their monstrous train of evils; and that degrees of marriages, already prohibited, should have been gradually extended beyond the limits which are prescribed by God, or which the necessities of domestic intercourse could possibly require.* Thus, by the laws of Theodosius, at the end of the fourth century, the marriage of cousins-german was expressly prohibited. It is said by Jeremy Taylor, that at the time of many of these early prohibitions, 'the Goths prevailed by the sword; and the church, to comply with the conquerors, was forced to receive this law from them, for the Goths had it before the Romans, and it is very possible that this *barbarous people were the great precedents and introducers of the prohibition*.' Then, as the ecclesiastical authority grew and increased, as the spirit of extortion and venality in the Roman church became more powerful, these prohibitions were found to be '*good drains for money, and levies for rents*;' they were extended and supported by the most sophistical quibbles of papal ingenuity, and soon led to the most immoral and irreligious consequences. Thus, it is observed by Mr. Hallam,† 'that the principles of the church, in the middle ages, led indirectly to the prevailing license of *repudiation* and even *polygamy*; of which there is evidence,' says he, 'in many capitulations of Charlemagne.' For he adds, 'Marriages were prohibited, not merely within the limits which nature, or those inveterate institutions which are called nature, have rendered sacred, but as far as the seventh degree of collateral consanguinity, computed from a common ancestor. Not only was affinity or relationship by marriage put upon the same footing as that by blood, but a fantastical connexion, called spiritual affinity, was invented, in order to prohibit marriage between a sponsor and god-child.' These were extended to the ninth degree of spiritual relationship, and arose as well out of the celebration of the sacrament of confirmation as that of baptism; and Lord Coke‡ mentions, that before the statute of Henry VIII. there might be *divorces because the husband had been godfather at baptism or confirmation to his wife's cousin*.

* 'Le mariage n'étoit point defendu par les Loix Romaines, entre les personnes qui ne se touchoient d'affinité que dans la ligne collatérale, jusque à la Loi de l'Empereur Constance, qui defendit, comme incestueux le mariage avec la veuve de son frère, ou avec la sœur de sa defunte femme. Cette loi fut renouvelée par Valentinien et Theodose. Honorius contrevint à la loi de son père, en epousant successivement les deux filles de Stilicon.'—Potier, v. iii. p. 201. *Traité du Contrat de Mariage*.

† Hallam's *Middle Ages*, v. ii. c. 7. p. 293.

‡ 2 Inst. 684.

‘One readily apprehends,’ says Mr. Hallam, ‘the facilities of abuse to which all this led. History is full of dissolutions of marriage obtained by fickle passion* and cold-hearted ambition, to which the church has not scrupled to pander on some suggestion of relationship.’ ‘It is so difficult to conceive,’ continues Mr. Hallam, ‘I do not say any reasoning, but any *honest superstition* which could have produced such monstrous regulations, that I was at first inclined to suppose them designed to give, by a side wind, that facility of divorces which a licentious people demanded, but the church could not avowedly grant.

‘This refinement would, however, be unsupported by facts. The prohibition is very ancient, and *was really derived from the ascetic temper which introduced so many other absurdities.*† The fourth Lateran Council, in 1215, removed a great part of the restraint, by permitting marriages beyond the fourth degree, or, what we call, third cousins; and dispensations have been made more easy, when it was discovered, that they might be converted into a source of profit. They served a more important purpose, by rendering it necessary for the princes of Europe, who seldom could marry into one another’s houses without transgressing the canonical limits, *to keep on good terms with the court of Rome*, which, in several instances hurled its censures against sovereigns who lived, without permission, in what was considered an *incestuous union.*’—*Considerations on the state of the Law regarding Marriages, &c.* pp. 35—39.

Even so late as the tenth century marriage was reprobated by the church as a crime, and every art and terror was employed to induce the laity to follow the example of the clergy, to whom it was absolutely forbidden. Nor was it till the twelfth century that the sacerdotal benediction and the intervention of the offices of the church were required to establish its validity. Then it was that Peter Lombard discovered the institution of seven sacraments, or the sevenfold operation of the Spirit of God in baptism, the Lord’s Supper, confirmation, penance, orders, extreme unction, and *matrimony*; and the church of Rome soon countenanced his doctrine. ‘This brought marriage,’ says Archdeacon Reynolds, ‘which was originally of civil jurisdiction, ‘under spiritual cognizance; and put the scales of domestic ‘peace into the hands of the Pope, that his holiness might have ‘power to separate those whom no man ought to put asunder,

* ‘Cette discipline, qui étendoit la défense des mariages entre parens, étoit sujette à de très grands inconvéniens; elle donnoit lieu à de fréquente demandes en cassation de mariage, sous prétexte de quelque parenté éloignée, qui des personnes dégoutée de leur mariage decouvroient ou supposoient.’—Pot. v. III. Traité du Contrat de Mariage, p. 198.

† ‘Gregory I. pronounces matrimony to be unlawful as far as the seventh degree; and, if I understand his meaning, as long as any relationship could be traced; which seems to have been the maxim of strict theologians, though not absolutely enforced.’—Hallam’s *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. p. 295.

‘and perpetuate conjunctions which reason and religion forbid.’* It was in this century that the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* made their appearance; they were the *first* Protestants of whom history gives us any account, and the *first* who resisted the popish doctrine on the subject of marriage. They condemned the law which prohibited the marriage of the clergy, refused to acknowledge the spiritual alliance of godfathers and godmothers, and the other impediments of affinity and consanguinity appointed by the church, and taught ‘that the *consent* of a willing couple ‘made a lawful marriage without the formality of any sacerdotal ‘benediction.’

In the fourteenth century the Council of Trent decreed ‘that ‘if any shall say the church hath not power to add impediments ‘to marriage which are not in the book of Leviticus, or to dispense with those that are, let him be accursed.’

The Wickliffites or Lollards, who at the commencement of this period were become a powerful party in the kingdom, were not content with bearing a general testimony against the abominations of popery, but endeavored also to arrest the attention of the legislature in favor of a reform on the subject of marriage. For this purpose they presented a remonstrance to the House of Commons, in which they stated, among other things, ‘that the ‘causes of divorce on account of consanguinity and affinity as ‘established by the church were utterly groundless. Early in the sixteenth century Martin Luther contended ‘that the priests ‘ought to approve of all marriages contracted against the ‘ecclesiastical laws, with which the Pope can dispense, except ‘the marriages of those which are expressly forbidden by the ‘Scriptures;’ and so great was the influence of the reforming spirit in England, and to such an extent had theologians and civilians departed from the strict canons of the church, that long before the agitation of the question of the divorce of Henry VIII. from queen Catherine, Jeremy Taylor tells us, ‘there was almost a general consent upon this ‘proposition, that the Levitical degrees do not by any ‘law of God bind Christians to their observation.’† And he shrewdly observes upon that violent and disgusting proceeding—‘it very much employed and divided the pens of ‘learned men, who upon that occasion gave too great testimony ‘with how great weaknesses men that have a bias do determine ‘questions, and with how great a force a king that is rich and ‘powerful can make his own decisions. It is true that Henry ‘appealed to the universities of the continent and of England,

* Historical Essay on the Government of the Church of England, p. 70.

† Ductor Dubitantium, book ii. ch. 2.

‘and that they at length, considering the prohibitions of the
 ‘eighteenth chapter of Leviticus to refer to marriage, decided
 ‘upon their perpetual obligation, and that the marriage which
 ‘the king had contracted with the widow of his deceased bro-
 ‘ther Arthur was forbidden by Scripture.’ It is however to be
 observed, that there are the strongest reasons for believing,
 notwithstanding what Burnet has said to the contrary, that
 the acquiescence of the foreign universities in such a decision
 was purchased by large sums of money, distributed amongst
 them by the agents of Henry. Cavendish, in his *Life of Wolsey*,
 says, that ‘the foreign universities were fed with such large
 ‘sums of money, that they easily condescended to the requests
 ‘of the commissioners;’ and Crook, the king’s agent in Italy,
 writes that he found ‘the greatest part of the divines in all
 ‘Italy mercenary,’ and tells Henry, that he ‘doubts not but all
 ‘Christian universities, *if they should be well handled*, would
 ‘earnestly conclude with his Majesty;’ adding, that ‘if he had
 ‘been in time *sufficiently furnished with money*, though he had
 ‘procured, besides the seals which he then sent, 110 subscrip-
 ‘tions, yet it had been nothing in comparison of what he might
 ‘and easily would have done.’

With respect to the English universities, it is to be remarked,
 that all accounts concur in stating, that very great difficulty
 was experienced by the king in obtaining from them an answer
 favorable to his wishes. It appears, from a passage in Wood’s
Athenæ Oxoniensis, that the decision of Oxford, in favor of the
 divorce, was only procured ‘after two angry letters from the
 ‘king,’ and ‘that when at last the judgment was obtained, it
 ‘was extorted by a violent interference with the constitution of
 ‘the university, and passed surreptitiously at night, amidst open
 ‘and fearless remonstrances.’ The difficulty of obtaining a
 favorable answer from the university of Cambridge, appears to
 have been equally great; and the manner of extorting it at last
 very nearly the same.*

An act passed in the first year of queen Mary, session 2,
 chap. i., entitled, ‘an act declaring the queen’s highness to
 ‘have been born in a most just and lawful matrimony, and also
 ‘repealing all acts of parliament and sentences of divorce made
 ‘or had to the contrary,’ is remarkable for containing a solemn
 legislative declaration of the purity of a marriage between a
 man and his brother’s widow by the law of God, and therefore
 of all marriages in that degree, and *a fortiori* of all remoter
 affinities.

* See Collier’s *Eccl. Hist.* part i. book i. pp. 52—58, 75, 76, and Warner’s
Church Hist. vol. ii. pp. 36—40.

To a certain extent this act confirms an act passed in the thirty-second year of Henry VIII.; the spirit and policy of which was to reduce the law of marriage to the just regulation of divine and natural law, in opposition to the enormities which occurred whilst it was subject to ecclesiastical severity; the substance of it may be thus stated: 'Every marriage consummated by carnal knowledge and issue, solemnized between persons not prohibited by God's law, shall be indissoluble; and no prohibition shall operate (God's law except) to impeach any marriage without the Levitical degrees:' here undoubtedly the Levitical degrees are considered as the legal degrees of marriage in the divine law. But the subsequent act of the first of Mary is a direct repeal of these degrees. The declaration that the marriage of Henry with Catherine, the widow of his brother Arthur, was agreeable to the divine revealed law, and perfectly consonant to Scripture, certainly divested the Levitical code of all legal authority. And as the law in which this declaration is contained is now in force, we must conclude, in the language of the legislature, that a marriage with a brother's widow, and others of a similar affinity, are 'not prohibited by the law of God.' But such marriages 'stand with God's law, and his most holy word;' and ought 'to be accepted and reputed, and taken of good effect and validity, to all intents and purposes.'

Though this act was not formally repealed on the accession of Elizabeth, but was allowed to remain on the statute book, because it would have been indecent and insufferable to pronounce her sister Mary, who had been the *de facto* queen of the realm, illegitimate, and therefore a usurper, other measures were resorted to, which, though not possessing the force of a law of parliament, operated with equal weight and authority upon the mind of the nation. The Levitical degrees in all their strictness and extent, including not only those expressly mentioned, but all others that, by a parity of reason, might be deduced from them, were solemnly declared to be of divine obligation, and enforced by the severe and costly sanctions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The table of prohibitions, with the admonition prefixed, which was put forth by authority, and ordered to be placed in all the churches of the kingdom, was drawn up by Archbishop Parker, in the year 1563; and was a politic measure, which, without bringing the first and second marriages of Henry into further litigation and inquiry, assumed a principle which, by implication, established the legitimacy of Elizabeth, and consequently her right to the throne. With this parliament had nothing to do; for the opening of the subject then would have been perilous in the extreme. It was therefore confided to the clergy—for the church is ever obsequious where it

cannot be despotic. There was no opposition; though the opinions of the learned and the liberal were known to be against the perpetual obligation of the Levitical prohibitions, and the distressing case of degradation and illegitimacy which they had been made to justify, yet none dared to provoke the vengeance of the royal lioness. 'Moreover, it was the interest of her subjects ' that the legitimacy of Elizabeth should not be called in question; and nothing could be so likely to prevent this as the ' general reception of the doctrine implied in the admonition ' prefixed to the table of Archbishop Parker.*

Subsequently to the Reformation, as introduced by Henry VIII. and established by Elizabeth down to the year 1835, when Lord Lyndhurst's act was passed, the statute law of marriage, as exhibited in the thirty-second of Henry VIII. and the first of Mary, declared all persons competent to intermarry, who were not prohibited from so doing by *God's law*; at the time the former of these acts was passed, the degrees of relationship as specified in the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus were conceived to be the legal degrees of marriage according to the *law of God*; and, therefore, all marriages without these degrees are declared to be exempt from any spiritual prohibition. Within these degrees, the act of Mary declares, that marriage with a brother's widow, and consequently marriage with a deceased wife's sister, are not included.

The canon law, however, as enacted by Archbishop Parker, revived all that could be revived of the popish restrictions on marriage, not only by insisting upon the strict letter of the Levitical prohibitions, but extending them by a parity of reason. But what weight has canonical law when not expressly sanctioned by the law of the land? The table of Archbishop Parker and the ninety-ninth canon never had this sanction, and are binding only upon ecclesiastical persons, and those who conscientiously bow to the authority of the church, as equally valid with that of the holy Scriptures.

This is the judicial opinion of that consummate lawyer, the late Lord Hardwicke, that 'no canon since the Reformation can ' bind the nation at large without the authority of parliament;' and we believe there are no legislative acts since that period which operate to give force to any single ecclesiastical rule, the canons of 1603 still wanting the sanction of the legislature. Jeremy Taylor, speaking of the laws of the Roman canonists, lays down the same doctrine:

* It is said of this prelate by one of his biographers, 'that the great blemish of his character was his preferring the laws of the queen to the laws of God.'

‘These laws,’ he says, ‘are not now, nor ever were they, obligatory but by the consent of the people and the allowance of princes. For bishops in their mere spiritual impresses have no proper legislative power, where princes are Christian; and if the prince please he may enlarge or restrain their power, so that he make no entrenchment on the divine law, and do what is useful and profitable. But when the prince does not bind, the subjects are free.’

‘These laws are neither allowed by the prince nor by the ecclesiastical state in England, and because they were useless or burdensome they were laid aside; for they were but drains for money, and levies of rents.*’

It was the laying them ‘aside’ that imposed upon the popish reformed bishops of the English Church the necessity of making the best of the Levitical degrees—the only canons left them after the rubbish of Rome had been swept away: and thus originated their famous expedient of interpreting these degrees by a ‘parity of reason.’ This flimsy subterfuge of episcopal tyranny in a Protestant church, the author of the ‘Observations on the Prohibition of Marriage in certain cases of Relationship by Affinity’ has entirely demolished, and has clearly shown, even on the assumption that the prohibitions in the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus relate to marriage, that if the canons of 1603 and Archbishop Parker’s table had all the support of legislative enactments, they are without the confirmation of the Levitical code, and therefore ought to be regarded as the mere arbitrary imposition of the priesthood, in obedience to the will of a still more arbitrary sovereign.

After arranging the degrees in Leviticus into a table where they are seen at one view, he observes that it contains no prohibition of marriage in three cases, namely, with a wife’s sister, or a wife’s brother’s or sister’s daughter. He then reasons with the ultra prohibitionists.

‘We are told by the defenders of Archbishop Parker’s table, that because marriage is forbidden with a brother’s wife by ver. 16, it must be conceived to be forbidden also, *by parity of reason*, with a wife’s sister; and because it is forbidden with a father’s sister by ver. 12, and with a mother’s sister by ver. 13, it must therefore be conceived to be forbidden, *by parity of reason*, with a wife’s brother’s

* ‘It is no trifling consideration, that the body of the canon law was made by the worst and most ambitious popes. Alexander III., who made Gratian’s decree to become law, was a schismatical pope, an antipope, and unduly elected; the rest were Gregory IX., Boniface VIII., Clement V., and John XXII.; persons bloody and ambitious, traitors to their princes; and butchers of Christendom by the sad wars they raised, and therefore these laws were likely to be the productions of violence and war, not of a just and peaceable authority.’—Ductor Dub. book iii. chap. iv.

daughter, and with a wife's sister's daughter. But what authority, it has been well asked, do we possess for this extraordinary extension of these restrictions? In ver. 6, a general prohibition is given against marriage with 'near kindred:' in the verses which follow, seventeen cases are mentioned as being included in it; '*but,*' say the advocates of the doctrine we are examining, '*these are not all: it is evident that there are three other cases comprised in the general prohibition, though Moses omitted to mention them.*'

'In considering this subject, it must, we think, immediately strike every inquirer, as a very remarkable fact, *if it be one*, that in stating, in obedience to the divine command, and with great precision of language, several relatives with whom he declared it to be unlawful for any Israelite to contract marriage, Moses should leave it to the ingenuity of his countrymen to discover, that there were three other relatives with whom it was equally unlawful that he should ally himself in the bonds of wedlock. This surely is not the manner in which the Deity has usually dealt with his creatures, and it is scarcely possible to believe that the Israelites could have been expected by God to conclude that more was intended by these prohibitions than was expressly stated by the mouth of his servant Moses. Had the general prohibition in ver. 6 stood alone, that is, had no particular instances in which it was to be observed been given, the case would have been different: it would then doubtless have been the duty of those to whom this general prohibition was given to endeavor to discover *the particular cases comprised in it*; but a general prohibition against marriage with near kindred having been given them, and several instances enumerated in which this prohibition was to be observed, and nothing being added to lead the Israelites to suppose that there were any other instances to which the prohibition applied, it was only natural and reasonable that they should consider, that if they observed it in the instances which were specified, they would do all that was required of them.

'This, however, is not all that we have to advance upon this point. For it may be further remarked, as Michaelis has justly observed, that there is another argument against the extension of these prohibitions in the manner which has been noticed, in this circumstance—that Moses 'does not appear to have framed his marriage laws with any view to our deducing conclusions from them; for if this were his view, he cannot be acquitted of having made several very useless repetitions in them. For what reason had he, for example, after forbidding marriage with a father's sister, to forbid it also with a mother's, if this second prohibition was included in the first, and if he meant, without saying a word on the subject, to be understood as speaking, *not of particular marriages, but of degrees.*'

'Again, 'Moses,' as the author from whom we have already quoted observes, 'has given his marriage laws in two different places of the Pentateuch, viz. in both the eighteenth and twentieth chapters of Leviticus; but in the latter of these passages we find only the very same cases specified which had been specified in the former. Now, had they been meant merely as examples of DEGREES OF RELATIONSHIP, it would have been more natural to have varied them; and if it

had been said, for instance, on the first occasion, 'Thou shalt not marry* thy father's sister,' to have introduced on the second the converse case, and said, 'Thou shalt not marry thy brother's daughter.' This, however, is not done by Moses, who, in the second enactment, just specifies the father's sister, as before, *and seems therefore to have intended that he should be understood as having in his view no other marriages than those which he expressly names, unless we choose to interpret his laws in a manner foreign to his own meaning and design.*†

This reasoning on the assumption that the prohibitions in Leviticus relate to marriage, ought to be conclusive with those who so understand them. In casting our eye over them again as they stand in the pamphlet before us, we find Sir William Jones's view, that they have no such reference, strongly confirmed. We refer to that contained in the sixteenth verse, 'Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife, *it is thy brother's nakedness.*' Now, in the twenty-fifth chapter of Deuteronomy, which does apply to marriage, notwithstanding this reason for not '*uncovering* the nakedness of his 'brother's wife,' the Israelite is commanded to marry his widow; which, if the former passage has the same application with the latter, is nothing short of a contradiction in terms, by the same writer, and in books equally claiming to be of divine authority. On the supposition that marriage is forbidden in Leviticus with a brother's wife, with the penalty annexed, that the contracting parties shall be 'childless,' how are we to understand the command to marry within this degree of affinity for the express purpose of raising up children? See Lev. xx. 21; Deut. xxv. 5. But whether legal or not, or whether sanctioned or not sanctioned by the Levitical code, the table of Archbishop Parker and the ninety-ninth canon have operated with all the force of law. Nor do we recollect any instance of an appeal from the ecclesiastical to the civil courts, to determine whether a marriage with a brother's widow, or a deceased wife's sister, be according to God's law, as understood by the statute of the first of Mary and the thirty-second of Henry VIII.‡ The canon and the statute law have not on these questions been brought into collision; partly because of the hazardous nature of an appeal from the one to the other, none caring to be first to establish

* Marrying, or anything implying marriage, is not once mentioned in all these prohibitions.

† Michaelis on the Laws of Moses, vol. ii. pp. 119, 120.

‡ In the case of Hill and Good, these statutes were not referred to; and Archbishop Parker's table was the ground of the decision.

a precedent which might be fatal to themselves as well as to others; and partly because, up to the passing of Lord Lyndhurst's act, marriages of affinity, though within the tabular prohibitions, were regarded only as voidable, and to all intents and purposes legal, if not disturbed by an ecclesiastical process prior to the death of one or other of the parties.

It is a remarkable feature in the table of prohibitions, that it allows marriages of consanguinity, which are so repugnant to our moral feelings that they are of rare occurrence;* while it forbids marriages of affinity which are contracted every day, and in every rank of life, not only without provoking censure, but with the evident approbation of the most virtuous portions of the community.

Among the most common of these is marriage with a deceased wife's sister, a wife's brother's or sister's daughter; for such marriages public opinion has supplied the place of legal sanction: and prior to the passing of Lord Lyndhurst's act it is surprising, notwithstanding their rapid increase, and the interests in every case they put in jeopardy, that so little advantage was taken of them by persons interested in their dissolution, or by the unprincipled caprice of some of the contracting parties, and that they were productive of so much virtuous happiness. For, till the intervention of this law, in 1835, it was in the power of those who had contracted a marriage of this kind, or during their life-time, of any person whatsoever, who had an interest in dissolving the marriage, to get it annulled. In this way the marriage of parties who had lived together for years in mutual love, respected by all who knew them, might at any moment have been set aside at the instigation of some malicious or interested individual, and the offspring of the marriage illegitimatized and deprived of their inheritance.†

Still great inconveniences and many anxieties must have been endured by multitudes who had placed themselves in a condition where their domestic peace and status in society were at the mercy of others—perhaps their personal enemies; and as great difficulties were felt to arise from the conflict between the laws relating to marriage, as existing in different countries and in different parts of our own country, and especially in England

* If two brothers marry two sisters, their issue may intermarry. Referring to a particular case which we need not cite, the writer of the present state of the law, says, 'Had the wife been a great aunt by consanguinity, the husband's grandmother's own sister—perhaps not a very probable case—or had it been the case of a man marrying his great niece, though here there must have been a very objectionable connexion by blood, the marriage would have been good.'

† Observations on the Prohibitions of Marriage, p. 5.

and Scotland, the time seemed to have arrived for the initiation of measures in the British parliament which should remedy the existing evils, establish clearly defined laws regarding marriage, legitimacy, and divorce, which should be of equal authority throughout the empire, and which should be so adjusted to the jurisprudence of other countries, as to obviate the intricacies and perplexities which have hitherto attached to our imperfect and unsettled legislation on these important subjects.

Indeed there was good reason to expect that their lordships the bishops would have been first in the field of reformation with some well concerted scheme of their own, under a conviction which they must all have felt, that their table of prohibited degrees exceeded the requirements of the law of the land, and was equally unsanctioned by the word of God; that they were not only repugnant to the religious and moral feeling of the country, but at variance with its every day practice; and that it was high time for the fathers of the Protestant church to repeal canons which were originally mere inventions to make a market of indulgences, and to join the legislature in forming a comprehensive civil marriage code, which, without embracing nice distinctions and metaphysical subtleties, should be based on the general principles of a just and enlightened morality.* Demonstrations made about the same period by the two learned lords the ex-chancellors on the subject of our very singular matrimonial legislation, proved that they at least were prepared to enter upon a complete revision of the marriage law. But there was no movement till the year 1835, and then what was done reflects no honor upon any of the parties concerned in it. As an act of legislation it is worthless, because it is in defiance of all moral principle. It is indeed a contradiction, which proclaims the same thing to be good and evil with the same breath. But its history sufficiently illustrates its character. It is thus given in one of the pamphlets before us:

‘It is pretty well understood, and we believe accurately, that Lord Lyndhurst’s statute of 1835 was in a great measure directed to the cases of a nobleman of high rank, an attack on whose marriage with a sister of a deceased wife was feared, and of some few other individuals whose names are well known, and who were similarly circumstanced.’

* Is there a bishop who can lay his hand on his heart and say that he believes marriage to be forbidden by *Scripture in all* the cases mentioned by Parker? *Not one*; yet they all acquiesce in circulating that table in the Bibles and Prayer-books published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and Parker’s table *distinctly asserts* that marriage is forbidden by *Scripture* in every case mentioned in it. The Church therefore is propagating a moral heresy, that is a lie.

principle, then, can the one be legalized and the other prohibited? Is there no moral turpitude in either—no violation of the sanctity of religion?—Why, then, is the one to be surrounded with protections and immunities, and the other to be branded with infamy and visited as a crime? Yet this is the legislation of the ex-chancellor Lyndhurst; marriages that before the passing of his act were voidable, were by that act constituted legal; and many persons in these circumstances, that had not contracted matrimony, took advantage of the interval between its passing and coming into operation to marry under its sanction; whereas, had they suffered another day to pass, their marriage would have been stigmatized as incest, and their offspring, which are now legitimate, would have been bastardized, without inheritance, and without a name. It is such legislation as this that brings laws and law-makers into contempt.

While the noble author of this measure held the chalice of domestic happiness to the lips of hundreds, what right had he, by the same act, to withhold it from the eager and outstretched hands of thousands? Where was the morality, the justice, the expediency of such a procedure? The particular marriage of affinity almost exclusively struck at, as far as Lord Lyndhurst's act is prospective, namely, with a deceased wife's sister, is precisely that which humanity suggests, reason justifies, and religion sanctions. That such a marriage is the dictate of our natural humanity, the history of civilized man universally attests. There is no precise law in any considerable nation of the world where such a union is prohibited.

‘A man may marry the sister of a deceased wife, either as a matter of course or upon a formal application to the authorities, throughout the whole of Prussia (including the Rhenish provinces), Saxony, Hanover, Baden, Mecklenburgh, Hamburg, Denmark, and most of the other Protestant states of Europe. Catholic countries afford no guide, their fashion being to extend the list of prohibitions, that the church may enjoy the privilege of dispensing with them. But the Levitical degrees are clearly not binding in practice, for there is a lady of rank now living who was married to her father's brother, an English baronet, under a license from the pope; and a son, by this marriage, inherited the title and estate.*

* A writer in the *British Magazine* (we presume Dr. Pusey) says, ‘Rome only permits such unions in single cases which, to her judgment, warrant the departure from the rule; she acknowledges the rule, while in the plenitude of her power she dispenses with it.’ If by the rule is here meant the will of God, as expressed in holy Scripture, Rome does not recognize it on the subject of affinities, within or beyond which marriage may be contracted. The

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It is true that this very objectionable statute seems to be made with the view of enabling the rich and independent to evade it. But on the popular mind it must exert a most baneful influence. Common intellects will be puzzled to understand what difference an act of parliament can make in the moral character of two marriages solemnized under precisely the same circumstances with the same relationship of affinity. If the one is incestuous, the other must be incestuous also. On what

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‘ Though of course nothing could be more natural, or less objectionable, than that parties feeling, in their own persons, the mischievous effects of the then existing laws as to voidable marriages, should be the moving parties to a change, yet it is certainly to be lamented that measures professedly enacted on public grounds should so often have, in their origin, a personal reference to some individual case. The law in such a case necessarily is more imperfect in its future bearings and operations. If a law be really started for some personal and individual purposes—to quiet, for instance, the title of the son of the earl of A., or the conscience of the duchess of B.—it is impossible that its workings on society and on international rules can be so fully considered as they should. The marriage law, of all branches of law, has been peculiarly unfortunate in this respect; for almost all the acts on this subject in the statute book, if their secret history could be traced, would, from the earliest of them, be found to have had much of personal reference in their origin. There being but little consideration how far laws of this sort are adapted to the state of the public mind, as a consequence, when passed, they are looked upon like the revenue laws, as having been made to be evaded. Indeed *here* evasion is actually allowed by act of parliament; and all the wholesome provisions for the protection of minors and their fortunes, and for the prevention of clandestine marriages, may, by express authority of the law itself, be broken through, by taking a carriage over the Tweed, or a steamer across the straits of Dover. Now, any law on any subject systematically disregarded by the public, has beyond doubt a very bad moral tendency on the public mind. The mere dead-letter-law brings a mischievous ridicule on law in general; but enactments, though good perhaps in the abstract, on subjects so connected with the moral and religious feelings of men, as that under consideration, if so far against the public sentiment as to be constantly broken, have an effect on the national character and tone of public principle, deeply and widely detrimental. No such law should be enacted without full consideration; nor should any bias from personal events be allowed to bear upon it; and when enacted it should be a *strong* law, and not one nugatory, and by common consent to be broken without the slightest penalty. But if this be the desideratum, the law of marriage will appear to be every thing but what it should be.’

It is true that this very objectionable statute seems to be made with the view of enabling the rich and independent to evade it. But on the popular mind it must exert a most baneful influence. Common intellects will be puzzled to understand what difference an act of parliament can make in the moral character of two marriages solemnized under precisely the same circumstances with the same relationship of affinity. If the one is incestuous, the other must be incestuous also. On what

principle, then, can the one be legalized and the other prohibited? Is there no moral turpitude in either—no violation of the sanctity of religion?—Why, then, is the one to be surrounded with protections and immunities, and the other to be branded with infamy and visited as a crime? Yet this is the legislation of the ex-chancellor Lyndhurst; marriages that before the passing of his act were voidable, were by that act constituted legal; and many persons in these circumstances, that had not contracted matrimony, took advantage of the interval between its passing and coming into operation to marry under its sanction; whereas, had they suffered another day to pass, their marriage would have been stigmatized as incest, and their offspring, which are now legitimate, would have been bastardized, without inheritance, and without a name. It is such legislation as this that brings laws and law-makers into contempt.

While the noble author of this measure held the chalice of domestic happiness to the lips of hundreds, what right had he, by the same act, to withhold it from the eager and outstretched hands of thousands? Where was the morality, the justice, the expediency of such a procedure? The particular marriage of affinity almost exclusively struck at, as far as Lord Lyndhurst's act is prospective, namely, with a deceased wife's sister, is precisely that which humanity suggests, reason justifies, and religion sanctions. That such a marriage is the dictate of our natural humanity, the history of civilized man universally attests. There is no precise law in any considerable nation of the world where such a union is prohibited.

‘A man may marry the sister of a deceased wife, either as a matter of course or upon a formal application to the authorities, throughout the whole of Prussia (including the Rhenish provinces), Saxony, Hanover, Baden, Mecklenburgh, Hamburg, Denmark, and most of the other Protestant states of Europe. Catholic countries afford no guide, their fashion being to extend the list of prohibitions, that the church may enjoy the privilege of dispensing with them. But the Levitical degrees are clearly not binding in practice, for there is a lady of rank now living who was married to her father's brother, an English baronet, under a license from the pope; and a son, by this marriage, inherited the title and estate.*

* A writer in the *British Magazine* (we presume Dr. Pusey) says, ‘Rome only permits such unions in single cases which, to her judgment, warrant the departure from the rule; she acknowledges the rule, while in the plenitude of her power she dispenses with it.’ If by the rule is here meant the will of God, as expressed in holy Scripture, Rome does not recognize it on the subject of affinities, within or beyond which marriage may be contracted. The

Priests were the first to enact so nefarious a canon, and Henry VIII.'s the only conscience that affected to be wounded by its violation.*

The Jews, who may be considered as the best qualified to interpret their own laws, as we have already shown, were never swayed in their conduct by what has been designated their law of marriage. Modern Jews, and more especially those who pique themselves on a strict adherence to their own law, are practically strangers to the Levitical degrees. Lord Lyndhurst's act indeed has thrown some of them into consternation, lest their marriages within the degrees prohibited in the statute should be rendered absolutely void; and certainly if the twenty-fifth of Henry VIII. chap. xxii. c. 4, applies to Jewish marriages, this would be the inevitable result.

Whether by the recommendation of a wife and a mother in her last moments, in which she breathes her expiring tenderness on the bosom of her husband, and in the presence of her infant children, he contemplates a union with her sister; or whether the husband and the father, feeling his forlorn and desolate condition, and deeply anxious for the well-being of his offspring, turns to the nearest surviving relative of their departed mother to be his solace and her substitute, we maintain that such a marriage is, not only beyond all reproach, but the very path which God and nature would point out to the afflicted widower, as well for himself as for the sake of his helpless orphans. In either case it proves that his attachment to his departed wife is the predisposing cause which induces him to unite himself with her nearest resemblance, and, next to himself and his children, her best beloved on earth. It gives new vigor to an affection which

only degrees which she acknowledges to be the general rule for the guidance of her subjects, are those which she has constituted by her own authority, not pretending to derive them from the Bible. By the same authority she dispenses with them; for even the pope does not arrogate to himself the power of cancelling a divine command. Rome, therefore, denies that the Levitical degrees are founded on the will of God. In this Puseyite article (see British Magazine for November) marriage with the sister of a deceased wife is gravely reprobated on the construction which the writer chooses to put upon the text, 'they are no more *twain*, but one flesh.' The wife's sister, by this mysterious process, it is maintained, becomes the sister of the husband. The same method of interpreting scripture is adopted by the Romanist when he attempts to prove the doctrine of transubstantiation.

* *Chamberlain.* It seems the marriage with his brother's wife
Has crept too near his conscience.

Suffolk. No; his conscience
Has crept too near another lady.

Shakspeare.

death could not extinguish, and a natural mother to the children in the person of one they had from their infancy been taught to love. Where such a contract is formed it is an evidence of previous domestic happiness, and shows an anxiety on the part of the husband to perpetuate the felicity he had enjoyed in his former hallowed connexion; that he loves his children as much for the sake of their mother as his own, and that he clings to her memory in the person of her living representative. It is a new and interesting link which binds the domestic circle in a more intimate and delightful relation at the moment which threatened its disruption. It sanctifies the past, and is the least disturbance, while it proves at the same time a happy addition to those circumstances of domestic solace and enjoyment, which death has altered, but not destroyed. In such a case the family still goes on. It is the same. A selfish stranger is not obtruded with a totally new class of interests to estrange hearts which bereavement has knit together by the tenderest ties of love and sorrow.

We shall not condescend to notice objections against legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister, derived from the depravity which might induce prospective and criminal advances on the part of the brother-in-law during the life-time of his wife, because we feel assured, that a being so deliberately and so unutterably base is not to be found upon the globe in which we live; and that if there be such a villain, he will not be prevented from attempting the accomplishment of his atrocious purpose by the existence of an act of parliament, which declares that he shall never *marry* the woman whose virtue he has destroyed.

Reason has nothing to urge against marriages which violate no physical law, which are rather marriages of quiet calculation as to the future welfare of children than marriages of passion; and as for morality and religion, the great majority of parties contracting such marriages have paid them the profoundest reverence, and their practice has been for the most part in conformity with the strictest virtue. One of the writers before us observes pertinently on this subject,

‘ We may observe that in those countries of Europe in which the laws permit these marriages to be contracted, the power of contracting them has never been supposed to have an injurious effect on the state of morals in those countries. And we may further remark, that marriages of this kind have been common amongst the Jews for many centuries in every country in which they have sojourned, and that this circumstance has never been found to be productive of any immorality amongst them. Why, then, are we to conceive that this would be its effect amongst ourselves? Moreover, it is well known that many women, in the hope of thereby securing the happiness of their husbands, and providing the most fitting step-mother for their children,

have been desirous that their husbands should marry in one or other of the cases of relationship now under consideration, after their own decease ; this is known to have been the earnest wish of many of the most delicate, and intelligent, and amiable of their sex, *when they were standing upon the borders of eternity* ; and the best feelings of our nature forbid us to think that the removal of the impediments which prevent the accomplishment of the last earthly wish of such women as those we have adverted to, would be followed by any injurious effects upon the domestic peace and morals of society.'

Before the passing of Lord Lyndhurst's Act, the practice of marrying a deceased wife's sister prevailed to an infinitely greater extent than was at all imagined ; nor did it imply any moral depravity, nor provoke any public censure. To these cases, therefore, might in all strictness the axiom be applied—' whenever a law is openly and avowedly transgressed by persons occupying a respectable position in society without losing character or caste, that law is morally speaking a bad law, and, unless there are strong grounds of policy for continuing it, should be repealed.' In exact proportion as it was wise, just, and politic for Lord Lyndhurst to legalize all the past marriages of this nature was it the reverse when he established their absolute prohibition for the future. This act has in no respect altered public opinion—nor are these marriages less frequent, though they are contracted in some cases under perilous circumstances, and in others at vast expense and inconvenience, and with some uncertainty ; and in some instances where the law is broken with a view of violating the solemn engagement which is secured by no bond but that of honor and principle. In the first the parties brave all consequences, and deem a marriage which is celebrated by a spiritual or civil functionary, whether legal or not, a sufficient justification to their conscience. The second put themselves to the trouble, anxiety, and expense of going abroad, depending on the *lex loci* for securing the legality of their marriage in their own country ; and this, in the opinion of some eminent lawyers, is rather a hazardous procedure. The authors of 'The Present State of the Law as to Marriages Abroad,' have entered at considerable length into this part of the subject ; which, according to them, is anything but satisfactory. We believe that heartrending cases have occurred among the lower classes, especially in large manufacturing towns, of the wanton dissolution of these marriages ; because the law as it now stands affords no protection to the ignorant and deluded sufferers.

We must conclude our long article. It is high time for the public voice to be raised on the subject. The question ought now to be thoroughly discussed and settled.

We have no wish, however, to see the foundation of the marriage laws disturbed. What is established, and inflicts no wrong on social virtue and happiness, though we may justly question the rectitude of its principle, we would not alter for the mere sake of change. Taking Dr. Wood's three divisions of the law of marriage between near kindred, we would restrict any anticipated legislation on the subject to the last. 'The law of nature forbids it in the ascending and descending line; the law of nations between brothers and sisters, *and the civil and positive laws, where there is any other prohibition.*' Courts Christian, and all the canonical trumpery of Rome, we pray to be thoroughly rid of. Popes and archbishops have never proved themselves to be the friends of the human race. Those laws certainly ought to be rescinded which 'make in Scotland marriages good, the children legitimate; and in England the husband a felon, children bastards, and the wife an outcast, unless, indeed, she survive; and those which give her his personal estate by the mouth of the same judge, half lawyer, half ecclesiastic, who a week before would have annulled the marriage, and for the good of her soul sentenced her to do a white-sheet penance in the face of the church.'*

Sir William Follet, on the 24th of August, 1835, stated that he considered 'Marriages by affinity ought to be allowed beyond the second degree of affinity, and that a man ought to be allowed to marry the niece of a deceased wife.' It appears, too, from Mr. Poulter's speech on the 20th of August, that Dr. Lushington promised 'that in the next session a bill should be introduced for making certain marriages in future good and valid; for the clause in question (that in Lord Lyndhurst's Act) distinctly and finally condemned, to all intents and purposes, all such marriages as absolutely null and void.' Dr. Lushington has never yet redeemed this promise, but is waiting, we suppose, as he said on the 24th of August, 1835, 'till they had time to consider it in all its bearings on society.' A good object, doubtless, but one, it would seem, somewhat lustral in its requirement of time.†

* The Present State of the Law as to Marriages Abroad, &c., p. 34.

† The following case is disgraceful to the court in which justice was refused, and loudly calls upon Dr. Lushington and Sir William Follet to redeem their pledge without a moment's further delay.

19th June, 1840.

Before Sir Herbert Jenner.

In the Goods of Theodosia Rice, deceased.

In 1836, Jevan Happer, Esq., intermarried with Henrietta Rice, spinster, one of the daughters of the Rev. Richard Rice, of Farringdon, Berks, Clerk.

The marriages which we wish to see established on the broad principle of law, have long proved sources of domestic happiness, and laid the foundation of many a virtuous family. Indeed, we have direct evidence of the kind daily accumulating upon us ; and how much more numerous and extensive benefits would they confer if they were rendered as legal as they are moral, as consonant with the law of the land as they are agreeable to the law of God.

Mr. Dwight's work is crowded with fallacies. The *petitio principii* is the basis on which most of its sophistries are founded. He lays down the law with all the infallibility of Archbishop Parker, and maintains in their length and breadth all the prohibitory degrees, to which his table demands implicit obedience. From the eighteenth and twentieth chapters of Leviticus, with the help of the archbishop, and by a parity of reason, the prohibitions by implication are nearly as many as those that are literally expressed. His law of incest embraces lineals first, and collaterals afterwards. He divides them into triads, and in each triad the first is a relative by the individual's own consanguinity ; the second by the individual's own affinity ; the third by the consanguinity of the married partner. 'The law,' he tells us with complacency, 'has thus a beautiful and truly mathematical simplicity.' The following sentence is not a little amusing. It reminds us of a certain Doctor, who gave so many demons and a half to each of the swine who ran violently down a steep place into the sea and were drowned. 'Brother and sister, both of the whole and of the half blood, are expressly forbidden to marry. A conscientious man will of course consider the same rule as extending to all other collateral relatives by consanguinity and affinity, *on the ground that he cannot consent to incur half of the guilt of incest.*' The pamphlets from which we have given copious extracts, fully justify us, we think, in

She died in January, 1838. In April following he married (in Scotland) with Theodosia Rice, spinster, the sister of his first wife.

Prior to this second marriage, viz., 29th of January, 1838, the said Theodosia made her will, and bequeathed the whole of her property to her intended husband, and appointed him sole executor. And also, prior to the said second marriage, and in contemplation thereof, executed a deed, dated 7th April, 1838, and thereby vested the whole of her property in trustees, subject to her appointment by *deed* or *will*. Subsequent to the second marriage she made a will, dated 20th May, 1838, and gave the whole of her property to her said husband, and appointed him sole executor.

She died 22nd April, 1840.

Motion to the court for probate of the first will, and to be allowed to designate the deceased as 'spinster' or 'single' woman, the latter as most proper.

Court refused to make any order, and left it to the executor to find his own way.

coming to the following conclusions; while the course of argument we have pursued places the institution of marriage on its right basis, and points out to legislatures the great principles on which it ought to be regulated.

‘1. That no restriction, particularly on moral subjects, should be imposed or continued contrary to the feelings and opinions of the educated portion of the community.

‘2. That the bare fact of a law being habitually infringed without loss of reputation, is a ground for reconsidering and (unless counterbalancing advantages can be shown) repealing it.

‘3. That the supposed law forbidding a man to marry his deceased wife’s sister, is constantly infringed by persons who notwithstanding continue to fill the same position in society.

‘4. That it is enjoined neither by religion nor morality, and has been deemed at variance with both by individuals of virtue and learning, as well as by many enlightened Christian communities.

‘5. That under these circumstances there is no hope of regaining for it the sanction due to a recognized precept of religion or a well-considered municipal regulation.

‘6. That the feelings with which a man is supposed to contemplate his wife’s sister cannot be beneficially affected by a bare law, unsupported by opinion, and liable to be evaded with impunity.

‘7. That there are many circumstances which afford a better chance of happiness in such unions than in any other.

‘8. That the present uncertain state of the law imperatively requires the interposition of the legislature, and is likely to occasion a great deal of unhappiness and immorality.’

Art. II. *Memoirs and Remains of the Rev. John Griffin, of Portsea.*
By his Sons. 1 Vol. 8vo. Hamilton and Co. London.

THE lives of eminently good and useful men are the best legacies of departed times. They are at once the patterns and the seeds of future goodness and greatness. The final issues and total amounts of their productiveness are not to be computed. They contain the best arguments for the truth and supply the best antidotes to error. They constitute the most valuable part of history, and present the best comments on divinity. In them we see both what is attainable by renovated human nature, and how to attain it. Their goodness which, in themselves, was in one view an effect, in their *memoirs* becomes a cause. Thus, in an emphatic sense, the good live their useful lives over again, and by their bright examples become the

moral progenitors and models of just as many more as they impress with noble sentiments, and rouse to holy emulation. Humanity, not to say religion, would sustain an infinite loss, if the memory of the just perished with them ; and if the surviving generation could derive neither the love of virtue, nor the glow of magnanimity, nor the fire of zeal, from the example of men who have so nobly played their part in bygone days. Memory, therefore, is one of our choicest blessings. It were a sad case, were it true, as represented by the poet, in any other than a poetical sense—

‘ The evil that men do lives after them ;
The good is oft interred with their bones.’

Both good and evil, as embodied in men’s characters and actions, doubtless possesses a seminative energy ; but it were confessedly a gloomy thought that the *good* should be less perennial. We believe it is not so, and cannot possibly be proved to be so. The progressive advance of *good* upon evil, however slow, and which we shall here assume to be undeniable, is a proof that evil has at least no advantage over it in respect of inherent vitality, whatever it may have in respect of the extraneous circumstances under which both are perpetuated in this strange and motley world. The Author of all goodness has impressed upon it the image of his own immortality, and destined it ultimately and for ever to shine forth in the rays of his own glory. It lives from age to age, and is renewed from generation to generation ; though properly expressing ourselves, it is not to be estimated by generations ; but is essentially a divine donation, constantly, though variously, imparted to all generations, in measures sufficient for the improvement, happiness, and usefulness of all.

When we speak of human generations, however, we are apt to associate with the terms the ideas of a complete departure and a complete renewal ; just as if all the men and women of one age passed away at once, and were succeeded by an entire race of children and novices : whereas the imperceptible abstractions and additions (we mean *imperceptible* only as it regards the universal family of mankind) leave the whole in possession of advantages for wisdom and virtue, nearly equal to those which would be afforded by the supposed protracted existence of each through the entire age of the whole race. The efflux and influx may be illustrated by the perpetual change of particles of which physiology informs us takes place in the human system, though discoverable at once in particular instances, and by inference, demonstrable of the whole, without our consciousness, and without

impairing in the slightest degree our sense of identity through the entire period of our existence. The *individual man* is gone, but the entire race lives on, unconscious of his departure. Another has already taken his place, so that the whole body is still unimpaired, and, generally speaking, undiminished. But, moreover, it is to be observed, he has left behind him, in the influences he exerted while living, upon the minds of those who are to live after him, the entire sum of virtue and goodness he possessed. *That* has become as real a legacy, and has now as truly passed into other hands, as the money, the lands, or the chattels, if any, which he left to be distributed among survivors. Men no more take away the influence of their entire character when they die, than they do the houses they inhabited, or the ground on which they trod. Goodness, in this respect, is like nothing purely human—because it transcends in its nature and effects all other gifts conceded to men. It cannot perish like the fruits of genius, of science, and of art. It is not even subject to the accidents to which useful authorship is liable, in its entire decay and disappearance. Neither does it survive in a mere name or a shadow, a relic or a representation, but in its own peculiar and proper identity of *goodness*. It is an imperishable reality, surviving in human hearts when all else decays. It is that one thing pertaining to us which we both take with us and leave behind us—the only substantial benefit we bequeath to our race. It is, in short, the indissoluble bond which connects us with all the good of past and coming ages, and at the same time connects all the good of all ages with Him who is the exclusive and exhaustless fountain of being and blessedness. Hence the *lives* and *memoirs* of good men, and especially of such good men as have been active in the cause of religion and of human improvement, may be compared to nursery grounds and seed-beds, from which other lands are to be planted and stocked. In this view we feel an unfeigned pleasure in recording the appearance of this interesting volume, and in presenting to our readers some specimens of its contents.

Mr. Griffin was one of the most devoted, active, and useful men of the last generation—a race of philanthropists and Christians, who created an entirely new era, marked by a movement so evidently in harmony with the designs and intentions of providence, that the lapse of years has but served to surround it with accumulating successes, and bear it onward towards a yet future, but predicted and glorious consummation.

The following extract will make our readers acquainted with the early life of Mr. Griffin.

‘John Griffin was born the 25th of April, 1769, at the beautiful little village of Wooburn, Buckinghamshire. His father was in

humble life, being manually employed in the paper manufacture. But though, in a worldly sense, the subject of this memoir was thus undistinguished in his birth, it was a matter of gratitude, not to say of worthy pride, on his part, to be able to remind his children that his father was an industrious, honest, and truly pious man. The supposable influence of the religious habits of his parents will render the facts mentioned in the following unadorned pieces of autobiography, as natural as they are interesting. 'These short and simple annals' of a young villager, a rustic boy, who, under the blessing of God, by the native force of an original and persevering mind, emerged from comparative obscurity into a life of great popularity and usefulness, will be the more acceptable from the touching simplicity of the style in which they are recorded.

'The desire of being a minister was very early in life experienced by me, for, when a school-boy about seven or eight years of age, I felt strong impressions of being a minister; and what makes me so mindful of it is, the great delight I recollect to have enjoyed when I could get by myself, and laying a Bible, Prayer-book, or some other book before me, read aloud, and endeavor, by making a noise, to imitate the ministers whom I had heard.

'Between eight and nine years of age, I was under the necessity of going to labor in the paper business, when, mixing with men and boys whose morals were bad, I found those serious thoughts I remember to have had at school, and in hearing the conversation of my good grandmother, Lydia Marlow, and some good people who frequently came to the house, wear away, and evil ones take their place. About this time, my father, who was a good man, and belonging to the religious society at Wooburn, was in a lingering illness, or decline; but being able to sit up, he was capable of seeing something of my sinful conduct, and of hearing some of my obscene and wretched language, which he once, in a most tender, gracious, and faithful manner, called me to him, and with tears in his eyes said, he must soon die, and, added he, 'If you live and die a naughty boy, you will go to the place of torment, which is prepared for the devils and all wicked people.' His soft tears washed deep furrows in my hard heart; for the impressions then made were never obliterated. Soon after this, he died on a Sabbath-day morning, rejoicing in God. His death had some little effect on my mind, but not so much as one might imagine.

'About the age of twelve or thirteen, I felt my little heart puffed up with pride, thinking myself a man in wisdom, though a boy in station and age. My mother was tender, and I believe at that time gracious, but too fond of me (as many parents are of their children) to restrain me at first. Having thrown the reins too loose on my neck at first, I then began to be too headstrong, and did not care tamely to submit to all she wished; but always bearing a filial regard for her, and she bearing such a parental regard to me, *her tears were more than I could bear*. These were of more avail to curb my proud and roving thoughts than threats or the whip could possibly be. I recollect a striking proof of the effect of her tears. One evening, some time before I arrived at the age mentioned before, we were sitting

together, and my mother read the twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-sixth chapters of Matthew; and the subjects much affected her. Looking in her face, I perceived her weep: being moved with tender affection and sympathy, I said, 'Mother, why do you weep?' And received for an answer, '*My dear, it is a hard thing to be a Christian.*' The impressions which the tears and the answer made on my mind were great, and though sometimes not thought of by me, they yet were never erased.'

'The above touching anecdote, so simply narrated, evinces that his heart had, even while he was a boy, become impressed with the sentiments of religion and a sense of the obligation of personal piety.

'He thus proceeds:—

'About the age of fourteen, I went out of curiosity to hear a good young man (Mr. Cooke) who spoke on the subject of the two blind men sitting by the way side begging. I heard the sermon, and remember it; but I do not recollect any great effect that it had; still my mind, by small degrees and various means, appeared to be bending towards religion. About that time, hearing Mr. English preach from Matthew vii. 13, 14, 'Enter ye in at the strait gate,' &c., I was remarkably affected. When I came home, I sat down and wept. My mother asking me the reason of my tears, I showed her the text. She then said, 'Was it the sermon that affected you?' I answering in the affirmative, she then endeavored to instruct and comfort me. From this time my conduct began to alter, and some religious friends took notice of me, and among the rest Mr. Cooke, who, by what little he said to me, was very useful. I was very fond of hearing. He being ordered by my master and friend, Mr. Revell, to give me Watts' Hymns and Psalms, I loved them and him much. After this, Mr. English gave me Mason's Pocket Companion, which, through the influence of the Spirit, was made very useful to me *in giving me to understand the way of salvation through Christ*; for before, and in some measure afterwards, I was exceedingly legal in my ideas. I remember a remarkable evidence of it; for having heard Mr. Hawkins from 'Tekel; Thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting,' I was asked by a young man afterwards what was intended by being weighed in the balances. I answered, 'Our good works are put into one balance, and our bad ones into the other; and if our good ones do not outweigh our bad ones, we shall be lost for ever.' But not being satisfied about the meaning, I, the next day, asked Mr. C. He said, we are weighed by the justice of God, and our works are put into one balance, and the works of Christ into another; if we are believers in Christ, we should be happy, but if not believers, then we should be found wanting. This gave me an insight into the plan of salvation, and, then reading that little book, I was enabled to rely on Jesus for salvation; and for some time I went on rejoicing in God my Saviour, thinking I should never be unhappy more, little sensible of the power of corruption, the strength of temptation, and the influence of the world. I thought my feet stood so fast, I should never be moved. But my youth, and, through want of knowledge, too much forwardness in religious company, made some despise me,

which tried my faith exceedingly ; but the more judicious, who knew, at least hoped, *that* would wear off as age and knowledge increased, were more free and encouraging. I now earnestly wished to join the society. Taking every opportunity of hearing Mr. English in the country, I had frequent conversations with him now about being a member of the church. But he wished me to stay longer on account of my youth, I being only between fifteen and sixteen. From about this time I felt an earnest desire to be in the ministry, which increased with almost every sermon I heard. This drove me frequently to my knees, and led me to seek every opportunity to read. Fox's Book of Martyrs, Henry's Commentaries, Hervey's Dialogues and Meditations, with some other good books, employed much of my time, often till midnight or two o'clock in the morning, though under the necessity of being up by four or five.'—pp. 3—8.

In due course he was admitted into the church, and under the direction of his excellent pastor, was soon after employed in village preaching. The ability he manifested in these early exercises induced his minister to think him a suitable person to be wholly devoted to the preaching of the gospel. But his friends had no means of providing for his education.

' In September, 1789, Mr. English came into Gloucestershire, and calling on Mr. Winter, who was then authorized by Mr. Thornton to educate a youth for three years for the ministry, and by Mr. Welch to educate three, Mr. Winter asked Mr. English if he knew a serious young man, who wished to be in the ministry, whom he could recommend. Mr. English, thinking it in providence, rejoiced to find such an eligible method of introducing me as a minister of the church of Christ. My having formed an attachment to a young female friend was at first considered a barrier : and the result rested upon my being able to keep single for four or five years ; which being left to me, was soon settled, for my heart was so much in the ministry that I was comparatively careless about every thing else. The thought that providence had appeared in so remarkable a manner was almost too much for me. I now saw that the Lord was a prayer hearing and answering God. I thought I should never doubt his providence more, nor indeed have I ever done so as before.'

' The pious and distinguished servant of Christ mentioned in the last extract, Mr. Thornton, of whom our deceased father never lost any occasion of speaking in terms of most affectionate and grateful veneration, in the exercise of that truly catholic spirit which was the brightest distinction of his character, was in the habit of assisting, by his benevolence, in the education of pious young men for the ministry, whether in or out of the establishment.

' At the time when Mr. Griffin was informed by Mr. English of the opening under Mr. Winter, he was made acquainted with this fact as to Mr. Thornton's benevolent practice ; and it thus became a matter for his consideration whether he would prefer to exercise his ministry in connexion with the Church, or as a Dissenter: He decided on the

latter. He has often informed his family with reference to this important event of his life, while reminding them of his and their obligations to God for his merciful direction and guidance, that it was a singular instance also of a special providence in another respect, since, as he was afterwards led to understand, if he had at this time determined to go into the church, and had been studying under Mr. Thornton's patronage with that object, there might not, according to that benevolent gentleman's plans, have been the vacancy which a year or two afterwards, by the application of Mr. Newton, was occupied by Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Claudius Buchanan, the enterprising traveller in India, and the pious and learned author of 'Christian Researches.' The subject of this memoir never lived to regret the course he had adopted, or to doubt, in the least degree, or in any view of it, its propriety. The sincere friends of the cause of Christ will all unite in and appreciate the sentiment, constantly expressed by our father, of veneration and esteem for the memory and services of his distinguished contemporary.'

—pp. 12—14.

The period of his residence with Mr. Winter was divided between study and preaching. His occasional services in villages and neighboring congregations were made eminently useful in the conversion of many individuals. Even during his novitiate at Painswick, he received the name of 'A young Whitfield.' The following anecdote pertaining to this early period of his ministry will be read with pleasure by all who appreciate generosity and admire the overruling providence of God.

'The following highly interesting anecdote was related in the vestry after his preaching a very excellent sermon on the doctrine of divine providence overruling all mortal affairs; a subject on which he delighted to dwell. I took the liberty of expressing the wish that he had related the anecdote in his sermon, as confirmatory of the doctrine; he replied, that he had entertained some thought of doing so, and had considered it better to omit it, on account of so much of *himself* being mixed with it.

'When a student for the Christian ministry, his vacations were usually devoted to preaching the gospel in the adjacent town and villages, and after the labors of the Sabbath he felt it to be his duty, during the week, to visit the members of the church of Christ, especially the poor of Christ's flock. On one of these occasions, he called to see a poor but pious widow who kept a small shop in the haberdashery line, and on which alone she depended for a maintenance. While they were in conversation in the shop, a person entered, whose presence so alarmed the widow, that she abruptly left, and ran up stairs to her chamber. Unacquainted with the cause of the sudden disappearance of the widow, and wondering in himself what it could mean, he anxiously inquired of the stranger his business, who promptly replied, that he had a bill against Mrs. ——— for goods which he

was anxious to have discharged, and he supposed his unexpected appearance had created the alarm he had witnessed. A glow of benevolence fired the generous breast of the young minister, and he requested to know the amount of the bill. The bill was then produced, which amounted to between six and seven pounds, just about the sum he had in his possession. Now the question arose in his mind for a moment, as to the path of duty, but the kind and sympathizing feelings of his heart overpowered every other consideration : he paid the bill, and received a receipt for the same. After the creditor had taken his departure, he called to the widow to come down ; she came with a heart big with anxiety and grief :—he stated to her what he had done, saying, that whenever it was in her power she could repay him, and then presented her with the receipt. The joy she felt was expressed with overpowering feelings, mingled with tears, to her kind benefactor. On leaving the widow's shop he experienced some conflicting feelings, lest he should have overstepped the bounds of prudence ;—he had emptied his purse, but the sweet recollections he entertained of the encouraging admonitions to acts of benevolence which he had received from his venerable tutor, enforced not only by precept but example, had the effect of removing his scruples on this point, and of encouraging him to cast himself and his circumstances on the Lord. On the following Sabbath he was engaged to preach to a large congregation, and an aged widow lady of some affluence had her attention excited by what she had heard of the preaching of the young minister, and determined on hearing him in the evening. She was conveyed to the chapel in a sedan chair ; and such was the effect of the sermon on her mind, on the following morning she sent for her attorney, and directed him to place Mr. Griffin's name in her will for one hundred pounds. Mr. G. recollected seeing the lady in the congregation, but never spoke with her. This circumstance remained unknown to him till the death of the lady, which occurred several years afterwards, when he had become the settled pastor over the Independent church at Portsea, surrounded with a numerous and rising family, whose calls at that time were of a very pressing nature. The post brought him tidings of the late decease of the lady, and of the unexpected bequest of this unknown friend.'—pp. 64—67.

In the year 1793, he received a unanimous invitation to settle as pastor over the Independent church at Portsea. One of the most interesting and important events connected with his ministry at that place was the conversion of Captain Wilson, who subsequently took the command of the ship *Duff*, and conveyed the first Christian missionaries to the South Sea Islands. The whole narrative of Captain Wilson's conversion was published in his memoirs, but a brief notice is contained in the following passage from Mr. Griffin's diary.

“ Among some others, a young man of the name of Wilson, who was deistical in his sentiments, appeared to be concerned for his im-

mortal soul, owing to a sermon I preached from Rom. viii. 29, '*Whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate.*' This discourse, as he afterwards told me, made impressions on his mind which he could never obliterate. In this instance, I cannot but admire the truth of this passage, '*Your thoughts are not my thoughts;*' for having been in his company, and conversed freely with him, I knew he was a deist; and therefore I felt much concerned when I saw him come in, for I thought it was a pity I had *such* a subject to treat of that morning, as being unsuited to him, but God knew what would suit, and when He applies the truth, it is efficacious. *May the Lord carry on his work in his heart, and make him a shining character in the church!*'

'Little did he who, thus silently and unseen, breathed and recorded this prayer of pastoral affection and piety, then think that it would meet an answer on the island shores of the Pacific; that the recently deistical object of it would be honored to be, not long after, the conductor of the first exclusively missionary voyage,—the bearer of the olive-branch of the gospel to the savage isles of the south.'

—pp. 82, 83.

In the year 1795, only two years after Mr. Griffin's settlement at Portsea, the attention of the religious public was called to the project of forming The London Missionary Society. Our readers will be gratified by reading the following passage, which shows the interest he took in that great movement even from the beginning.

'There are now left but comparatively few survivors of those who took any prominent part in the proceedings of the series of public meetings held in September 1795, in London, at the formation of the London Missionary Society. It was the great privilege and happiness of Mr. Griffin to be, if not, strictly speaking, one of its founders, yet among the most zealous and enthusiastically approving of those who were engaged in its actual establishment.

'He alludes to the subject in his diary.

'September, 1795. The subject of forming a missionary society in London, to send the gospel to the heathen, excited a considerable degree of attention. We conversed among our people and with each other upon the subject, and the church resolved to send me, as their deputy, to London, to meet other ministers on the 24th, for the purpose of forming a society suited to the end.'

'No peculiar honor, considered in the sense of merit, and as distinct from that of all others engaged, is, of course, intended to be claimed for Mr. Griffin for his participation in the proceedings of this great and happy assembly. But in the sense of high and holy privilege conferred, it may be accounted and recorded as one of the most distinguished honors connected with his ministerial life, and such as the best of men might most have envied, that on one of the most important of those glorious and celebrated meetings (called in the Evangelical Magazine '*the Conference*'), at which the London Missionary Society

was instituted and set in operation,—that, namely, on the Thursday morning at Surrey Chapel, being the first meeting after the complete formation of the Society, and the election of its first directors, and at which the Rev. Rowland Hill preached, and the Rev. Dr. Haweis announced the plan of the South Sea Mission,—it was assigned to Mr. Griffin to offer to the heavenly grace, on behalf of the now fully organized and operative institution, *the dedicatory prayer*. It is understood, that as his style, in public prayer, even at this early period of his ministry, as was remarkably the case afterwards, was characterized by the qualities of terseness, comprehensiveness, fervor, and devotion; he performed this essential and interesting part of the worship in a manner not unworthy of the great and sacred occasion.’—pp. 94—96.

In the course of Mr. Griffin’s ministry he had many occasions to observe the work of God which occasionally manifested itself among seamen, in whose spiritual welfare he always took a deep interest. The following fact is from his diary.

‘A seaman in the Mediterranean, in the fleet under the command of Lord Nelson, desirous of being spiritually serviceable to his messmates, began with a man who was sick; he waited on him, then talked to him till his mind was awakened, and he became truly serious. Another, seeing the evident change effected on his messmate, and observing how kind the good man had been to him, listened to their conversation, and heard till his mind was under a saving impression. Nine of the men were serious; and before the battle of the Nile, when they perceived that the engagement would soon commence, they got as many of their friends as they could together, and spent a few minutes in prayer, and commended each other to God, and then took leave of each other, expecting never to meet altogether again.

‘After the engagement, in which a great number of their ship’s company were killed, they sought for each other; and though some of them had been stationed at different guns where several of their shipmates had been killed, not one of them was either killed or wounded. When the ship returned to Portsmouth without their having any previous knowledge of me, they inquired for me, and asked if they might partake of the Lord’s Supper with us. They exhibited their principles of faith and conduct, and the rules which they had entered into with each other; and nine of them sat down with us at the Lord’s Supper.’—pp. 114, 115.

Mr. Griffin’s eminent success, both as a preacher and pastor, was evinced in the rapid and constant increase of his congregation. The chapel in Orange Street had been twice enlarged during the first ten or twelve years of his ministry. Still it was too small to accommodate the multitudes who came to hear, and the project of building another place of ampler dimensions was entertained. This purpose was carried into effect in the year 1812. The previous chapel had been computed to hold

fourteen hundred, but the new one was adapted to accommodate three thousand. The interesting day which witnessed its opening formed a new era in the life of the devoted minister. His sphere of usefulness was hereby greatly increased, and the divine blessing appeared conspicuously to rest upon the bold and zealous efforts of Mr. Griffin and his friends. The circumstances connected with the consecration of the edifice to the service of God are thus pleasingly described by the biographers.

‘The new chapel in King Street, Portsea, was opened for religious worship on the morning of the 7th of September, 1813. This was no ordinary occasion of the kind; the size of the chapel, considered as that of a provincial edifice of Dissenting worship, and the celebrity of the preachers, would be alike calculated to attract an unusual assembly. Several persons of distinction in the neighbourhood attended, and ministers and laymen of eminence in the metropolis and various parts of the country flocked to this sacred gathering, to assist in devoting, by prayer and public worship, this temple unto the service of God. It may now, in truth, be said of it, with regard to a goodly number of the fellowship of the saints, ‘This and that man (or woman) was born there.’ To God be all the glory! The Rev. Dr. Bogue, Mr. Griffin’s beloved neighbor and elder brother in the ministry, offered, with deep solemnity and holy ardor, the dedicatory prayers. His early and esteemed friend, the Rev. William Jay, of Bath, then preached a most original and impressive discourse from Matt. xxviii. 18: ‘*All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth.*’ The Rev. Rowland Hill preached in the evening from 1 Thess. i. 5: ‘*For our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance.*’ Mr. Hill also preached on the three ensuing Sabbaths; as may be supposed, he attracted to this large chapel overflowing congregations, and, as on his former visits to the town, his services were eminently blessed in their result. Mr. Griffin, in his published sermon on the death of the Rev. Rowland Hill, observes, ‘At the opening of this chapel, about twenty years since, Mr. Jay preached in the morning, and Mr. Hill in the evening. When he was going into the pulpit before preaching, the place being crowded almost to suffocation, he looked into the chapel from the vestry, and being informed of the names of some distinguished persons present, of the first rank, property, and station in the neighborhood, who came to pay respect to him and his family, he ejaculated, ‘Lord, help me!’ and, turning to me, he said, that soft and elegant sermon in the morning melts me. O what shall this poor babbler say!’ The sermon which followed this conversation proved that he was not always the ranter which some have imagined him to be. Shortly after, he visited us again, when the war had closed, and his nephew had been created Lord Hill: he was followed by a still greater number of the upper class of society, which excited him to some higher strains in the order of preaching, especially in the Sunday morning sermons; but he was most at home, and said some of the strongest and best things, when using the most popular style of address.

‘A most enduringly interesting proof of the divine blessing attended the first sermon delivered by Mr. Griffin in the new chapel. On the first Sabbath morning after his return from London—whither he had gone as the supply at Surrey Chapel in Mr. Hill’s absence—he selected for his text, peculiarly appropriate, as it would seem, for such an occasion, Isa. lxiv. 1: *‘O that thou wouldest rend the heavens, that thou wouldest come down, that the mountains might flow down at thy presence.’* According to the written statement of his eldest son and child, given on his admission to the church, this sermon was rendered, by the infinite mercy and distinguished grace of God, a great blessing to his soul, and one of the instrumental means of his decided conversion.

‘At the date of a year after the opening of the chapel, we meet in our father’s diary with the following expression of his gratitude to God, in connexion with this important event in the history of his ministry.

‘September 6, 1814.—Have this day read the foregoing, of the 5th December, 1805, with some pleasing and grateful emotions of soul. The Lord heard my prayer, and enabled me and my friends to build a house for God that will hold, when crowded, three thousand people. It has now been opened twelve months to morrow; and, blessed be God, who has been my helper, the place has been attended far beyond my most sanguine expectations. The seats are all let, and the proceeds are quite sufficient to cover all expenses, and to help to liquidate the debt. What an infinite mercy that we have thus accomplished such an important object with so little difficulty, and such almost perfect unanimity! Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits. In future, trust Him.’—pp. 229—232.

In the case of Mr. Griffin, the complete success of this magnanimous design no doubt justified, in his view and that of many others, the step which had been taken. How far, as a general rule, it may be proper to encourage such a centralizing of the Christian body is another matter—and how far the superhuman efforts demanded from one man by so large a congregation, may have accelerated the termination of his invaluable labors, deserves grave consideration. As a general principle, we cannot but think that a congregation of between two and three thousand in regular attendance, which with those connected must form a total of above three thousand, or three thousand two hundred, is much too large, and that whenever such a body of people can be drawn together under the ministry of the gospel, they will be made more useful to the surrounding population, to say nothing of their own edification and comfort, by being formed into two or three distinct churches. Large families ought to separate; populous nations are obliged to colonize; and Christian churches ought not to accumulate around one popular minister to such a degree as to overtask his strength, and deprive themselves of that distinct personal attention to their spiritual concerns, which in a crowd they cannot

expect from any minister, however gifted, but which under other circumstances every faithful man would gladly show them.

Mr. Griffin was blessed and honored by seeing two of his sons devoted to the Christian ministry. One, indeed, was cut off soon after his settlement at Exeter, and in the spring-time of promise and of fruitfulness. But the other, the Rev. James Griffin, of Manchester, one of the biographers, will, we trust, long continue to sustain the name and Christian reputation which have been bequeathed to him.

We should gladly extend our extracts, and had particularly marked for this purpose Mr. Griffin's very admirable letters addressed to his sons during the period of their academical studies, but we must hasten to a close.

The last years of Mr. Griffin's ministry, though marked by a decline of bodily vigor, were marked by no decay of mental energy. An abundant blessing attended his labors and those of his esteemed colleague, who was settled in the co-pastorship with him but a few years before his decease. In no event of his life was his practical wisdom and fervent zeal more displayed, than in the determination he formed to avail himself, before the effects of his own decline in strength should become visible upon his congregation, of the assistance of some devoted and energetic young minister. His example in this particular is eminently deserving the attention of other pastors in similar circumstances. At the present moment there are many Dissenting churches visibly declining or actually fallen into a state next to dissolution, through the continuance of infirm and unsuitable men in the pastorate. Sometimes the evil arises from an unbecoming jealousy on the part of aged ministers to see another increase while they must decrease, sometimes through the want of that self-knowledge which should make them conscious that they are not and cannot be what they were in former days, and sometimes through a mistaken policy on their own part, or that of their people, as to the possibility of supporting two ministers. Yet, assuredly, two ministers could, in most cases, be more cheerfully and adequately supported, by a flourishing and devoted congregation, than one by some paltry endowment and a few languishing and dispirited people. In some instances aged ministers deeply feel their incompetency, and would gladly give place to younger and more active men, could their wants be supplied for the few remaining years of their earthly sojourn; and such would surely be refreshed to see the churches over which they once presided, and among which they might cheerfully spend the evening of life, flourishing again as when themselves were young and strong to labor. But they have no re-

source, and are constrained, however reluctantly, to drag on till they die in harness. There may be cases in which old ministers fondly think they preach as well and as attractively as when in their vigor and prime—or even better. Such might be hard to be convinced even by their empty chapels, that the time was come for their retirement, as long as a snug parsonage and a sufficient endowment met all their wants. But surely, even in such cases, efforts should be made by neighbouring churches, or the body of Dissenters at large, to induce such good but mistaken men to receive assistance, or give up their pulpits to others, even though it should be necessary for them to retain the emoluments for the few remaining years of their life. There is no subject connected with the interests of the Dissenting denominations that more urgently demands attention at the present moment, and no greater boon could be conferred upon the cause of Christ, in connexion with the Dissenters, than the establishment of some system of support for aged ministers, which should secure to them a competency equal to that they might relinquish, for the sake of reviving those churches to which at present they cleave for a support. Were measures to be adopted, either by the Home Missionary Societies, or any one formed for the purpose, which should provide efficient assistance for the pulpit during two or three years, many such congregations might be revived sufficiently both to support a young minister, and leave the old one in the undisturbed enjoyment of his present income. Could such assistance be secured, we cannot but think many an aged and faithful servant of Christ might be persuaded to give place to a younger one, and have his last days cheered by witnessing a revival of the cause of God in the place where he had spent his best years, instead of remaining at his post till his chapel was deserted, his work a burden, and his old age friendless and desolate. We trust we shall be pardoned this digression. We were led into it by our admiration of Mr. Griffin's conduct, and our recollection of two or three similar instances, in which the divine blessing has evidently attended the measure, thereby rendering the last days of some of our venerable ministers peculiarly cheerful and happy. The subject, however, demands more attention than it has yet received, and we trust that among the multifarious projects for extending the cause of Christ, by which the present age is distinguished, this will speedily be taken up as it ought to be. A few public spirited individuals might soon place it before the churches in such a light as to command attention. We are aware that it is a delicate subject, and that the parties contemplated ought to be treated with the greatest respect and tenderness. And for these reasons we could wish that the most venerable and experienced

men should take the lead. We observe that the subject has been broached by several letters in the Patriot newspaper, and we trust it will not much longer be allowed to sleep.

But to return to the memoir. It only remains for us to say that Mr. Griffin's last days were all that the tenderest and most attached friends could desire, for an eminent saint and devoted pastor. The appearance of the memoir, though deferred till almost seven years since his decease, has lost nothing of its interest. The memory of the good man is, we trust, yet fresh enough to secure for the work an extensive sale. Its perusal will, we are confident, prove both interesting and edifying to all who admire excellence, love piety, and delight to see eminent talents employed and honored in the best of causes. The thanks of the churches generally, and of the ministry in particular, are due to the sons of Mr. Griffin, who have executed the filial and delicate duty of embodying and perpetuating their father's character and example, in a manner as gratifying to his friends as it is honorable to him and creditable to themselves.

Art. III. 1. *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.* By THOMAS PERCY, D.D., Bishop of Dromore. Templeman: 1840.

2. *The Political Songs of England.* Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT. (Camden Society.)

3. *Reliquiæ Antiquæ, Scraps from Ancient MSS., illustrating chiefly early English Literature.* Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT and J. O. HALLIWELL. Nos. I. to VI. Pickering.

THERE are few persons, we think, who have made our early literature, or our antiquities, their study, but have been led to it in the first instance by the attractions of those fragments of old verse, those snatches of wild and pleasant, though rude, song, which still may be found in our remoter districts, or which meet us in our popular collections of ancient poetry. Nor is this surprising: ballad literature is emphatically the literature of the people. It must appeal, and appeal strongly, to our common feelings, or uneducated, unsophisticated men would not have treasured it up to repeat to their children's children; and it must be true to the general character of the people, or amid the changes of our social system, and the progress of successive generations, it would have been wholly cast aside, like the out-of-date garment, or the disused weapon. But, then, while the passages which appeal

to our common feelings still remain, much that is absolutely obsolete, by the very process of oral transmission, is lost; and the 'ancient ballad' is after all but a modernized version of some older original.

Now this, which to the antiquary is the insuperable defect of ballad literature, becomes to the young reader its chief advantage. Unacquainted, or at most but superficially acquainted with the character of the middle ages, that character appears to him less strange, less startling in the modified form of the ballad, than it would do in the more genuine manuscript remains; thus he obtains a less abrupt introduction to the peculiarities of that period, and ballad literature has thus done the same good service to our early poets as that 'pretty toy,' Strawberry Hill, did to Gothic architecture. That amusing, and yet almost picturesque jumble of lancet windows, Tudor doorways, and battlements conied from the stern keep of some Norman castle frowning upon oriel and cloister, attracted the public eye, and conciliated the public taste, until at length an admiration for the pure Gothic in all its beautiful gradations arose.

What Horace Walpole did for Gothic architecture, Dr. Percy did for early English literature; and we feel that no common praise is due to that scholar, who brought up in the 'very straightest sect' of the classical school, could yet appreciate the simple beauty of genuine old English poetry; and who, in the very teeth of the prosaic dulness of the middle of the last century, could boldly challenge public attention to these reliques of an age past by. The honor which is due to the discoverer, too, belongs emphatically to Dr. Percy, for he was the precursor of all those who have labored so abundantly in the same field, and the collections of Ellis, Ritson, Weber, and many others, as well as the two interesting works before us, may be traced to the impulse given to the literary world by the publication of these ballads.

The chief defects of this popular collection are its very miscellaneous character, and its introduction in too many instances of absolutely modernized versions, instead of the rude originals. Both these defects, we are well aware, have contributed to its popularity among that large class of readers who, with but limited historical knowledge, were wholly unacquainted with our early literature; but though rendered by these defects a pleasant book to them, it has become to the literary antiquary of the present day, a work of very slight value. Nor are the dissertations on minstrelsy, or on the early metrical romances, worth the waste of type and paper. Had the worthy and learned writer possessed the opportunities we enjoy in the present day of becoming acquainted with those stores of English mediæval literature which have been for so many centuries buried amid

the dust and cobwebs of our public libraries, we doubt not but he would have produced essays upon each of these subjects which might have rivalled that masterly dissertation of the late Mr. Price, prefixed to the later editions of Warton. But, as we have before remarked, Dr. Percy was the precursor in this path; and while we cannot but smile at his bringing forward as his authorities such writers as Mallet and Warburton, and 'the ingenious professor of belles lettres in the University of Edinburgh, Dr. Blair,' (!) it is but just to remember that these were the best, though bad enough, authorities he could obtain. Still, if the publisher of this new edition, instead of giving a mere reprint, had selected only those ballads and songs which profess to be antecedent to the seventeenth century, and had either substituted other introductory essays, or, as in the edition of Warton, provided supplementary notes, a very interesting volume would have been the result. As it is, we can only say, that all which the essays teach, the reader, if desirous of correct information, must have to unlearn; while instead of being obliged to consult 'Harleian MSS., No. 2252,' for one ancient metrical romance, and the 'Bodleian, C. 39,' for another, and 'Caius College, Cambridge,' for a third, he has only to go to any respectable bookseller, and inquire for the collections of Ritson, Ellis, Weber, and Haslewood, and he will find them all in print.

Ballads, by which we would be understood to mean short stories intended to be sung, do not form a very numerous class in our literature if compared with those of the northern nations; nor, in despite of the eulogies pronounced on many of them by no less a judge than Sir Walter Scott himself, can we assign them a high poetical rank. Indeed, at a feast of the poets, we should place the ballad composer, on account of his merits, very nearly in the same chair, or (to speak more in character with the time) on the same bench, on which, in consequence of his low station in society, our forefathers would have placed him, not merely 'below the salt,' but among the grooms and falconers at the lower end of the table. It is not, however, astonishing, that an age which considered civilization as not having commenced until the restoration of Charles the Second, and that writers who characterized even the days of James the First—that era that witnessed alike the last and finest efforts of Shakespere, and the first buddings of the genius of Milton, as 'an age of little poetic refinement,' should have smiled approvingly upon the homely ballad. The spirited English metrical romances were unknown to them; Gower was only recognized as a rhymester who had written a ponderous volume of unreadable verse; Chaucer, only known through the medium of coarse translations of some of his Canterbury

Tales, in which, while every sin against taste and delicacy was carefully preserved, all those bursts of sweet poetry, all that power of painting a vivid scene in a few words, which places him in the foremost ranks of our poets, were passed over, while the graceful productions of the Anglo-Norman trouvères, those poet-fathers of England, were reposing in oblivion undisturbed even by the most curious antiquary, in the presses of the Harleian, the Cotton, and the Bodleian libraries.

It is to the lays and 'romans' of these last that the reader must turn for the source of nearly all our popular ballads which involve supernatural machinery. Without going further than the volume before us, the story of 'Syr Cauline' meeting the Eldritch knight, and vanquishing him, is a close transcription of the chief incident in the 'Lai de l'Epine,' published by M. Roquefort in his 'Poesies de Marie de France,' and assigned by him, together with the lay of 'Gruélan,' to her. The story of the marriage of Sir Gawayne, too, has not only been told by Gower in his tale of 'Florent,' and by Chaucer in his wife of Bath's tale, who expressly assigns its origin to 'these old gentil 'Bretons,' but it will be found in the fabliaux lately published in France. 'The Boy and the Mantel,' which we should consider one of the most ancient of these reliques, in like manner is derived from an Anglo-Norman source, and by the trouvère himself, unquestionably either from Armorica or Wales, those two great birthplaces (if indeed they had not a common one) of romantic literature. The ballad of 'the Boy and the Mantle' is worthy of notice, inasmuch as it affords a specimen of the different way in which the rude versifier told his story, to that in which the more polished trouvère said or sung his.

'On the third day of May,' a young page bearing a mantle enclosed in two nutshells, came to King Arthur, then keeping high court at Carlisle, and prayed that he might present it to that lady who had never done amiss either in deed or word. Queen Guenéver attempts to wear it, but it shrivels up, and she flies to her chamber overwhelmed with shame. Another and another tries this magic dress, but with the same result; at length Sir Cradock calls his lady—

' And bade her come in,
Saith, Winne this mantle, ladye,
With little dinne ;
Winne this mantle, ladye,
And it shall be thine,
If thou never didst amisse
Since thou wast mine.'

Thus sings the rude versifier; but the same tale had already been told in the fabliau of 'Court-mantel,' to the high and

noble, and in this Sir Caradoc addresses his lady in a manner more befitting the courteous character of the knight of the middle ages. We give the late Mr. Way's translation, for we could not supply a better.

'Dear lady mine,' he thus was heard to say,
'If aught misgives thee, shun that baleful robe !
To see thy shame, to feel my love decay,
I would not bide for all this earthly globe.
Far better were it aye in doubt remain,
Than read the truth by such disastrous test,
Than see thee now thy sex's honor stain.'

But the lady boldly challenges the test, and in the lay, as in the ballad, with triumphant success, the page exclaiming,

'Now, lady fair ! thy lover joy betide,
Thine be the pall who winn'at the victory ;'

while in the English version, the 'little boy' applies the coarsest epithets in our language to the disappointed queen, in the very presence of her husband.

In the same ballad the little boy has a horn of 'red gold,' endowed with similar marvellous qualities ; and this horn Sir Craddock bears away. This part of the story had, however, already been told by Robert Bizez, an English trouvère, and his description of the magic horn will show the superiority of the 'lai' to the mere ballad. The original, which may be seen in Warton, is quite as flowing as the translation.

'Many a jewel there was set,
Mid the gold wrought work yfette ;
Beryl, sardius fair to see,
And the choice chalcedony—
O ! such a horn you ne'er might see !
By a ring of silver rare
Was it fastened ; and around
Five score bells gave pleasant sound.
Bells of gold, right pure and fine—
For in the days of Constantine
A learned fairie, bold and wise,
Did this magic horn devise—
And whoe'er with finger free,
Touched that horn,—deliciously
Then these hundred bells would sound.
O ! harp or viol ne'er was found
So sweet, nor voice of girle, nor she,
The famous siren of the sea,
Ne'er warbled half so witchingly.'

We pass over the other ballads of a similar kind, nearly all of which may be traced to earlier, and far more poetic sources, as we may probably in some future review, illustrate the tales of King Arthur, from the poems of those trouvères, whose very existence was unsuspected until the late Abbé de la Rue called the attention of the antiquarian world to them.

While, as we have remarked, England cannot boast a very large collection of ancient ballads, in one department she is very rich—that which may emphatically be called the popular ballad, because it celebrates the deeds of those heroes of the peasantry—those ‘village Hampdens,’ or those bold outlaws who, in our early times, when might was often opposed to right, did battle manfully for the real or imagined privileges of the commons. Robin Hood is the type of the popular hero, just as King Arthur is the type of the heroes of chivalry; and it is curious to observe how the peculiar virtues of the chivalrous era are presented, though in fainter colors, and in a ruder guise, in the characteristics assigned to the gallant outlaw of Sherwood. The same determination to redress all grievances, the same ‘love for poor men,’ to which the knight pledged himself at the foot of the altar; the same respect for woman, and the same heartfelt, though superstitious spirit of devotion, are exemplified in the genuine old Robin Hood ballads, as in the Anglo-Norman or old English romances of chivalry. And then there are from time to time, assertions of the dignity of the commons, shrewd hints that the peasant’s strong arm may ‘do the state some service,’ or perhaps disservice; and that hearty assertion of the superiority of the English yeoman to the natives of every other country, which prove these rude ballads could only have sprung up among a people who viewed freedom as their birthright, and who, from the days of Cressy to Waterloo, have maintained unimpaired their national character of valor. In the conduct of this class of ballads, too, we perceive, by the easy and natural sequence of the incidents, that the writer (probably composer would be the more correct term, since we greatly doubt whether any of this class were originally written), was well acquainted with the scenes he describes, and probably with the personages; and thus we obtain a glimpse of society among that class which seldom appears on the page of history.

An admirable picture of life among the lower classes we thus obtain from the excellent old ballad of William of Cloudesley. In an evil hour he has fled to the wood with his two faithful companions, but he has left his wife and children in ‘merry Carlisle,’ and he longs to revisit them.

‘Merrie it is in the grene forést,
Among the leves grene,’

but William steals away, and knocks at ‘his own windowe,’

and when 'fayre Alyce' lets him in, she informs him that search has been made for him 'for half a yere and more,' for he and his brethren had been 'outlawed for venysoun,' that bitter grievance of the yeomanry in the middle ages. Cloudesley, however, sits down merrily; but 'an old wyfe,' whom they had supported 'of charyte, for more than seven years,'—a characteristic trait of a period when there was no compulsory provision for the poor, but abundant private benevolence—steals out, and acquaints the sheriff. The gift bestowed on her, 'a ryghte gode 'goune,' is also characteristic of the period, when rewards were almost always given in the form of apparel, but that it was scarlet is certainly a modern interpolation, since that was always the color appropriated to nobility alone. The townsmen of 'merrie Carlisle' now assemble, with a 'fulle grete route,' and endeavor to enter William's house, while Alice gallantly seizes a poleaxe to defend the door, and he bends 'a righte gode 'bowe,' but in vain.

'Set fyre on the house, saide the sherife,
Syth it wyll no better be,
And brenne we therin William, he saide,
Hys wife and chyldren thre.

'They fired the house in many a place,
The fyre flew up on hye;
Alas! then cryed fayre Alice,
I se we here shall dye.

'William openyd a backe window,
That was in hys chamber hie,
And there with sheetes he did let downe
His wife and children thre.

'Have you here my treasure, sayde William,
My wyfe and my chyldren thre:
For Christes love do them no harme,
But wreke you all on me.'—Percy's Reliques, p. 41.

He now rushes out, and it is only by throwing 'dores and 'wyndowes' upon him that he is at length taken. This mode of overcoming a prisoner has been considered ridiculous; but, so far from it being so, it is to us a strong proof of the genuineness of the ballad. Doors and window-shutters, for these are evidently meant, were during the middle ages fastened not by hinges, but by hooks and staples; they could, therefore, be swiftly removed, and were certainly from their weight well adapted to this purpose. 'A payre of newe gallows' is now all that remains for the bold outlaw; but the little town swineherd,

to whom William had often given a meal, gives notice to the two brother outlaws, and they forthwith determine to rescue him. The mode which they adopt is also quite characteristic of the days of our Plantagenets. The sheriff having ordered the gates to be fast closed until the execution is over, they pretend to be king's messengers, bearing letters patent. It was incumbent on the warders of a town to open immediately to the bearers of such, and thus the broad hanging seal appears sufficient proof to the porter that the messengers are the bearers of a royal mandate. He opens the gate, they rush in, knock him down, and seize the keys. Meanwhile William of Cloudesley

‘ Lay ready there in a cart,
Fast bound both fote and hand ;
And a stronge rope about hys necke,
All ready for to hange.

‘ The justice called to hym a ladde,
Cloudeslees clothes hee shold have,
To take the measure of that yeman,
Therafter to make hys grave.

‘ I have sene as great mervaile, said Cloudesle,
As betweyne thys and pryme,
He that maketh a grave for mee,
Hymselfe may lye therin.’—*Ib.* p. 43.

This philosophical remark is quite in keeping with the changeful fortunes of the outlaw, and his many escapes; the reader will remark, too, how generally the ecclesiastical divisions of time were adopted, when even the rude ballad-maker uses the word ‘prime,’ the name of the earliest daily service of the church, to express early on the following morning.

‘Thou speakest proudly, saith the justice; I will thee hang ‘wyth my hande;’ but the justice, and the sheriff too, fall by the well aimed shafts of his brethren, and William, loosed from his bonds, fights manfully, and at length escapes to the green-wood.

In the next part of this genuine minstrel ballad, the three outlaws, seized with a sudden fit of compunction, determine to go to London, to ask pardon of the king. Their bold entrance into the palace, and the simplicity with which they state their offences, is very characteristic.

‘ And whan they came to the kynges courte,
Unto the pallace gate,
Of no man wold they aske no leave,
But boldly went in therat.

‘ They preceed prestly into the hall,
Of no man had they dreade ;

The porter came after, and dyd them call,
And with them began to chyde.

‘ The usher sayd, Yemen, what wold ye have
I pray you tell to me :
You myght thus make offycers shent
Good syrs, of whence be ye ?

Syr, we be out-lawes of the forest
Certayne withouten lease ;
And hether we be come to the kyng,
To get us a charter of peace.

‘ And when they came before the kyng,
As it was the lawe of the lande,
They kneled downe without lettyng,
And eche held up his hand.

‘ They sayed, Lord, we beseche the here,
That ye wyll graunt us grace ;
For we have slayne your fat falow dere
In many a sondry place.’—Ib. p. 44.

The king, on learning their names, not only refuses their prayer, but threatens to hang them. In the true feudal spirit they now urge, that as they came ‘freely’ to the king’s presence, he is bound to permit them ‘freely’ to depart. That this right was generally recognized in the middle ages, we have curious proofs both in the romances and in history ; but these outlaws have, it appears, made themselves so obnoxious to the king that he refuses their plea, and they are only saved by the interposition of the queen.

‘ That were great pitye, then sayd the quene,
If any grace myght be.

‘ My lorde, whan I came fyrst into this lande
To be your wedded wyfe,
The fyrst boone that I wold aske,
Ye would graunt it me belyfe ;

‘ And I asked you never none tyll now ;
Therefore, good lorde, graunt it me.
Now aske it, madam, sayd the kynge,
And graunted it shal be.

‘ Then, good my lord, I you beseche,
These yemen graunt ye me.
Madame, ye myght have asked a boone,
That shuld have been worth them all thre.

‘ Ye myght have asked towres, and townes,
 Parkes and forestes plenté.
 None soe pleasant to my pay, she sayd ;
 Nor none so lefe to me.

‘ Madame, sith it is your desyre,
 Your askyng graunted shal be ;
 But I had lever have given you
 Goed market townes thre.

‘ The quene was a glad woman,
 And sayde, Lord, gramercy ;
 I dare undertake for them,
 That true men shal they be.’—*Ib.* p. 45.

How closely do these verses resemble the pleadings of Philippa for the burghers of Calais, and the answer of Edward. ‘ Ah, gentle sir, since I have crossed the seas with great danger to see you, I have never asked you one favor, and now I earnestly ask as a gift, for the sake of the Son of the blessed Mary, and for your love to me, that you will be merciful to these six men.’ The king looked at her for some time in silence, and then said, ‘ Ah, lady, I would you had been anywhere else than here ; you have so entreated, that I cannot refuse—I give them to you to do what you please with them.’ We might almost believe that the author of this ballad had heard the tale of Philippa’s successful mediation, not indeed from Froissart, for his delightful chronicles were composed in courtly French, but from some of those men-at-arms, or gallant archer bands, who had witnessed the scene. The pardon is scarcely granted when letters from Carlisle arrive, detailing the last misdeeds of the outlaws. The king is sorely vexed, but, in the true spirit of chivalry, he does not attempt to violate the promise so incautiously given. He expresses a wish to see them shoot, and the incident in *Ivanhoe* of Lockesley shooting at the willow wand is closely copied from this old ballad. Cloudesley emboldened by the king’s astonishment, now offers to place an apple on his son’s head, and at the distance of six score paces, to cleave it in two. The king commands him to do it ; and the apocryphal feat related of William Tell is performed by the bold English outlaw, William of Cloudesley.

‘ He prayed the people, that wer there,
 That they ‘ all still wold ’ stand,
 For he that shoteth for such a wager
 Behoveth a stedfast hand.

‘ Muche people prayed for Cloudesle,
 That his lyfe saved myght be,

And whan he made hym redy to shote,
There was many weeping ee.

‘ ‘ But ’ Cloudele cleft the apple in two,
‘ His sonne he did not nee.’

Over Gods forbode, sayde the kinge,
‘ That thou shold shote at me.’—Ib. p. 46.

The ballad concludes with the king appointing him bow-bearer and chief ranger of the northern forests, and with the characteristic prayer that—

‘ All that with the hand bowe shooteth,
Of heaven may never misse.’

We have gone over this admirable old ballad rather at length, because it illustrates the remarks we have just made upon this species of composition. As pictures of the manners of the higher classes, or as corroborations of history, ballads are utterly worthless. But as pictures of life among the peasantry or dwellers in the upland towns, above all, as illustrations of the feeling, especially the political feeling, of our forefathers at a very early period, they are most valuable. None but a yeomanry devotedly attached to their free institutions could have cherished from generation to generation such ballads as this, and those so similar in character, which tell of the prowess and free spirit of Robin Hood, ‘ who cared neither for king or baron.’ And yet, we have been told, and with a large class it is still an article of orthodox belief, that our forefathers, until the parliamentary struggle, were in possession of scarcely a political right; that the great charter was merely intended to secure the rights of a privileged few, and that the mass of the people during the illustrious sway of our Plantagenets, were mere bondsmen. The second work on our table, ‘ The Political Songs of ‘ England,’ might of itself alone show the groundlessness of these opinions; for in it,—in the very rudest English, just at the period of its latest transition from the Saxon,—we find exulting songs on the defeat of the king’s friends, bitter satire and fierce invectives against the royal favorites, and bold assertions of popular rights, such as we doubt have been scarcely surpassed in modern periods of our history. And what will yet more excite surprise to those who have only become acquainted with history through the ordinary medium is, that the clergy ‘ led the way as bold reformers, and the refectory of the monastery, no less than the baronial hall, rang frequently with the ‘ outbursts of popular feeling.’

The oldest political song hitherto (ered, t c
posed on the defeat of Richard of A (as
in consequence of his having been

many), and the barons of the king's party, at the battle of Lewes. It is in Percy's Reliques, but we give three verses from the more correct copy in the 'Political Songs.'

'Sitteth alle stille ant herkneth to me :

The Kyn of Alemaigne, bi mi leauté,

Thritti thousent pound askede he

For te make the pees in the countré,

ant so he dude more.

Richard, thah thou be ever trichard (deceitful),

trichen shalt thou never more.

'The Kyng of Alemaigne wende do ful wel,

He saisede the mulne for a castel,

With hare sharpe swerdes he grounde the stel,

He wende that the sayles were mangonel

to helpe Wyndesore.

Richard, etc.

'Be the luef, be the loht, sire Edward,

Thou shalt ride sporeles o thy lyard

Al the ryhte way to Dover ward ;

Shalt thou never more breke fore-ward,

ant that reweth sore :

Edward, thou duest ase a sheward,

forsoke thyn emes lore (uncle's teaching). !

Richard, etc.'—*Political Songs*, pp. 69, 71.

Edward, afterwards king, it will be remembered, had sworn to maintain the Oxford provisions, but he subsequently withdrew; this was the 'forsaking his uncle's teaching,' alluded to above, for De Montfort, as well as Richard, was his uncle, by marriage with Elinor the sister of King Henry. The phrase 'thou shalt ride spurless,' we think refers not merely to his hasty flight, but to his perfidy. He had broken his oath, and therefore was no longer worthy to wear the distinctive badge of the knight, the gilt spur. But while the populace thus exulted that Richard 'trichen should never more,' the learned clerk indited a long and elaborate Latin poem to celebrate this triumph of popular rights. This poem is very curious, and well worthy of attentive perusal by the inquirer who is desirous of ascertaining the state of public feeling at this period. On reading many passages of it we might well, as Mr. Wright observes, 'suppose ourselves transported to the days of Wickliffe 'or Cromwell.' The number of the king's party, says the writer, far exceeded that of the barons; 'this was done by 'heaven, lest any one should boast of it; let all the honor be 'given to Christ, in whom we believe! For Christ at once 'commands, conquers, and reigns. We pray God that the

‘minds of the conquerors may not attribute their success to themselves, and what Paul says, be observed by them. ‘He that would be joyful, let him be joyful in God.’ May the power of the Almighty perfect what it has begun, and restore to its vigor the kingdom of the English people, that glory may be to himself, and peace to his elect, until they be in that land whither He shall lead them.’ Surely men who in first exultation of victory could write thus, could not have been the band of turbulent nobles and lawless commons which our historians have so frequently represented them to be.

But the victory of Lewes was soon followed by the defeat at Evesham, and on the 4th of August, 1265, Simon de Montfort and his chief adherents laid down their lives for the ‘good cause’ of those days. We have no English ballad on this subject remaining, although doubtless there were many; but one in Anglo-Norman, in this volume, has every appearance of having been written on the first news of this disastrous contest, and the writer assures his hearers that it was ‘all in tears’ that he made this song concerning ‘our gentle barons,’ for—

‘Now is slain that precious flower who fought so valiantly,
Earl Montfort, whose hard death the land will long weep bitterly.’

That by his death their great leader won the crown of martyrdom, and with his company had ‘gone up in joy to everlasting life,’ consoles the writer; and we learn from contemporary evidence, that not only was De Montfort celebrated as a martyr, but actually addressed as a saint. In a manuscript in the Cotton Library is an account of miracles believed to have been wrought by him; and while the wandering minstrel sang a lament for his death, the clergy who, adopted the popular feeling, hailed his triumphant entrance into heaven, and addressed him,

‘Salve, Symon Montis fortis,
Totius flos militiæ,
Duras poenas, passus mortis
Protector gentis Angliæ.’

And the spirit of this ‘protector gentis Angliæ,’ certainly survived his death; and in the pardons which the king was forced to grant, and the privileges which he was compelled to continue,—more especially the representation of the commo — prove that the principles of the Oxford provisions were triumphant, and that the barons conquered, although defeated and slain.

The rule of Edward was stern; still he was a wise, and, what

was of almost equal importance to a warlike age, he was a most valiant king. His wisdom prevented him from making violent inroads on the popular liberties, although that he was quite willing to do so, his contest with the earls of Norfolk and Hereford sufficiently proves, and his numerous victories over the Scots seem to have rendered him almost popular. The political songs of his reign are rather numerous; but it is remarkable that while the pride and oppression of the nobles, of the servants of the king's household, and of the dignified clergy, are bitterly noticed, scarcely a word derogatory to the king is to be found. The most violent of them is a song, written we should think by a churchman, as it is in French and Latin, on the king's expedition to Flanders, on which occasion a fifteenth was demanded from every householder, and there was a general seizure of wool to defray the expenses. 'It is not pleasant,' says the writer, 'thus to pay the fifteenth to the last penny.' 'It is not sound law that gives my wool to the king,' and what is worse, after all, 'some say neither the king or the queen have it, but only the collectors—they ought to tax the great, and spare the people.' The leading grievances of so many generations, purveyors and their tallies, is prominently brought forward. 'If the king would take my advice,' he says, 'he would take his vessels of silver and make money of them; it would be better to eat out of wood, and pay with silver, than serve the body with silver and pay with wood.'

' Mien valdreit de fust manger, pro victu nummos dare,
Que d'argent le cors servir, et lignum pacare.'

In the following song in English, on the insurrection of the Flemish burghers, we perceive how popular feeling went along with them; and in that on the times, the troubles endured by the poor from vexatious litigation, and the advantages obtained by the rich, through the same means, are naïvely set forth by the fable of the fox, the wolf, and the ass. Still, oppressed by taxes as the lower orders felt themselves, we yet find that the death of Edward was viewed by them as a national calamity: it is true that the character of his successor was such as to excite well grounded fears. There are two laments on King Edward's death, the English one manifestly a translation of the Anglo-Norman. We will give a verse both of the original and of the translation, as curious specimens of the two vernacular languages. Edward had vowed to revisit the Holy Land, hence the allusion in the text.

' Jerusalem, tu as perdu
La flour de ta chivalerie,

Rey Edward le viel chanu,
Qe tant ama ta seignurie.
Ore est-il mort ; jeo ne sai mie
Toun baner qi le meintindra :
Sun duz quor par grant druerie
Outre la mere vous mandera.'—Ib. p. 242.

' Jerusalem, thou hast i-lore
The flour of al chivalerie ;
Now Kyng Edward liveth na more :
Alas ! that he yet shulde deye !
He wolde ha rered up fol heye
Oure baners, that bueth broht to grounde ;
Wel longe we mowe clepe and crie
Er we a such kyng han y-founde !'—Ib. p. 249.

The lament concludes with a prayer that Edward of Caernarvon may be equal to his father in wisdom and power, that he may do right to poor men, and govern the realm well. An unanswered prayer, as England soon found.

One of the first songs composed during this disastrous reign is on the king's breaking his confirmation of Magna Charta. It presents a curious mixture of Anglo-Norman and English.

' Nostre prince de Engleterre,
Par le consail de sa gent,
At Westminster after the feire
Made a gret parlement,
La chartre fet de cyre,
Jeo l'enteink et bien le crey,
It was holde to neih the fire,
And is molten al away.'—Ib. p. 253.

That the charter was made of wax, is not to be understood by any allusion to the seal, but to the custom then, and still later in practice, of covering a board with a thin coating of wax, and then writing on it with an iron pen. This was generally done in the monastic schools in teaching boys to write ; the meaning of this passage, therefore, seems rather to be, that the king, like a school boy, was set to copy out the charter, but determined not to maintain its provisions ; no sooner had he finished it than he held it to the fire, and thus the letters were obliterated. The mixture of French and English here, seems not to have been uncommon at this time. There is another song which gives successive half lines of French, Latin, and English ; and there are others, in the third work on our table, ' Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' in which Latin and English are intermixed with a graceful effect. The following two stanzas from an :

For one is two, that lond is streintheles ;
For well is wo, the lond is reutheles ;
For frend is fo, the lond is loveles.'

—*Political Songs*, p. 254, 255.

The phrase 'whoso roweth against the flood,' seems to refer to the pertinacious perversity of the king, in adhering to Gaveston in despite of his wisest counsellors ; and the line 'for one 'is two, the land is strengthless,' seems also to refer to the same cause, for we find, in a contemporaneous chronicle, it was remarked that there were *two* kings instead of one ; while 'for 'friend is foe, the land is loveless,' may be an allusion to the quarrel of Earl Thomas of Lancaster, who from friend had become the king's foe, on account of the protection which he persisted in affording to his worthless favorite.

The conclusion of this curious poem breathes a spirit of conciliation which is very pleasing, and we think that political writers even in the present day might take a lesson from this homely versifier.

'Riche and pore, bond and fre,
That love is good, ye may se ;
Love clepeth ech man brother ;
For it that he to blame be,
Forgif hit him *pur charite* ;
Al theih he do other.

'Love we God, and he us alle,
That was born in an oxe stalle,
And for us don on rode (cross).
His swete herte-blod he let
For us, and us faire het (bade)
That we sholde be gode.

'Be we nu gode and stedefast,
So that we muwen at the last
Haven heven blisse.
To God Almihti I preie (pray)
Let us never in sinne deie (die),
That joye for to misse.'—*Ib.* pp. 256, 257.

That Gaveston had rendered himself for years before his death most obnoxious to the people we have the concurrent testimony of contemporary historians, but we scarcely expected to find so fierce a spirit manifested against him, and by the clergy too, as both the Latin poems on his execution breathe. They are parodies on two of the finest hymns of the Latin church,—the 'Vexilla Regis prodeunt' and the 'Pange Lingua,' and they celebrate, in the most exulting strains, the death of h

‘ who had reigned far too long’—‘ who had so long vexed England.’ This is the more remarkable, since we are not aware of Gaveston’s having evinced any hostility to the church or to her ministers. The joy felt by the clergy at his death can, therefore, only be attributed to their hatred of foreigners, and their advocacy of free principles.

There were doubtless, numerous English songs written on the same occasion, and breathing the same spirit; but none of these have been discovered; and for exemplifications of the popular feeling not only on the death of Gaveston, but on the cruel execution of Earl Thomas of Lancaster, we must turn to the compositions of churchmen. The death of this great friend of the commons was viewed as a martyrdom; the mound on which he was beheaded became the place of pilgrimage to multitudes, and St. Paul’s, the metropolitan cathedral, as we learn from a precept in the *Fœdera*, was thronged by thousands who asserted that ‘ a certain picture’ of him wrought miracles. Again was the honor of canonization performed, not by the Pope in conclave, but by the superstitious gratitude of a marvelling and warm-hearted age; and again was the fine Good-Friday hymn adapted to the celebration of St. Thomas of Lancaster.

‘ Pange lingua gloriosi, comitis martyrium,
Sanguinique pretiosi Thomæ floris militum
Germinisque generosi laudis, lucis comitum.’

With this celebration of the martyr of freedom the present volume of the ‘ Political Songs of England’ ends; we are promised a second, which will include our political songs to the close of the reign of Richard the Third, and we look forward to its publication with much interest.

The third work on our table, ‘ Reliquiæ Antiquæ,’ has not hitherto afforded much illustration of the political condition of our forefathers; but on their social and religious condition it has thrown some additional light. The first point that struck us was the numerous translations, eight or nine at least, of the Lord’s Prayer, the commandments, the creed, and other parts of the regular service, which, while they are most valuable for tracing the gradual progress of the English language, are more valuable still as proofs that the people from the eleventh to the fifteenth century were by no means so utterly destitute of common religious knowledge as the writers at the period of the Reformation would lead us to suppose. These translations, indeed, afford strong corroborations of our opinion, that the service in the parish churches, but especially in the *friars’* churches, was performed in English; and from the circumstance

of many of the Latin hymns being also translated into English verse, of which there are specimens by a Franciscan, we have little doubt that the whole congregation joined in singing them. One of the most curious poems in these numbers is the 'Proverbs of Hendyng,' a collection of moral precepts in verse, each ending with a popular proverb. Many of these are still in use. 'Good beginning makes good ending;' 'A fool's bolt is soon shot,' 'The burnt child dreads the fire,' and many of them exhibit a favorable specimen of the popular instruction afforded during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. We will give two verses in modernized spelling, as the original is almost unreadable.

'If thou havest bread and ale,
Ne put them not all in thy male (chest),
But deal some part about.
Be thou free of thy meals,
And whosoe'er his meat he deals,
Thou shalt not go without.
'Better is apple given than eaten.'
Quoth Hendyng. * * *

'If thou art rich, and well ytold,
Nor be thou not of it too bold,
Ne wax thee not too wild (joyous)—
O bear thee fairly in all thing
And thou shalt have blessing,
And be thou meek and mild.
'When the cup is fullest, then bear it steadiest,'
Quoth Hendyng.'

We have exceeded the limits we proposed, or we should have proceeded to give some curious illustrations of the general opinions, the superstitions, and the modes of instruction in use among our forefathers. We may, however, probably again return to this subject in our review of the subsequent numbers of this third and very interesting collection. Sufficient has, however, we trust, been said to show the importance of works like these, especially as enabling us to form a correct estimate of the actual condition of the people during the middle ages. A far different aspect do the contests under Simon de Montfort in the thirteenth century, and those under Earl Thomas of Lancaster in the following, assume when contemplated in the light of contemporary documents, and illustrated by the popular songs, and hymns actually sung by those engaged in the struggle, to that in the pages of the *soi disant* philosophical historian, who having first formed his theory, seeks to bend historical evidence to it. The liberties of England, and her high national

character, have been of no hasty growth; and while far be it from us to find our right to a free government upon the mere circumstance of antiquity, still, to use the words of Mr. Hallam, 'it is a generous pride that intertwines the consciousness of hereditary freedom with the memory of our ancestors; and no trifling argument against those who seem indifferent in its cause, that the character of the bravest and most virtuous among nations, has not depended upon the accidents of race or climate, but been gradually wrought by the plastic influence of civil rights, transmitted as a prescriptive inheritance through a long course of generations.'

Art. IV. Hulsean Lectures for the Year 1849. Man's Responsibility in Reference to his Religious Belief. Explained and Applied. By the Rev. Theyre T. Smith, M. A., of Queen's College, Cambridge, and an Assistant Preacher at the Temple Church. Fellowes. London. 1849.

WE called the attention of our readers on a previous occasion to a volume of sermons by the Rev. Theyre Smith, and were happy to have it in our power to recognize in the church the existence of talents of so high an order, and employed with as fine a discrimination. Since our notice of those sermons, it seems that the same gentleman has been appointed Hulsean lecturer at the university of Cambridge, and the present volume is the fruit of that appointment. We remark in these lectures the same qualities of mind that previously drew our attention to this writer; the same caution and metaphysical acumen when his argument is to be prepared and adjusted; the same vigor of language when the conclusion is to be enforced, and the blow is to be struck. The style is indeed rather more diffuse than in the preceding volume, and the page is less liberally adorned with those passages of bold oratory, and those manly and spirited metaphors, which occasionally startle us in the compositions of this author. But his present subject is little favorable to these displays; and eight lectures upon one topic, and written for an express occasion, can hardly be expected to exhibit the same compression of matter, the same terseness of style, and, above all, the same wealth of hoarded eloquence, as a volume which was probably the compilation of the best efforts of many previous years.

In the selection of his topic, however, we think Mr. Theyre Smith has been fortunate. It is one on which much loose reasoning is often heard in conversation, and even read in books;

it is one of a momentous nature, needing elucidation, and most intimately connected with the great inquiry into the evidences of Christianity,—the prominent subject, we believe, which is prescribed to the Hulsean lecturer. Man's responsibility for his religious belief is often rashly questioned, often heedlessly forgotten, and sometimes insisted on without due discrimination. The temper also which should be brought to the examination of our religion, is not always described with sufficient accuracy by the zealous minister of the gospel. To adopt the language of a well-known saying of Coleridge, we wish no man to love his Bible more than he loves truth; but we would have him love truth more than himself, love it first of all, and that perpetually. We require from the student of the Scriptures a thirst for divine knowledge, equivalent to that desire for scientific knowledge, without which the pupil of the mathematician or the naturalist would be looked on as a hopeless and unworthy candidate for instruction; and we add, that while profane science may often be neglected without blame, there hangs upon every man whose mind has been once awakened to a notice of the subject, a grave responsibility to prosecute his religious inquiry. Here there can be no blameless indifference; no contentment in a state of ignorance can be here permitted; no half-suspected error on this subject can be suffered to lie undisturbed upon the mind; nor is it more a matter of choice whether knowledge is to be *obtained*, than whether, when obtained, it is to guide and control our conduct. Should the mind have tampered with itself in this inquiry, guilt of the deepest dye has been contracted.

To bring out this momentous truth with distinctness, to fence it against hostile attacks, and vague denials, to contend for it with the metaphysician, and to enforce it upon the negligent, is the task which the author of these lectures has assumed, and which, for all practical purposes, he has successfully accomplished. We say for all practical purposes, because, with all our respect for the ability he has displayed, we cannot compliment the lecturer upon having placed the subject, regarding it as one merely of speculative philosophy, in a point of view altogether satisfactory. He has shown with great distinctness that our responsibility to God for matters of opinion, is to be placed on the very same footing with our responsibility for matters of conduct; and thus far he has done eminent service to his cause, and silenced that multitude of superficial observations we are accustomed to hear upon this subject; but he has not, to our mind, displayed equal discrimination when he has to deal with the feeling of responsibility itself, whether applicable to opinion or to conduct. *He has not stopped where he might.* He has called up difficulties which he has not sol

He has placed our responsibility, both in thought and action, on the same basis ; and this, for the Christian reasoner, is of great practical service ; but, following out his own speculative course, he has not shown a secure basis for our responsibility in either.

Mr. Smith is one of those divines who cling with great tenacity to what is termed natural religion. With him, it would appear that revelation is more generally viewed as the completion and confirmation of that knowledge the reason is able of itself to acquire, than as containing an entire scheme of its own, and supported by its own peculiar evidences. For ourselves we are glad to be relieved from the necessity and the toil of building up, with painful care, a very imperfect structure, on a very dark foundation. Should others, upon this ground of human reason, be more skilful architects, be able to build more amply, and with more stability, than ourselves, we have, of course, nothing but our congratulations to offer. But, on the other hand, we have no scruple or timidity in holding up to broad day-light any deficiencies we may detect in their several superstructures. We deem it, indeed, our duty to do this, in order to show, that the weakness which these may betray is not the weakness of Christianity ; for it not unfrequently happens that a sceptical reasoner imagines that he has impugned the truth of our religion, when he has only been wrestling with the conclusions of some philosopher as speculative as himself. If, therefore, we discover discrepancies in Mr. Smith's statement, when dealing with the abstract idea of human responsibility, or in the speculations of any other divine, when delighting to ride on the high *a priori* road, we shall have no hesitation to expose them, so far as it lies within our ability to do so.

But before we hint at difficulties or objections, let us quote a passage in which the broad grounds whereon a responsibility in matters of religious opinion rests, are very clearly stated.

'That a man may be morally guilty, and obnoxious to punishment from God, on account of his opinions, is a proposition which admits of as rational an explanation, or rather, is grounded on the same presumption, as the prevailing conclusion, that he is subject to the judgment of God on account of his actions : there is precisely the same reason for asserting that he is amenable to a higher tribunal than that of his fellow-creatures, for the one as for the other. Our deeds are pronounced to be evil, inasmuch as they are presumed to be committed through an excess or perversion of the passions, or the predominance of a corrupt inclination over the sense of duty whether to God or man. In like manner certain opinions are held to be morally evil, and grounds of divine displeasure, inasmuch as they are presumed to be embraced through the defect of a right disposition, the bias of some vicious propensity, or under the habitual influence of ill-ordered

passions. In either instance the imputation of guilt is directed against the prevailing desire, the ruling affection, of the mind. Unless, then, it can be shown that the affections in general are inert in the process of belief, or the formation of opinions—inert so far as they can be characterized as morally good or evil—it must follow, that we may be as reasonably obnoxious to blame and punishment in the determinations of our judgment, as in the disposal of our conduct. It is not, we are aware, the opinion itself which is sinful, for the same conclusion may, in many instances, be embraced under the influence of widely different feelings and dispositions—may be arrived at in an upright conduct of the understanding, or reached by a perverted use of our reason, or the strength of unsubordinated passions. But neither is it the outward physical act which is morally evil. The destruction of the life of a fellow creature does not constitute the guilt of murder; for this may be done by the hand of the executioner, or the fury of a maniac, as well as by the stroke of the assassin. Indeed the actions of an individual, in a moral acceptance, are properly significant of those desires which are conceived to prompt him in performing them. In like manner his opinions, morally estimated, denote those inclinations which are supposed to operate on the understanding in the course of his adopting them—those predispositions which affect the mind in its capacity for knowledge, or susceptibility of conviction; in its search and use of that evidence by which facts are ascertained, and conclusions are established.’—p. 7.

‘ But it may be asked, by what rule but his own opinions can a man shape his conduct as a rational being, or a moral agent? Clearly, by no other. But this, so far from disproving or extenuating our accountability in the *formation* of opinions, in the highest degree confirms and enhances it, and lays open the magnitude of the subject before us,—the imperious necessity of including it in our view of human probation, if we would promote, in ourselves and others, the power of well-doing, and stay the progress of evil. For suppose an individual to have succumbed to the strength of his passions, in the perversion of his judgment, he is so far disabled for the fulfilment of his duty: he is in a condition which may not unfitly be compared to that of a person who has deprived himself of the proper use of his reason by intoxication. Now it may be readily admitted that a man is not equally answerable for his doings when inebriated as when sober, when his intellect is suspended or impaired, as when he is capable of a moral estimation of his conduct; but at the same time it is perfectly manifest that he has contracted no little guilt by so immoderate an indulgence of his appetite, as to have placed himself in a state of defenceless exposure to the onset of his passions; of increased liability or aggravated proneness, to break the laws of God and man. So it may be granted that the erroneous opinions of an individual infer a diminution of the guilt of his offences, if committed at their dictation, or under their sanction; but, at the same time we may detect a most depraved operation of the passions in his embracing and adhering to those opinions.’—p. 12.

Nothing could be better argued or more clearly stated than this. The lecturer next proceeds to defend the scriptural language in its *injunction to believe*. A religion, it must be remembered, *can have* no benign or saving efficacy but by being received into the mind,—by being, in short, believed. If it is admitted that an individual *may* examine its evidences with candour, and yet refuse assent to its divine origin, and if it is granted that the case of such an individual is one out of the scope and reach of the religion, and that his future destiny must depend, as we are accustomed to express it, on the uncovenanted mercies of God,—it is plain that liberality of judgment has been carried to its utmost extent. It were absurd, and an unintelligible proposition, to say that such an individual can partake of the blessings of a faith he rejects. The connexion of belief, therefore, with the promised benefits of Christianity, is one founded in the very nature of things; and the lecturer thus justifies the style of *injunction and command*, in which the Scriptures make this requisition of belief.

‘It is often affirmed, and we allow with some degree of plausibility, that a commandment to believe the gospel—to believe a religion to be true, is incongruous and irrational: that the weight and influence of authority, the fear of punishment, and the hope of reward, must operate as a constraint upon the judgment, and be incompatible with the pursuit of truth and the process of conviction: that an intelligent belief is essentially spontaneous, the result of free inquiry and independent reflection. The assertion, however, is well founded only on this supposition—that by freedom of inquiry, or independence of thought, is meant an exemption from all moral obligation in dealing with the criteria of truth, or the grounds of a rational conviction. Otherwise the commandment in the Bible *to believe* may be as little open to an imputation of irrationality as any one of its practical precepts. The Scripture, for example, enjoins the communication of our substance to the needy: but in what manner do we understand the injunction? Do we infer its meaning to be that God approves the external act of almsgiving? Certainly not, if we receive its own explanation of the precept; for it expressly declares that though a man ‘bestow all his goods to feed the poor,’ yet if he have not charity it profiteth him nothing? Its meaning then is, that God enjoins us to cultivate that love of our fellow-creatures which cannot but dispose us to relieve the indigent; whatever spurious or defective motives may also prompt the bestowment of alms, and usurp the honor of benevolence. In a similar sense, or with a like implication, it is equally reasonable to understand the commandment of the gospel to receive as true the doctrines which it purports to unfold—equally reasonable to conclude that, in this commandment, the gospel demands an active, supreme regard to the will of God; implying, whether correctly or not, that under adequate circumstances, or with sufficient opportunities of knowledge, the

prevalency of such a disposition in the minds of men, will result in a conviction of its truth.'—p. 18.

This is, to our apprehension, a high order of thinking, and the language of Scripture is here placed in its true point of view. Responsibility for opinion we have seen, by the quotations already made, is here based on the same foundation as responsibility for actions, and the peremptory requisition of belief, which has been urged as an objection to the Scriptures, has here received its proper comment. It is not, therefore, on the main and more applicable portions of these lectures that we have any strictures to make; it is when the author enters the field of pure metaphysics, or adopts an *a priori* mode of reasoning, that we find him occasionally obscure and unsatisfactory. We will quote a passage from the preface. He is claiming, if we apprehend his meaning rightly, for this responsibility to examine Christianity, an existence apart from, and prior to, any knowledge of Christianity itself.

‘Christianity does not require us to account ourselves responsible in regard to our belief in virtue of the evidence afforded us of its own divine authority. It assumes and appeals to that responsibility as the ground on which it *claims attention* to that evidence. It judges us responsible in dealing with the proofs of its divine origin, and capable of perceiving ourselves to be so, before those proofs have been examined, while they are only proposed, or pending the question whether Christianity be a divine revelation or not. If this responsibility, then, were difficult of comprehension and incapable of proof, there would be an objection to the credibility of the Christian religion, which, as appears, would be wholly insurmountable; *the offered evidences of its truth would not be entitled to examination.*’—p. xii.

Here the author wishes to establish that in the order of events we must *begin* with this feeling of responsibility to examine. Now such a feeling cannot exist until some measure of knowledge has been imparted, some show of argument been made. The necessary order in our thoughts has been overlooked. Christianity *must* and *does* ‘require us to account ourselves responsible in regard to our belief, in virtue of the evidence afforded us of its own divine authority.’ When it proposes to our attention the moral purity of its doctrines, what is this but appealing to one species of evidence of its truth, and of its divine original? The notion that ‘the offered evidences of its truth would not be entitled to examination,’ unless this feeling of responsibility already existed, and that thus an insurmountable obstacle would lie in the path of Christianity, is quite a curious instance of ingenious obscurity. Christianity, like every other doctrine, must make its first appeal to the rea-

son of man, and his natural desire of knowledge; after some information has been infused into the mind, there then arises the feeling of responsibility to know more, and to decide correctly. The ear cannot be closed, nor the heart shut, for this would require us to assume that the doctrine had been already heard and condemned; and these being left open there is free passage for religious truth, which, having once obtained entrance, makes speedy alliance with the conscience, and thus completes and secures its victory. This must be the course of events if we are speaking of rational beings and a rational conviction.

How far Mr. Smith confides in the views he has made out to himself of *natural religion*, may be shown from the following extract.

‘ But this is not the only awful responsibility. I may disbelieve the gospel, and this system of religion may be, in reality, nothing more than a wonderful formation of the purely inventive and imaginative principles of the human mind—but is the awful alternative at an end? Suppose, then, that in addressing myself to the question of its credibility, and advancing to the determination of rejecting it, I have been mainly actuated by dispositions and feelings which my conscience cannot approve, or must entirely condemn; by a desire to free myself from certain restraints upon my conduct, and apprehensions of the Supreme Being, and a life to come; or even to be the final judge of my own actions, the sole proprietor of myself;—am I exonerated and secure because the gospel is untrue? Is this the state of mind with which I am satisfied to appear before the moral Governor of the universe—to see the end of all things—to await the disclosures of futurity? ’

In this bold and well-written passage we find a futurity of rewards,—punishments,—a Judge, and a tribunal, all established and erected in the mind of the author without the aid of Scripture. And not only is the judgment-seat of God thus independently erected, but man is represented as being responsible before it for the conduct of his understanding, with respect to a religion presumed, by the terms of the proposition, to be fabulous. A reliance upon ‘natural religion’ could not be more strikingly displayed.

But though the responsibility of man, as an article of natural religion, is thus boldly pronounced, we do not find throughout these lectures any account of it, as such, of a philosophical and consistent character. We have intimations given here and there, but nothing precise; and these intimations appear to contradict themselves. For instance, Mr. Smith repeats the general observation that we are responsible for such operations only of our mind as are *voluntary*; he then maintains that we are re-

sponsible for opinions, inasmuch as our *desires* have been active in their formation; we should now expect that he would, in consistency with this statement, assert a power of the will over the desires, but we find him instead describing *will* and *desire* as things identical;* so that there is no power left in the mind to have *a control over desire*, and no reason for asserting that any one operation is in fact more *voluntary* than another.

We had intended to enter a little ourselves upon this abstract question of human responsibility, but we find that the most curtailed exposition of our views would oblige us to extend this article to an inconvenient length; and there is another topic, touched upon in Mr. Smith's lectures, of more general and immediate interest, on which we are desirous of finding room to make a few comments. In the mean time we doubt not that the majority of our readers will be, like ourselves, contented with this general statement, namely, that responsibility is a feeling of the mind, the result of a *command* from one having power over us,—from society or God,—enjoining something which it is in our ability to perform. We, as Christians, receiving *our command* from an authorized revelation, can have no doubt as to what our sense of responsibility ought to be allied with.

One of the lectures which pleased us most in this volume, is the seventh, entitled, *The Doctrine opposed to the Assumption of Infallibility*. It is written with great spirit. After having established the *duty* of each individual to examine the Scriptures, the lecturer takes advantage of his position to aim a steady and decisive blow at that claim of infallibility put forward by the church of Rome, which would relieve each individual of this duty; or, at all events, would reduce it to the one act—to the attainment of the one result—of an acquiescence in the authority of that church.

‘ The presumption, we repeat, is a violation of all probability, that the Scripture—which we are now regarding as divinely inspired—should, on the one hand, have instructed mankind to account themselves in a condition of trial as it regards the state of their minds, the bent of their will and affections, in investigating the import and credibility of its own language; and, on the other, should, either directly or by implication, have afforded them any ground or warrant for concluding, that they might discharge the whole debt of their accountability—redeem it for all time to come, by one compendious final act of belief—that of assenting to the claim of a single body, the church

* “ We are universally conscious that the influence of our desire, *or if it be so called, the power of our will*, is no less real, and scarcely less extensive over the operations of the mind,” &c., p. 39.

of Rome, to be received as an infallible expositor of the word of God : that by a steadfast continuance in that one article of belief, they might without any further effort of their own, moral or intellectual, assure themselves of a sufficient and abiding knowledge of the truth ; that the whole danger to our faith, in collecting and retaining the sense of the sacred writings, lay in the possibility of our being induced to withhold our confidence from one only infallible authority, or to abandon our subjection to its rule : that that danger escaped, the peril of heresy, with the uneasiness of doubt, and the task of inquiring would be at an end.'—p. 176.

But the lecturer has not confined himself to the Roman Catholic, he has urged his argument against the quarter where in this country it is most needed, and where it applies with equal validity. He thus continues :—

' Now this is an objection to the arrogation of infallibility by the church of Rome, which demands the serious examination of all who maintain or allow it ; but especially would we press it on the attention of any of our own community, who may not be entirely satisfied that it should meet with our peremptory denial, and persisting opposition ; or who, we may add, rejecting the infallibility of Rome, appear to be looking to some other *authority* than that of the Scriptures, as constituted to determine the articles of the Christian faith.'

And then, in a note at the end of the volume, he enters his protest against an ' advocacy of our church which appears to ' be growing up,' and which as it rests its claim upon the whole community, and ' aims to establish the *universal* duty of conforming to its tenets and discipline, by evidence laid open to ' learned men in the course of their researches into ecclesiastical history, and, more particularly, in their study of the writings of the fathers,' must, in reality conduct to the same blind obedience of the Christian multitude, as does the Roman Catholic church with its claim of infallibility.

Gentle, very gentle, is the hand that Mr. Smith lays upon the Oxford divines, and the very high-church party to which allusion is here made ; yet we gather from the Hulsean lecturer the following description of their style of divinity. It will probably be considered by some of our readers as more authentic than if it proceeded from ourselves.

' At the very time our attention is called, with unaccustomed earnestness, to the evidence of antiquity and tradition in support of our church, a judgment unusually severe, or rather absolutely condemnatory, is pronounced on all communities not Episcopalian : we mean, the most unfavorable, even hopeless conclusions are now put forward, touching the reality of their Christian character, and their state of

acceptance with God. They are spoken of as though they were in no better condition than that of the heathen in regard to the specific blessings of Christianity ; and they are so spoken of in no ambiguous terms. But more—it is affirmed that they do *not receive, that they reject fundamental truths*, which to the heathen have never been offered.—p. 239.

The italics are Mr. Smith's. Well might he add, the Church ' *will* suffer by this hard, undistinguishing judgment upon other ' communities of Christians.' Yes, the Church will suffer, or else this people be called upon to suffer under a spiritual despotism it is most lamentable to contemplate. We are glad to find the Hulsean Lecturer expressing his disapprobation of these ultra-churchmen ; we wish only that he had been still more bold and still more explicit. And since he took the pains to write a note expressly on the subject, we regret, in particular, that he did not give us his own opinion upon this favored doctrine of apostolical succession, which to us appears the root of ecclesiastical bigotry, *and of nothing else*. Why, when he has occasion to censure the extreme illiberality of one portion of the Church in its application of this doctrine, does he shelter himself under quotations from a bishop or a distinguished clergyman ? How happens it that a writer, on other topics remarkable for trusting to his own judgment—sparing even to barrenness in quotation—ever thinking out his subject by dint of solitary reflexion—seems here to have lost all faculty of utterance, and cannot tell us in the briefest manner, cannot hint to us by the most casual expression, his own sincere conviction upon this dogma of apostolical succession ? We warn all moderate and hesitating Churchmen that if they do not now resist the heady torrent of ecclesiastical intolerance, they will soon lose all power of resistance. Let such moderate men know—however reluctant they may be to admit the fact—that the opinions which they recoil from are every day spreading wider and taking deeper root in the Church, and that a strenuous effort to repel them, if not necessary for the preservation of the Establishment, is necessary for their own safety. Let them know that if already they consent to speak and write in the strain of timid apologists for whatever is manly and sensible in their creed of church government, they will be in reality the *silenced ministers* of their day. By this untimely hesitation they are preparing for themselves the harsh alternative of ejection from their livings, or the violation of whatever conscientious feeling they may possess on the promulgation of the truth. It is not as enemies to the Church, but as friends to freedom (a cause which has, we hope, some partisans in the Establishment) that we now declare, that

if the present opportunity for resistance is allowed to pass, all cure *within* the Church will become desperate,—that she must either fall, or persecute.

What are our politicians, our statesmen, be they of what party they may, what are our men of worldly wisdom thinking of, that they remain so indifferent to this revival amongst us of priestly domination? Shall this country present to all Europe the lamentable spectacle of a people boasting to be enlightened, boasting the long possession of liberty, religious as well as civil, permitting its own Church to lead it back into an ecclesiastical tyranny in no degree less execrable than that which popery itself would have inflicted? Can it possibly be that our free constitution is to be made subservient to the support of a presumptuous hierarchy inimical to the dearest of all liberties? Is it a subject of indifference to a British statesman that his Church is changing under his eyes—that, taking advantage of the old attachment of the people, it is becoming its spiritual despot instead of its teacher—that, relying on the love of a Protestant nation, it is wielding a power destructive of every Protestant sentiment—that, grounded on the plea of state expediency, and professing to be an auxiliary to good government and enlightened institutions, it is introducing the worst of national degradations,—a mental slavery, amongst us?

Is the nation to stand committed to the bigotry of the high-Church party? Is the law, is the civil administration, directly or indirectly, to take cognizance of, or give support to the multiplied *excommunications* which a national church now threatens? These are immediate, practical, political questions. If any man think this is a mere dispute between theologians, let him read the following extract from the introduction to Mr. Newman's work on 'Romanism and Popular Protestantism,' and mark well its spirit and tendency. It is taken from no slight or hasty tract, but from an octavo volume, and from that part of a volume which, being generally written last, may be presumed to express most faithfully the mature judgment of the author.

'It would be well if these men would keep their restless humor to themselves (that is the men who advocate inquiry, while Mr. Newman would inculcate implicit faith); but they unsettle all around them. They rob those of their birth-right who would have hailed the privilege of being told the truth without their own personal risk in finding it: they force them against their nature upon relying on their reason, when they are content to be saved by faith. Such troublers of a Christian community would, in a healthy state of things, be silenced or put out of it, as disturbers of the king's peace are restrained in civil matters; but our times, from whatever cause, being times of confusion, we are reduced to the use of argument and disputation, just as

we think it lawful to carry arms and barricade our houses during national disorders.'—Introduct., p. 5.

So that argument and exhortation are, with this priest, the extraordinary means,—means to be justified by the emergency of the case, while church discipline, excommunication, and anathema are the appropriate and ordained instruments for the inculcation of the religion of Christ! We ask again, with all sobriety, whether a church of which this spokesman would be a fair interpreter, is one that the government of a free people ought to ally itself with?

We have already, on previous occasions, and shall frequently again recur to this important topic. At present we have taken but one view of it, that which was suggested by the lectures before us; and we conclude with repeating to that moderate body in the Church to whom Mr. Smith evidently belongs, our exhortations to be candid, energetic champions of their own sincere convictions. From us the warning may be slighted, but we tell them that if they slumber now, whatever may be the destiny of the Establishment, their own fate is sealed—they will either fall with a sinking church, or be expelled from a triumphant one.

Art. V. *A Treatise on English Grammar, Style, Rhetoric, and Poetry; to which are added, Preparatory Logic, and Advice to the Student on the Improvement of the Understanding.* By RICHARD HILEY. London: Simpkin and Marshall.

IN order to ascertain whether a book is a good one or not, we must first know for whom it is intended, and what it purposes to accomplish. For what class of readers or pupils Mr. Hiley's thick duodecimo is meant, we are utterly at a loss to divine. If it is meant for young children who are beginning systematic grammar, we should say that full half the book is a useless incumbrance, treating as it does of subjects which form, or ought to form, a study for a much later and more advanced period of education. If it is meant for advanced pupils, for those who are *studying* English grammar scientifically, not merely learning it as children practically, then we should say that it is quite useless, since no part of the subject is treated in a scientific manner, and the author seems to be quite ignorant of the great features of the structure of the English language. The formation of the (so called) irregular verbs and the plurals are

given in a most incorrect and imperfect manner. The author seems never to have heard of the strong and the weak formation, or to have imagined more than one way of forming plurals. But perhaps the work is meant for young men who have not had the advantage of early instruction, and wish to learn grammar by themselves. This certainly is a most praiseworthy desire, but it will be likely to end in nothing but conceit and formal ignorance, if an attempt is made to master rhetoric, logic, and stylistic, without a previous course of reading and training. These are much later studies. It has been well said, that grammar is the first thing taught and the last learnt: and this is only a strong way of stating what is an undeniable fact. Grammar in its wider sense comprehending logic, rhetoric, and stylistic, is the last thing learnt, since these parts of it are the result, and, if we may so say, the cream of many other knowledges. We have not space to enumerate the errors or faults of the book: this would take many pages. We will mention a few, however. Page 12, we are told that 'gender is the distinction of *sex*,' and then that 'there are *three* genders;' of course then there are three sexes. Page 15, we are told that *men* is a plural with the *Saxon* termination *en*. This is a blunder which has crept into many of our grammars. Of course if *en* were added to *man*, we should have *manen*. We do not, however, remember meeting with this word. Page 95, we are told that 'the adverb *never* must not be used for *ever*; thus 'charm he *never* so wisely' should be 'charm he *ever* so wisely.' Who ever said that *never* was used FOR *ever* in this passage? Is it a fact? Did the writer know what he said, or did he not? '*Ever* so wisely' is one phrase, and '*never* so wisely' is another: to confound them is a sheer blunder. Page 94, it is said, 'The active participle must never be used for the passive participle; thus 'money was wanting to defray the expenses,' should be 'was *wanted*,' &c. In the following sentences also, 'young men educating for the Christian ministry,' should be 'young men preparing, studying, or under instruction for the Christian ministry.' 'I want my coat mending,' should be 'I want my coat mended.' This rule (if an entire misconception may be so called) inculcates a serious error. The participle in *ing* is neither active nor passive exclusively: it is the *incomplete* participle; and may be either active or passive, according to its use. Surely our author would not say that 'the house is building' is wrong, or 'the book is printing,' or 'the series of works is publishing.' These phrases, or others like them, are used by our best writers; and the phrases *being built*, *being printed*, are of much later introduction. There are two classes of grammarians—one rejecting *building*, and the other rejecting *being built*. The truth is, both phrases are right according to the existing standard of the lan-

guage. Our best writers use both, and though the simple form in *ing* is undoubtedly the more elegant, being less cumbersome, yet there are cases in which ambiguity would be caused by the use of it; and in such cases the form with *being* must be employed instead, unless we change the construction altogether. We find such phrases as the following in good authors, 'they are being carried,' 'when they are being withdrawn,' and so on.

Page 93, the verbal nouns are confounded with the participles. Of all languages the participles and their derivatives form one of the most difficult parts, and demand especial attention. We have no hesitation in saying, that almost the whole doctrine of the English participles and participial substantives is misrepresented in the work before us. The phrases 'in the philosopher's *hearing*,' and 'by Christ's *preaching*,' are given as examples of the participle: and in a note of very small type they are afterwards called substantives.

Page 85, we are told that 'in familiar language the relative is frequently, but *improperly* omitted;' as, 'he is a man I greatly esteem,' should be 'he is a man *whom* I greatly esteem.' This is some of the same sort of nonsense we had from Mr. Lindley Murray. Our language has suffered very materially from the influence of this rule-making system. Who told Mr. Murray (if he says so, we do not remember now) or Mr. Hiley that the relative is *improperly* omitted? Did Milton teach them this? or South? or Jeremy Taylor? or, to take more recent authors, did Middleton? did Addison? did Johnson? The omission of the relative is an idiom of the language, just as much as the use of it is; and the omission is sanctioned by all the authors we have named, not to mention all the best writers of the present day. What would our author make of such a phrase as this, *the first school I was at*? It cannot be altered. *The house you bought* is as good English as *the house which you bought*, or *the house that you bought*. The truth is, that the *insertion* of the relative is sometimes inelegant and positively bad.

Page 154, we are told that 'if he happen to have leisure' is a pleonasm for 'if he have leisure,' and that *happen to* are superfluous words. Any school-boy might see that *happen* is not superfluous, but adds another idea.

Page 175, we are told that 'long words are commonly more agreeable than monosyllables.' This is a very raw, green statement, and calculated to breed many errors in style. Short words are usually pure English words, and are generally preferable to long ones; not always, of course, but if we *must* have a general rule, it would be in favor of pure English words over Latin and French derivations. The following sentence contains *twenty-five monosyllables*, and not one word of more than one syllable: yet who will find any fault with it on that

account? 'As *we* should act as they did, were we in their times, so, as we think, *they* too would act as *we* do in ours.' This is pure English, and, in spite of its monosyllabism, is not inharmonious.

What notion our author has of *elegance* in language it is difficult to tell, unless it be, that the harder and longer and less intelligible the word, the more elegant it is. For, in page 150, we are told that *accumulating* is more elegant than *heaping up*, *their superiors* than *their betters*, *exclude* than *shut out*. According to this criterion Shakspeare would be very inelegant indeed.

Page 145, we are treated with what are called 'canons of criticism' for determining the use of words, borrowed from Dr. Campbell. To discuss each of them separately would occupy too much space. We have room now merely to state that several of these pretended canons are decidedly wrong, and to give a few examples. Page 166, we are told that such words as *wrong-headedness*, *shame-facedness*, and other long compounds should be rejected, because they are 'particularly harsh and not absolutely necessary.' We deny both the premises and the conclusion. In the first place, these words are not more harsh than the long words so much recommended elsewhere by our author, such as *incompatibility*, *unintelligible*, *continuation*; and, in the next place, they are absolutely necessary; and, thirdly, they ought not to be rejected, but ought to be studiously retained. It is just these compounds which we have left, which serve to show us that we have a language of our own, and need not be entirely indebted to dead or foreign languages.

Again, page 146, we are told that 'the word *beholden* taken for *obliged* should be rejected.' Now, we should say, that *beholden* is not taken for *obliged*, but that if we must talk about taking one word for another, it is *obliged* which is taken for *beholden*. *Beholden* is our own, *obliged* is a gift of foreigners—*beholden* belongs to the staple part of our language: it is home-bred; and to cashier it for *obliged* would be ridiculous.

On the same page it is said that *whit*, *dint*, *moot*, and some other words, are 'too vulgar to be admitted into good writing.' Of course if good English is to be judged of by Scotch canons of criticism, these words may be rejected: but if it is to be judged of by the practice of standard authors, it would be difficult to show the great vulgarity of the words in question.

It is an ungrateful task to go on pointing out faults, and we have no disposition to say any more, although there are scores of other matters on which remark is called for. What we have said will serve, however, as a caution against considering the work as a very high authority.

The only grammar we have yet at all worthy of our language

is Bishop Lowth's. Lowth's English Grammar was, at the time of its publication, the most scientific grammar of any European language; and the improvements introduced into the better German grammars of late years, were many of them long ago applied to English by Lowth. But here, as well as in Germany, the old errors keep their ground in the popular grammars. Here perhaps it is not to be wondered at, when we consider that the English grammars in most extensive use in this country have been written generally by Americans or Scotchmen. Dr. Crombie's is no better than the rest.

- Art. VI. 1. *Historical Memoirs of the Queens of England.* By HANNAH LAWRENCE. Vol. II. pp. 456. London: Moxon.
2. *Lives of the Queens of England.* By AGNES STRICKLAND. Vol. III. pp. 448. London: Colborn.

HAVING perused these volumes, we see no reason for altering our former estimate of the comparative merits of the authors. Miss Strickland with much industry has collected a great number of facts (or what for want of knowing better we are obliged to call such), from a great number of authorities, some better, some worse, and tells us plainly and simply what she finds. Miss Lawrence, with perhaps a greater paucity of incident, reasons more; and often comes, we are inclined to think, to more correct conclusions.

Miss Strickland apologizes for some delay in the appearance of her third (monthly) volume. Whatever may have caused it there is no room for apology or regret.

This volume contains, amongst others, the memoirs of those Queens of England who lived—we can scarcely say flourished—during the wars of York and Lancaster. Those of Margaret of Anjou, Elizabeth Woodville, and Anne of Warwick, have interested us the most. No women could be more different in character than these, and perhaps the effect of their histories is not a little heightened by the close proximity in which they stand. As regards ourselves, we are most pleased with the two last-named ladies. The heroine of Anjou is highly praised, and has made most noise in the world undoubtedly; but giving her all the credit due for feeling, and making all allowance for passions and for interests, we must say, that with our estimate of female character, your *fighting* heroines are not greatly to our taste. One of the writers before us has indeed admitted, that the quiet fortitude and passive courage of Elizabeth Woodville produced a

more favorable impression on the English people, than the active bravery and fierce exertions of the belligerent Margaret.

Most of the common notions respecting Margaret of Anjou are taken from Shakspeare; and Shakspeare did not hesitate to go astray, provided he could carry others with him. The character of Margaret has suffered greatly in his hands; and it must be no small gratification to a female writer to be able to restore her fame.

Nevertheless, and though we are rather optimists ourselves, we cannot divest ourselves of the feeling that our fair friends have gone a little too far on the favorable side in delineating the character and career of Margaret. She fell on evil times no doubt, and the spirit of her times was upon her. She came, too, young and inexperienced, to a task which would have tried the powers of practised and accomplished statesmen. Her union with the King of England involved a sacrifice of territory, and what perhaps was worse, of national pride and feeling, which once and for ever associated her name with a consciousness of disgrace and loss. It was in fact the triumph of a party; if, indeed, we may not say more properly of a person:—the Duke of Suffolk. The Duke of Gloster was desirous that the king should marry the daughter of the Earl of Armagnac, who would have brought for her dower Auvergne and Gascony; and we do not see how the Duke of Suffolk can possibly be cleared from the imputation of selfish and unprincipled ambition in opposing this alliance.

Margaret of course was perfectly aware of the opposition of the Duke of Gloster to her marriage. Suffolk was the person to whom she was mainly indebted for her crown; and the talents and attentions of Cardinal Beaufort naturally commanded her respect and insured her regard. Henry, with every disposition to do good, was too weak-minded and irresolute to control the haughty peers who contended for the reins of government, and Margaret must necessarily have sided with the one or the other party, unless she would have been the sport of both. She has been unsparingly charged with injudicious meddling in affairs of state; it does not appear, however, that even her enemies brought forward any accusation of that kind against her till after the Duke of York had been appointed for the first time Protector, and was evidently aiming at the crown. One powerful reason with the queen for attaching herself to the party of the cardinal in opposition to that of Gloster, might we think have been, that Beaufort's policy was all along directed to the establishment of peace with France, in the welfare of which country she must have been deeply interested. Certainly she did not give that common cause of complaint to her people, of surrounding herself with greedy foreigners, and promoting them at the expense and to the injury of her English subjects.

That she was implicated in a plan for the murder of the Duke of Gloster, we consider as extremely improbable; it has never yet been shown that the duke *was* murdered, though the circumstances of his death were very suspicious, and the imputation of his murder was turned to stern account against those who were supposed to have compassed it. At that time Margaret was too young, and of too generous a spirit to yield herself to such a practice. It must, however, have been with the consent of the king and queen that Gloster was arrested; and equally certain that they must have been prepared to proceed to extremities against him; or they and their party would never have struck a blow which, unless it had been final, would have redounded with fearful violence against themselves. Whether Gloster was really plotting against them with the Duke of York, or whether he would have fallen a victim to imputations which the priestly pride and malice of the cardinal would have brought against him, must now be for ever unknown. Certain it is that he had brought forward charges against Beaufort, which the council, being chiefly churchmen, had set aside; and equally certain is it, that never was an injury, real or supposed, forgiven or forgotten by a priest who had the power to revenge it. Six weeks only after the death of Gloster, Beaufort was called to his own account; not indeed with the circumstances of horror described by Shakspeare, but, if we may credit the testimony of his own chaplain, cited by Hall, with sufficient regret and unwillingness; and with lamentations at leaving his ill-gotten wealth, suitable enough from the mouth of a luxurious and ambitious churchman, but which never could have issued from the lips of any Christian.

The death of the Duke of Gloster was the signal for the civil war. The Duke of York became presumptive heir to the crown, failing issue by Henry and Margaret; and it was not till the first illness of the king, when the duke was regent, that the heir of Lancaster was born—the ill-fated Edward, who fell at Tewkesbury. York had dallied too long with temptation to allow of his breaking free, and the bitterness of spirit with which his party beheld the birth of an heir to the house of Lancaster, found vent in casting doubts on the legitimacy of the infant prince; and even in asserting that the child of Margaret had died, and that another had been substituted for it.

The only child of Henry was brought into the world at a time when his royal father was utterly unconscious of all that was passing in it. We transcribe the account of his first interview with his child after the recovery of his reason.

‘ On Monday at noon the queen came to him, and brought my lord prince with her, and then he asked what the prince’s name was? and the queen told him Edward; and then he held up his hands and

thanked God thereof. And he said he never knew him till that time, nor wist what was said to him, nor wist where he had been, whilst he had been sick, till now; and he asked who were the godfathers, and the queen told him, and he was well apaid (content). And she told him the cardinal was dead,* and he said he never knew of it till this time; then he said one of the wisest lords in this land was dead. And he saith he is in charity with all the world, and so he would all the lords were.'—*Miss Strickland*, pp. 277, 278.

It is not our intention to trace the progress of Margaret through the vicissitudes of the civil war. Our object is to note those traits of character which develop the nature of the woman; and which aid us in making those reflections from which the study of history derives its value. With this view we shall only add, that after the battle of Wakefield the character of this extraordinary woman appears to have altered suddenly for the worse. There first the tigress dipped her paws in blood; and from that time forward her course was marked by deeds of sanguinary vengeance. Miss Lawrance and Miss Strickland vary on many points: as regards the battle of Wakefield the latter asserts, from the testimony of Hall, that Margaret was present at it; the former, following Wethamstede and Wyrcestre, that she did not arrive till after it. It is pretty certain that York and Salisbury were killed in the battle, and beheaded afterwards; and even this in all probability was not done by the queen's order; though it might have been by her direction that the head of the duke was crowned with paper, and set on the gates of York. Miss Strickland thinks that it was the strength of her maternal feelings that henceforth roused her to such deeds of bloodshed against the enemies of her son. It might in part have been so, but we incline to think that after the events of Wakefield she must have seen that her example would be followed by her enemies, and that the chances of success must henceforth rest with those who could most quickly extirpate their opponents.

After the deaths of her husband, her son, and her father, Margaret disposed of her reversionary interest in her father's dominions to Louis the Eleventh, of France, for an annual pension of six thousand livres.

'This transfer was the last action of Margaret of Anjou's life that history has recorded. She withdrew to the chateau of Dampierre, near Saumur, and there in the deepest retirement she closed her troublous pilgrimage, August 25, 1482, in the fifty-first year of her age. She was buried in the cathedral of Angers, in the same tomb with her royal parents, without epitaph or inscription, or any other

• This was Cardinal Kemp.

memorial, excepting her portrait painted on glass in a window of the cathedral.*—*Ib.* pp. 360, 361.

René of Anjou, the father of Margaret, was a man of a remarkable and enviable temper; a striking instance of the efficiency of an elastic mind, and a love for intellectual pursuits, in disarming the anxieties of life of their power to depress and weary. A king without a kingdom, and almost without a livre, he preserved his equanimity, and appears to have enjoyed his life. No mean proficient in literature and the arts, when deprived of his possessions and imprisoned, he employed his time in ornamenting the chapel of Dijon with miniatures and paintings on glass; and he owed his liberty to the admiration of Philip the Good for his abilities. 'A little before his death he composed,' says Miss Strickland, 'two beautiful canticles on the actions of his beloved Margaret.' His works both in painting and music are extant at the present day. His turbulent nobles scorned him as feeble-minded, but his people surnamed him 'the good.' There is a sunny side to every cloud; and his was one of those thrice happy spirits that always seek and find their station under it.

Much of the life of Elizabeth Woodville, Wodeville, or Wydeville (for her name is spelt in all these different ways), was coeval with that of Margaret of Anjou. Her days began in romance; and as they began so they held on and ended. Her mother, Jacquetta of Luxembourg—a princess in her own right, and widow of the Duke of Bedford—had taken for her second husband Richard Woodville, a mere esquire to Henry the Fifth, but—the handsomest man in England. He was afterwards promoted by Cardinal Beaufort, and became first baron and afterwards Earl Rivers. The fortune of her parents being by no means equal to their rank, they were happy to place Elizabeth as maid of honor with Queen Margaret. While in attendance on her royal mistress she performed her first feat of womanhood by captivating the heart of Sir Hugh Johns, a retainer of the Duke of York. Brave, however, as Sir Hugh was among men, he was afraid to attack the lady single-handed; and therefore procured the Duke of York and the Earl of Warwick to break ground for him; very impolitically, says Miss Strickland, and we hold her to be good authority, for amidst all the changes that have happened since the flood, the heart of woman is the same as ever.

We notice this achievement of Elizabeth for the purpose of introducing the letter of the duke, exemplifying the art of making love at second-hand; being an original it is curious.

* On the authority of Villeneuve; and of Prevost,* who wrote a life of Margaret of Anjou.

‘ To dame Elizabeth Wodeville.

‘ Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.

‘ For as much as we are credibly informed that our right hearty and well-beloved knight, Sir Hugh John, for the great womanhood and gentleness approved and known in your person—ye being sole (single) and to be married—his heart wholly have ; wherewith we are right well pleased. How it be of your disposition towards him in that behalf, as yet is to us unknown. We; therefore, as for the faith true and good lordship we owe unto him at this time (and so will continue), we desire and heartily pray ye will on your part be to him well willed to the performing of this our writing and his desire. Wherein ye shall do not only to our pleasure, but we doubt not to your own great weal and worship in time to come ; certifying, that if ye fulfil our intent in this matter, we will and shall be to him and you such lord as shall be to both your great weal and worship, by the grace of God, who precede and guide you in all heavenly felicity and welfare.

‘ Written by RICHARD DUKE OF YORK.’

—Ib. p. 365.

At this time York was Lord Protector. We presume the spelling of the letter is modernized.

The fair Woodville, however, declined the honor of becoming Lady Johns, and the gallant knight consoled himself elsewhere.

We will suppose that the affections of the young Elizabeth were not attracted to Sir Hugh Johns, for shortly after she formed what we are told, and what we have every reason to believe, was a very happy union with John Gray of Groby ; heir of Lord Ferrers of Groby, ‘ possessor of the ancient domain of ‘ Bradgate, which was hereafter to derive such lustre from being ‘ the native place of Elizabeth’s descendant, Lady Jane Gray.’

Happy would it have been for the fair Elizabeth had she ended her days as Lady Gray of Groby ; but it was not so to be. Her husband died in consequence of wounds received in the second battle of St. Albans, where he commanded the cavalry of Queen Margaret, and contributed in a great degree to the success of the arms of Lancaster ; and, as *he* was removed beyond the reach of even royal vengeance, the storm, on the accession of Edward, was suffered, in a somewhat paltry spirit, to burst upon the heads of Elizabeth and her orphan children. It was while living with her mother at Grafton, that she made that attempt on the feelings of the king, which ended in the recovery of her lands and the conquest of Edward’s heart. Under the able tutelage of her mother, the fair widow held her own, till Edward, unable to control his passion, surrendered at discretion, and offered her his hand. We do not mean to insinuate anything against her virtue ; we have no right to do so, for it was never tainted ; we only mean that but for the masterly manner in which the duchess

played her game, it might not have ended as it did. So great were the talents of Jacquetta, and such was her influence over the minds of men (she was exceedingly beautiful too), that she was accused, according to the fashion of that day, of dealing in witchcraft; and to this in after times her enemies attributed the marriage of her daughter with the king. Her spells were probably the same as those which Leonora Concini exercised on her mistress, Mary de Medicis, the influence of a strong mind over a weak one. Elizabeth was privately married to the king, and from that time her lot was splendid misery.

The king ruled the kingdom, and she ruled the king; and she was not proof against the temptations which beset her. Gentle, amiable, and beloved as she had been in private life, she contrived, when Queen of England, to multiply her enemies with such fatal facility, that her husband was shortly driven from his throne by his former most powerful supporters; and the ultimate ruin of her family may be traced in a great degree to the same cause; viz., the insatiable appetite of the Woodville's for dignities, office, and riches.

When Edward was obliged to fly from England, and Warwick and Clarence entered London, the queen took refuge in the sanctuary at Westminster; and here,

‘On the 1st November, 1470, the long hoped for heir of York was born. The queen was in want of everything; but Mother Cobb, a well disposed midwife resident in the sanctuary, charitably assisted the distressed queen in the hour of maternal peril, and acted as nurse to the little prince. Nor did Elizabeth, in this fearful crisis, want friends; for Master Serigo, her physician, attended herself and her son; while a faithful butcher, John Gould, prevented the whole sanctuary party from being starved into surrender, by supplying them with half a beef and two muttons every week.’—*lb.* p. 390.

It is gratifying to find that Edward liberally rewarded these faithful friends of ‘Lady Bessee’ after he had re-achieved his crown. Once more after the deaths of her husband and her brothers, and the murder of her sons, she retired to the sanctuary of Westminster; which she subsequently left to appear with her daughters at the court of Richard the Third. On the accession of Henry the Seventh, and the marriage of her daughter Elizabeth with that prince, she was restored to her rank of Queen Dowager; but on some apparent misunderstanding with him, she took up her abode in the Convent of Bermondsey, whether as a prisoner or not it is difficult to determine. She died in that retreat in poverty so great, that she had nothing to bequeath to queen her daughter but her blessing. She was buried at Windsor, in St. George’s Chapel.

We come now to the life of Anne of Warwick, and to the reign of Richard the Third, the whole of which is more or less debatable ground. His views; his motives, his actions, even his person, have furnished themes for controversy. Most of the questiones vexatæ of this and the two former reigns have reference to him. As Shakspeare has portrayed him, he could have no peer, except perhaps in some Byzantine emperor, or the great enemy of mankind himself. We are almost afraid to enter on any observations concerning him; our limits forbid a fair discussion of the subject, and mere assertion would go for nothing—as it ought. Two things, however, we can say with certainty, that Miss Strickland's impartiality appears to forsake her when speaking of him, and that the epithets which she bestows upon him of royal hunchback, venomous hunchback, &c., are in exceedingly bad taste at least, not to say that the fact of his being hunchbacked has never been proved at all. There seems to be a sort of ludicrous connexion in the minds of some writers, between Richard's (quasi) hump, and the crimes with which he is charged. As if his hump impelled him to his iniquities; as if it were his fault instead of his misfortune; or as if it were a greater presumption and a more deadly sin in a man with a hump to murder his nephews, than it would have been in a fine strait fellow of six feet high. Our morality is often too conventional, and we ourselves are too frequently the unconscious slaves of preconceived opinions.

Anne of Warwick was the second daughter of the great earl of that name, and had been married to the young Prince of Wales nine months only before his death at Tewkesbury.* She was taken prisoner and brought to London with Queen Margaret, and the Duke of Gloster immediately declared himself a suitor for her hand. The Duke of Clarence, who had married Isabel the eldest daughter of Warwick, strenuously opposed his brother's intentions, wishing to preserve the entire possessions of the houses of Warwick and Salisbury to himself. He abducted the young lady, and actually placed her in the disguise of a servant in a house in London, where she was discovered by the Duke of Gloster. Miss Strickland affirms, that the Lady Anne detested Richard, and concurred in this plan in order to avoid him; and quotes as her authority an extract from the continuator of the Croyland Chronicle, which asserts no such thing, but only states the facts of Anne's concealment by her brother-in-law, and her discovery by Gloster. The king interfered for the settlement

* Probably she was only betrothed to the Prince of Wales, as Queen Margaret was averse from the match, and the marriage was not to be consummated till Warwick had recovered the greater part of England for Henry—he never did.

of the dispute, and the marriage of Anne and Richard took place probably in 1473, as their son and heir was born at Middleham Castle, in Yorkshire, in 1474; from whence the duke, who was governor of the northern marches, set out, on the death of Edward the Fourth, to intercept his young nephew on his road to London. If the plans of Richard for seizing the crown were not previously arranged, they must have been suddenly conceived and as promptly executed; unless, indeed, as Mr. Turner supposes (and his argument is so masterly that we are greatly inclined to agree with him), the duke's first measures were intended merely to remove the Woodvilles from power, and cripple their resources; perceiving that, unless prevented, they would do as much for him; and he was led on from step to step to the seizure of the supreme power, by the positions in which he was successively placed, and by the aspect of events. We refer the reader to Turner's History, vol. iii. book 3, as we cannot here enter into the discussion. Richard seized the crown, and in July, 1483, about three months after the death of Edward the Fourth, he and Anne of Warwick were crowned king and queen, and their son Edward was created Prince of Wales, shortly after the two young princes were put to death in the Tower; and in the spring of the following year, the only child of Richard followed them to the grave. He died at Middleham Castle, 31st March, 1484, while his parents were absent at Nottingham, and the heart of his doting mother received a shock from which it never recovered. From that time her health declined, and she sunk gradually but surely towards the grave. Whether she participated in, or was even cognizant of, the crimes by which her husband gained the crown, and sought to retain it in his family, we know not. If she were, her progress to the tomb might well be hastened by such considerations as must have crowded on her. Nature may sometimes triumph over conscience, when the welfare of a beloved object is secured as the wages of iniquity; but the death of that child for whom so much was dared and suffered, must have left her to sink unrespected beneath that worst of all miseries, the consciousness of having committed a mighty crime—in vain.

It has been said that Richard hastened her end for the purpose of marrying his niece, Elizabeth of York. The reason adduced for supposing that he ever thought of Elizabeth seems to be, that she appeared at a high festivity at court, attired in robes of the same materials and fashion as the queen's; and the proof that he 'made quick conveyance of her good aunt Anne' is, his intention of marrying Elizabeth. Surely we need not stay to point out the futility of this.

The only thing that looks like proof on this point is, the letter said to have been written by Elizabeth herself to the Duke Norfolk (quoted in Bucke's History of Richard the 'Third),

which she begs the duke's good offices to procure for her the hand of the king; protesting that she was entirely his in heart and thought; and complaining that the greater part of February is past, and the queen not yet dead. This letter, according to Bucke, 'remains in the autograph or original draught under her own hand, in the magnificent cabinet of Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey.'

Dr. Lingard says, that after the queen's death rumours were afloat that Richard had poisoned her, and that this letter seems to confirm the suspicion. He has the following note respecting it. 'It is evident that Richard had not only promised to marry her, but had told her that the queen would die in February. Hence she observes that the greater part of February is past, and the queen still alive.'*

Now with all respect for the authority of Dr. Lingard, we conceive that this is erroneous, and that he has, unintentionally doubtless, given an impression on the subject which the words of Bucke do not warrant.

Those words are as follows. After saying that Elizabeth had objected to the king, that his wife was alive, he continues, 'But the answer which was made in the name of the king to the Lady Elizabeth concerning his queen was, that she would be no impediment of long continuance, being a very weak woman in a consumption, and past hopes of recovery; *her physicians giving THEIR opinions* she would not live past the middle of February next following; nor guessed they much amiss, for she died in the next month, March.'†

This is a most material modification of the case. It was not declared *by Richard* that his queen *would* not survive the month of February, from which the charitable deduction has been drawn, that he was resolved she *should* not. He merely says that such *are the opinions of her physicians*: a very different thing from the delivery of a dictum in the shape of a prophecy, by a man who had it in his power to fulfil his own prediction.

Mr. Turner has noticed the statement of Bucke, together with what must strike every one accustomed to such investigations, viz., that the substance—not the words—of Elizabeth's letter is given; a circumstance in itself sufficient to qualify the authority of the statement. He has not, however, remarked the discrepancy which we have pointed out, and which we think entirely invalidates the inference which has been drawn from the statement of Bucke, who admits, however, that the king *did* make

* Lingard, vol. iii. 4to., p. 524.

† Bucke's *Life of Richard the Third*, in Kennett's *History of England*, i. p. 523.

proposals to Elizabeth, but—as *he* says, not with the intention of really marrying her; but to prevent her from listening to any proposals from Richmond. Bucke, however, is very partial to the house of York.

Upon the whole, we believe that of all the crimes with which it has been the fashion to load the memory of Richard, the only one that can fairly be brought home to him is the murder of his nephews; and from that we fear his character cannot be cleared.

The execution of the noblemen his enemies, was after the most approved fashion of the day, as followed by all parties; and to charge it as a peculiar crime on Richard would be to do him a peculiar injustice. He exemplifies, as Mr. Turner very properly observes, ‘the consequence of once getting a bad character.’ The treatment of the unfortunate Earl of Warwick by Henry the Seventh was equal in atrocity to any of the deeds that have been charged on Richard. Yet his character has been handed down to posterity, not with forbearance merely, but with eulogy.

The brief reign of Richard was marked by anxious and successful endeavors to ameliorate the state of society and better the condition of the people, by the enactment of many wise, liberal, and judicious laws. He reformed abuses; and his acts of private benevolence are multitudinous. He gave a pension of £100 a year to Lady Oxford, the wife of his untiring enemy, during her husband’s exile, and while in hostility to him. He entrusted to Lady Hastings the keeping of all her castles; a noble mark of confidence: and presented her with the wardship of her son and heir; a most valuable pecuniary favor, which doubtless many powerful men were seeking for. He gave an annuity of 200 marks to the Duchess of Buckingham, and paid her husband’s debts; as he did also those of the Bishop of Exeter, his mortal enemy; and performed many other acts of benevolence for which any other man would have been held up to the admiration of the world. But he had committed one cruel and unpardonable sin; and therefore his very good has been evil spoken of. Lord Bacon, who has recorded everything against him, says that ‘his cruelties and parricides, in the opinion of all men, weighed down his virtues,’ thus admitting the unquestionable existence of the latter; and adds, that he was a king ‘jealous for the honor of the English nation.’* He fell the victim of treachery unparalleled in those whom he trusted and honored most; and he has never yet had justice done him, we mean by the world in general.

We are sorry to find that Miss Lawrance has brought her labors to a close. She conceives that ‘the field of modern English history has of late been so extensively and ably reaped,

* Bacon’s History of Henry the Seventh, p. 2.

‘that little remains to reward the gleaner.’ Yet Miss Strickland is about to thrust her sickle into it; and why not Miss Lawrance? Her sickle is as sharp and her arm as able, and we doubt not that her sheaf would be quite as full as her neighbor’s. We half suspect that her tastes are not that way tending. In her histories of the middle (or as she delighteth to call them, the mediæval) ages, she finds herself more at home, and herein lies one great point of difference between our two authors. Miss Strickland spares no pains to do justice to her subject, and having done that to the best of her abilities, she appears to be satisfied; and so indeed she may be: but Miss Lawrance, while she does justice to her subject, luxuriates in it, and commits herself to it with an abandonment, and a kind of joyous identification, that shows it to be to her a labor of love. Of this, her two chapters on society during the middle ages, and on the English poets, are a sufficient proof. To these chapters we must confine our notice of Miss Lawrance’s volume; which we do the rather, because, as we stated in our notice of her first, her opinion of the middle ages very nearly agrees with our own. We still think, however, that her representations on certain points are rather *couleur de rose*; and we must notice these exceptions only, because we have no room at present to do more.

It is principally with regard to the condition of the lower classes, and the influence of certain institutions on it, that we differ from Miss Lawrance, though we are afraid that what we shall say may be somewhat unsatisfactory, as we must rather indicate than discuss. Perhaps we shall put the matter in the smallest possible compass by saying at once, that we do not conceive the condition of the lower orders of society to have been so much better in the middle ages than it is now, as Miss Lawrance seems to suppose; and we must briefly illustrate our meaning.

In the first place—though the means of procuring the necessities of life might perhaps be more abundant in some cases—wages, &c.,—those necessities themselves were not always to be procured. One half of the year’s provision was to be laid in before the winter, and ‘if the winter’s stores were insufficient, *there were no markets* from whence an additional supply could be obtained, and the lord of wide estates and numerous manors might be reduced to the most annoying privation through the mismanagement of the mistress of the family.’—p. 30. Now if this happened to great and rich men, to what must not the poor be liable?

Again; speaking of the extensive charities of the time, Miss Lawrance concludes, ‘but at a time when political convulsions might reduce the loftiest to beggary, when famine might in a single winter consume the savings of years, or pestilence sweep

‘away the whole family, and leave the aged man desolate, that ‘spontaneous and abundant charity was not too great.’—p. 18. Surely such things as these, the pestilence perhaps excepted, could scarcely happen in our days, and in England.

Neither can we think that all those undefinable enjoyments which we so emphatically describe by the word *comfort*, were known in those days as they are at present. It is only when civilization has nearly reached its height, that the numerous minute conveniences which make up the sum of comfort are to be met with. In proportion as civilization is incomplete, luxury and want, splendor and squalor, will alternate with each other. Fresh green rushes might have been strewn in the halls of the noble every day, or in those of the affluent plebeian every week; but we have it on the authority of contemporary writers, that in the houses of the lower ranks, these vegetable carpets were suffered to continue till the accumulation of filth beneath them was ready to breed infection. The dreadful pestilences of the middle ages were probably owing in some measure to such causes; and the horrible cutaneous disorders with which the lower classes were afflicted, from wearing woollen next the skin, which was never changed till worn out, were never fully eradicated till the use became general in later days, of (saving Miss Lawrance’s presence) linen shirts, and their feminines.

Last, not least, the uncertain tenure on which property and life were held is sufficient to turn the balance in favor of later times. The ‘small butcher’ might have his tea-spoons and his silver brooches and clasps; or the tanner his ‘mazer pitcher’ worth three shillings (£2 5s.), and his two robes worth a mark, and cape worth half a mark; but if robes, and cape, and life were at the discretion of arbitrary power, he was not greatly to be envied.

At the first tournament held in London, in the reign of Edward the Third,

‘The scaffold on which Philippa and her ladies were placed fell down, fortunately *without doing any injury*, but so incensed was the young king at the builders, that he ordered them *to be instantly executed*, and it was only the earnest entreaties of the gentle Philippa, who actually threw herself on her knees before him, that prevailed with him to grant their pardon.’—p. 120.

Now we certainly think that any *rational* carpenter would wish to live on what he could procure even for a shilling a day under the government of some modern Sardanapalus like George the Fourth, rather than with two costly robes and one mazer pitcher, to be hanged by the great Plantagenet.

We perfectly agree with Miss Lawrance, that the state of

society in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was preferable in many respects to that of the sixteenth and seventeenth.

Chivalry no doubt was highly useful in tempering the spirit of the dominant orders during the middle ages. Nevertheless we think Miss Lawrance overrates its value. When equal laws and rights were wanting, the power of the sword, directed by the precepts of benevolence, might *possibly* be the next best thing. It would be useful only during a certain state of society, when man was on his transit to better times. Its hold was on the imagination and on the heart; judgment and justice, strictly speaking, had nothing to do with it. And hence when reason, and justice, and utility were elevated to the rank of guiding powers, and man became possessed of security as a right, it naturally died away. It could not influence greatly the happiness of the masses, and we much doubt whether it ever appeared to them so splendid an institution as it seems to have been to us; and what it appeared to those who were contemporary with it, as far as they were concerned, it must have been. Proximity lessens marvel, and distance is required for every object to ensure its full effect. If we stood beneath the arch of the rainbow, its glories would elude our sight.

Art. VII. 1. *The Bible Monopoly Inconsistent with Bible Circulation : a Letter addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Bexley.* By ADAM THOMSON, D.D. 8vo. pp. 92. Snow.

2. *Monopoly and Unrestricted Circulation of the Sacred Scriptures Contrasted.* By JOHN CAMPBELL, Author of 'Jethro.' 18mo. pp. 106. Snow.

AFTER all that has been attempted, by poetry and oratory, in the way of eulogy on the art of printing, its excellence and value have never yet been fully expressed nor even understood. Mankind have been already so long familiar with its wonders, that it is not easy for them rightly to conceive of a time when the state of human communication was different from what it is at present; and still greater is the difficulty of correctly apprehending the nature and extent of that difference. What would the world have thought, in the middle ages, at the sight of one of our great metropolitan printing establishments, springing up at once in the midst of Europe in its finished state? What would speedily become the condition of our British population were the art of printing to be now prohibited, and men reduced once more to the pen and the pencil for the accomplishment of

all those objects which are meanwhile effected by type, stereotype, the hand-press, and steam power? What would be the amazement of *Guido de Jars* were he to arise from the dead, to be introduced into Bagster's or the Oxford Bible-warehouse, and to be presented with the glorious results of modern printing in all its varieties of form and language? We now look back, with wonder and pity, at the labors of such a man; but perhaps we are ourselves, in one respect, in a condition which will supply to the students of a future age materials for feelings of still greater amazement,—feelings partaking less of compassion than of contempt and censure—when they shall read of the restrictions which are in the nineteenth century permitted to be laid upon this glorious invention—restrictions, too, which chiefly relate to the multiplication of copies of the word of God. The Bible monopoly has of late, however, excited very considerable attention, and it is probable that the bulk of our readers have, more or less, been led to reflect upon the subject. The labors of Dr. Thomson and of others, who have fought by his side, have done great and good service in the cause, and the results already realized are well worth all the toil and all the talent that have been expended in the controversy.

Of the present state of the question we may have occasion to speak at the close; but meanwhile we proceed to inquire a little into the legal character of the patent—a subject which has not yet been brought before the public mind during the existing contest. It is possible that the people of England may be laboring under a strong delusion, and fearing where there is no cause of fear. On this point we have an instance upon record as curious as it is serious. By letters patent of King James I. the Stationers' Company and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had obtained the exclusive privilege of printing almanacks, by virtue of a supposed copyright in the crown. This monopoly had been submitted to, from the date of the grant in the former century, till Thomas Carnan, a spirited bookseller in St. Paul's Churchyard, commenced a publication of almanacks in defiance of the patent. He greatly improved the article, and the sale was very considerable. The two universities and the Stationers' Company filed a Bill in the court of Exchequer for an injunction to restrain him, praying that the copies sold might be

* A curious fact respecting this prototype of patient penmen was brought to light in the year 1796, at the sale of Sir William Burrell's books, among which was a MS. Bible on vellum, beautifully written with the pen and illuminated. This was the work of half a century; *Guido* began it in the 40th year of his age, and brought his work to a close in his 90th year, anno 1294, in the reign of Philip the Fair, as appeared by the writer's own autograph at the front of the book.

accounted for, and the remainder delivered up to be cancelled. The court, doubting the validity of the king's charter, directed a question upon its legality to be argued before the Court of Common Pleas: the judges, after two arguments, certified that the patent was void in law: the Court of Exchequer thereupon dismissed the Bill, and dissolved the injunction. From that hour CARTER practised and transported the Lord North, then prime minister, and chancellor of the University of Oxford, urged in by the late learned moralists, introduced into the House of Commons a bill "to remove by act of parliament the monopoly in churchyards which had taken its origin by the above-mentioned judgment in the king's court." In addition to the whole force of the government, the bill was supported by all the influence of the two universities in the House of Commons: but Mr. Erskine, as counsel for CARTER, was heard at the bar of the Commons, and at the close of his argument the House divided, when the premier's bill was lost by a great majority.

If the doctrine of this decision were honestly carried out, the question of the Bible monopoly would soon be settled. It will necessarily require the combined wisdom of Westminster Hall to demonstrate that the Edinburgh and Bible monopolies rest on different foundations: and that, had the latter been in the position of the former, it would not have failed. Every consideration that goes to support the Bible monopoly, viewed equal support to that of Edinburgh. But in the resolute spirit of CARTER, EDINBURGH had been an abuse of prerogative, and justified *non interdictum* in the present house: and had he happened to be upon the Bible instead of the Edinburgh, it is exceedingly probable that the cruel and impious restriction had been annihilated by the force of Erskine's argument, and by calling forth the operation of British justice. All the millions of that great advocate, in fighting for the liberty of the subject and the freedom of the press, had been as nothing compared with the destruction of the Bible monopoly. Our nations are the deeper because this is the only instance in which the validity of this class of patents has been tried.

It is our deliberate opinion that the Bible patent, as it now exists, cannot be sustained. It is not founded upon any definite or acknowledged principle of justice, but derives its origin from despotic restrictions of authority, which have long since been driven by the spirit and intelligence of the people from the pale of English law. This point is well put by Erskine, in his speech for CARTER. According to that great pleader, "On the first

* See Erskine's speech for CARTER, introductory matter.

‘ introduction of printing, it was considered, as well in England
 ‘ as other countries, to be a matter of state. The quick and
 ‘ extensive circulation of sentiments and opinions which that
 ‘ invaluable art introduced, could not but fall under the gripe of
 ‘ governments whose principal strength was built upon the
 ‘ ignorance of the people who were to submit to it. The *press*
 ‘ was, therefore, wholly under the coercion of the crown, and
 ‘ *all printing*, not only of *public* books containing ordinances
 ‘ religious or civil, but *every species of publication whatever*, was
 ‘ regulated by the king’s proclamations, prohibitions, charters
 ‘ of privilege, and finally by the decrees of the star-chamber.’*

The law Reports set forth a variety of grants of the exclusive right to print in the different departments of the art. In process of time, however, the cruel and oppressive assumptions of prerogative were forced to yield to the resistless pressure of intelligence, and at length, in the year 1769, after the decision of the case of *Millar v. Taylor*,† the only copyrights supposed to be left to the crown, were those of Bibles, Testaments, Prayer-books, acts of parliament, proclamations, acts of state, almanacks, and the Latin grammar. We have already seen that the claim of the crown to grant a monopoly of the printing of almanacks was refused, in the Court of Common Pleas, and the patent pronounced invalid. The greater importance attaches to this case, because on that occasion there was no collusion; both sides were in good earnest, while there is every ground to suspect it was otherwise in the case of *Richardson and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge*,‡ which came on in the year 1802. In that case the litigants were equally interested in sustaining the monopoly. It was a struggle not for the public, but for themselves; they fought not for the triumph of a principle but for the grasp of the gross plunder. The power of the crown to grant a monopoly in Bible printing was no part of the contest on either side. They, therefore, took the preliminary steps required to give the *seeming* sanction of the law to their common foundation; the one applied for an injunction to restrain the sale of Scotch Bibles in England, and the other submitted till the hearing of the cause should come on. Their object was gained; out of court they shook hands, and no more was heard of the matter. In the case of *Carnan*, the right of the Stationers’ Company to the almanack monopoly was defended on every ground that can apply to Bibles and Testaments. It was

* Speeches, vol. i. p. 40.

† *Gibbs v. Cole*. 2d Wms. p. 265. *Earl of Yarmouth v. Durrell*, 3 Mod. 75. 4 Burrows, 2303.

‡ 6 Vesey, jun., p. 689.

vehemently urged by counsel that the validity of the patent was supported by several decisions in the courts of law, as will forthwith more fully appear. In the *Company of the Stationers and Lee*, the claim of the Company as grantees of the sole printing of almanacks, is put on the king's right as supreme head of the Church to restrain, regulate, and license prognostications of future events. In the *Company of Stationers v. Seymour*,* the matter is very profoundly managed; it is put partly on the ground of original enclosure, and that so much of the right of printing as had 'been kept enclosed, had never been 'made common;' and partly on the ground that there is no particular author of an almanack, and 'then by rule of our law 'the king has property in the copy!' In other cases, too, the judgment was in favor of the Company's sole right to print almanacks in the terms of their patent.† To all these decisions in favor of the Stationers' Company, must be added the opinion of Mr. Justice Yates, who, in his most able and liberal judgment in *Millar v. Taylor*, admits the exclusive right of the crown in Bibles, Prayer-books, Primers, Psalters, statutes, acts of state, and *almanacks*.‡

In the case of the *Stationers' Company v. Carnan*, all these decisions and opinions were presented and pressed, in support of the Company's exclusive right to print almanacks. To crown the whole it was further urged, that almanacks related to the religion of the country, as determining festivals and fasts, and that ever since the Acts of Uniformity which establish the Liturgy, the almanack had constituted part of the Prayer-book. Backed by all this mighty array of precedents and circumstances, Serjeants Glynn and Hill appeared in the Court of Common Pleas in support of it. In the course of the argument, which they conducted with consummate ability, they laid down a principle of great importance in the Bible case, viz., 'That the 'judges had no standard by which to determine whether the 'almanack *was* a prerogative book, and which, therefore, could 'be made a subject of monopoly, than by settling upon principles of good sense, *whether it ought to be one*.' All their arguments went to prove the affirmative. They felt and confessed that monopoly had, and could have, no foundation but in the public good—a pretence which is always doubtful, always perilous. On this point Erskine put forth his strength before the Commons. 'There is no telling,' said the advocate, 'to what 'such precedents may lead;—the public welfare was the burden

* 1 Mod. p. 257.

† 4 Lucas's Reports, p. 105.—34 Car. 2nd.

‡ Burrows, p. 1767.

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‘ to the licensing acts ;—the most tyrannical laws, in the most
‘ absolute governments, speak a kind parental language to the
‘ abject wretches who groan under their crushing and humilia-
‘ ting weight ;—resisting, therefore, a regulation and supervision
‘ of the press *beyond the rules of the common law*, I lose sight of my
‘ client, and feel that I am speaking for myself,—for every man
‘ in England ! With such a legislature as I have now the
‘ honor to address, I confess the evil is imaginary,—but who
‘ can look into the future ? This precedent (trifling as it may
‘ seem) may hereafter afford a plausible inlet to much mischief,
‘ —the protection of the law may be a pretence for a monopoly
‘ in all books on legal subjects ;—the safety of the *state* may
‘ require the suppression of *histories* and *political writings* ;—
‘ even philosophy herself may become once more the slave of
‘ the schoolmen, and religion fall again under the iron fetters
‘ of the church !’*

In spite of all this array it was that the judges declared, that the king had no power to grant such a monopoly, and that the Commons of England, after listening to the arguments of Erskine, refused by a large majority, not to ‘re-
‘ new,’ as they pretended, but to create a monopoly in almanacks to the Company of Stationers and the two Universities. ‘The fallacy,’ said the advocate, ‘lies in supposing that the
‘ Universities and Stationers’ Company *ever had* a right to the
‘ monopoly which they have exercised so long. The preamble
‘ of the bill supposes it ; but, as it is a supposition in the very
‘ teeth of a judgment of law—it is only an aggravation of the
‘ impudence of the application ! If the Universities have lost an
‘ advantage, enjoyed contrary to law, and at the expense of
‘ sound policy and liberty, you (the Commons) will rejoice that
‘ the courts below have pronounced that wise and liberal
‘ judgment against them, and will not set the evil example of
‘ reversing it.’

Such is the history of the glorious struggle of Carnan against the patent which gave the monopoly of almanacks. Let our readers distinctly understand, we again repeat, that almanacks stood, to all intents, upon the same foundation with Bibles and Testaments. In all the arguments of counsel, and in all the judgments of the bench, they have been always classed together as part and parcel of the same system, as constituent elements of a compound privilege, and as objects resting on the same basis.

The right of the crown to exclusive printing, and the con-

* Speeches, vol. i. p. 48.

sequent creation of monopolies, is thus stated by Blackstone.* ‘The king, as the executive magistrate, has the right of promulgating to the people all acts of state and government, and the right of printing at his own press all acts of parliament, proclamations, and orders of council. 2nd. As supreme head of the Church, he hath a right to the publication of all liturgies and books of divine service. 3rd. He is said to have a right by purchase to the copies of all law books, grammars, and such other compositions as were compiled or translated at the expense of the crown—and upon these two last principles combined, the exclusive right of printing the translation of the Bible is founded.’

Here by this great constitutional lawyer the matter is brought explicitly before us. On this principle we undertake to make out a case demonstrative of the perfect right and uncontrollable freedom of all printers to print the sacred Scriptures. The royal restraint, it will be found, lies not in the printing, but in the use. Erskine, in his speech for Carnan, admits that the sovereign has a right to publish ‘religious and civil constitutions’—that is, as executive magistrate, he has a right to publish acts of parliament, orders of council, &c., for the regulation of civil government; and, as head of the Church, he has an equal right to publish Bibles, Testaments, liturgies, and forms of prayer to be read in the churches of which he is the head. To all this he has a right, but to nothing more. This is the limit of political and religious necessity, and consequently the limit of royal prerogative, which is strictly bounded by that necessity. The sovereign may print for his own Church, and order that in the said Church no other books shall be used than those of his preparation. But this is the uttermost extent of his prerogative. This is all that is required even by the largest interpretation of the principles of Blackstone. It is high time that the reign of absurdity, combined with oppression, should terminate! It is utterly preposterous to hold that the king, as head of the Church by law established, has, therefore, and necessarily, any exclusive right over the Bible. It may as reasonably be argued that because he has his own dock-yard for his own navy, that he, by consequence, has the right of building hulls, making blocks and masts, and forging chains and anchors for the whole mercantile service of England! His own docks exist for his own fleets; but all his subjects may build vessels for themselves according to their own pleasure. It is exactly so, both in law and in reason, as respects his Church and his printing-press.

* Vol. ii. p. 410.

We really can see no more absurdity in a ship-building patent than in a patent for Bible printing. The principle is one. Let those who deny the allegation demonstrate the difference.

Let us look at the principle in its legitimate extension. If the royal prerogative be extended to anything in religion, among Dissenters, it must be extended to everything. Why does not his majesty claim to print liturgies for such of the Dissenters as use them? Why, indeed, not compel their use by all? Why does he not dictate to them special prayers on special occasions? But we trifle! Who does not perceive that since the Dissenters' emancipation act, the entire body of Nonconformists have a full, good, indefeasible right to print the Scriptures for themselves? But who does not perceive that, if they are bound to buy the Bibles produced at the royal press, at the pleasure-price of the patentees, they are still forced to submit to the authority of the civil power in the most important of all religious concerns? Who does not see that the principle which sustains such a right goes much further than the right which it sustains? If his majesty may say *who* shall print, may he not also say whether *any* one shall print?

The rights of Dissenters are altogether incomplete, unless they enjoy the full liberty of printing the Scriptures for themselves. Even granting, what we do not allow, that the Bible patent is valid, in so far as the Church is concerned, still the recent change in the condition of Dissenters has placed the whole question of the Bible monopoly in an entirely new position. When that monopoly was established there was no such body in the realm, and hence the patent looked only at the Church. Now, however, that this immense class of subjects has arisen in the land, they are without the ecclesiastical pale; and the right of Bible printing is and has been, ever since the passing of the law which brought emancipation, the Nonconformists' birth-right. The Bible is the common property of all Christians, and since religious uniformity is no longer contemplated by the law of England, no right of prerogative can now be argued from an alleged necessity to prevent heresies in doctrine. Whatever color or pretext there might have been for the king's interference when religious uniformity was enforced by law, there can assuredly be none now; and it is in his character as supreme head of the Established Church alone, that his right can by any possibility exist.

But we have not yet done with the law, the confusions and contradictions of which are among the chief grounds of our hope. Where reason and justice supply no immutable principle, it is no marvel if lawyers of the first ability differ in opinion; and hence the denial of Lord Mansfield, that the king had any prerogative right to the translation of the Bible.

great lawyer put it entirely on the ground of *property*, which leads us to the second foundation assigned by Blackstone for the royal copyright.* Lord Mansfield pours contempt on the royal prerogative, and places the king on the same ground with any author or proprietor. 'The Hebrew Bible, Greek Testament, and Septuagint,' says his lordship, 'do not belong to the king; but the translation he bought.' Mr. Justice Willes takes a similar view. 'I cannot distinguish,' says he, 'between the king and an author. I disclaim any idea that the king has the least control over the press but what arises from his property in his copy.' By these distinguished men the doctrine of prerogative is at once discarded. This is a grand approach to reason and intelligibility; it also narrows, by more than a half, the ground of contest. The principle here laid down is one of the greatest possible importance. It is the only distinct and tangible view that has ever been set forth on the subject of prerogative, which it explains by annihilation! It strips the subject of all disguise, and renders it a matter to which the principles of commerce and of general justice may be fully and readily applied. Keeping this principle steadily in view, then, we shall have little difficulty in demolishing the whole fabric of the Bible monopoly. Here we have its advocates in the toils, and, if they can, let them escape! The royal right arises from the single fact that the king was at the expense of the translation; prerogative there is none. Even the supreme headship of the Church seems, at least for the moment, to be given up or forgotten. Very well: was this expense a private disbursement of the king? If so, the Bible must have been his private property; it would not have belonged to the crown, but to the person, and, instead of descending to his successor, it must have devolved to his heirs. Again, allowing that there did exist a right of property in the copy, at common law, and that the king, not being named in the statute of Anne, was not affected by it; still it remains to be shown that the king acquired the copyright by *purchase*, as distinguished from a license, for reward, to publish the result of the labor of others. But again, if, as the fact was, the expense was paid out of the public purse, was not the purchase for a public benefit? Had the crown, then, a right, in law or justice, to convert Bible printing into a monopoly which must of necessity be prejudicial to that benefit. Take it either way, and then show us how it can be made to sustain the Bible patent. Tell us how, even upon the absurd hypothesis of a perpetual common law copyright, the crown could, under the circumstances, acquire an

* *Millar v. Taylor*, Burrows, p. 2404, 2405.

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exclusive right over the translation of the Scriptures! Is King James intended as the first who acquired the right? Let us, then, examine his majesty's instructions to the translators, and their address to the readers, and we shall find that they freely used all the existing translations. To this, in fact, they were enjoined in the king's fourteenth rule, which runs thus: 'These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible, viz., Tindal's, Coverdale's, Mathewe's, Whitchurch's, Geneva.' The translators confess, too, that they acted up to their instructions, and made the fullest use of the labors of their predecessors. These considerations suffice to destroy at once and for ever all claim to *property* in the translation. The claim of property, indeed, as distinguished from prerogative, was never dreamed of so long as the licensing acts existed.

The right appears, according to Blackstone, to be a sort of prerogative property; but Lord Chief Justice De Grey, in the case of *Donaldson v. Beckett*, speaking of the argument of the Solicitor-General York, in the case of *Baskett v. University of Cambridge*,* says, that property founded on prerogative, however allowable for counsel to put, was 'not admissible by, nor intelligible to, a judge;' and Lord Camden, in the same case, speaking of the arguments in favor of prerogative copies, says, '1st. It is put on the topic of prerogative, then of ownership.'

'First. Henry VI. brought over the printers and their presses; ergo, says counsel, he has an absolute right to the whole art, and all that it can produce.

'2nd. Printing belongs to nobody; and what belongs to nobody is of course the king's.

'3rd. The king pays his judges; ergo, he purchases that right for a valuable consideration.

'4th. He paid for the translations of the Bible; therefore, forsooth, he bought a right to sell Bibles. Away with such trifling!

This admirable sense found a ready response across the Irish Channel in the judicial bosom of Lord Chancellor Clare, in the case of *Grierson v. Jackson*.† In giving judgment his lordship said, 'I can conceive that the king, as head of the Church, may say, that there shall be but one man who shall print Bibles and Books of Common Prayer, for the use of churches and other particular purposes; but I cannot conceive that the king has any prerogative to grant a monopoly as to Bibles for the instruction of mankind in revealed religion. If he had, it would be in the power of the patentee to put what price he

* 1 Bl. Rep. p. 106.

† Ridgway's Rep. p. 304.

‘pleased upon the book, and thus prevent the instruction of mankind in revealed religion.’

Our readers have now before them the sum of the law upon the subject of the Bible monopoly; and, we think, men of understanding will be able to form their own opinion of its moral, if not also of its legal, merits. They must clearly see that the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts has exerted an extraordinary influence upon this patent; and that a right to produce, or in any way to procure, the books employed in their public and social worship, is among the unquestionable privileges of English Nonconformists. So unjust, so unreasonable have the patentees for many years felt their privileges to be, that they have shrunk from the ungracious task of prosecution. They have winked at the infraction of their patent in all possible ways, even previous to the abolition of the Test Acts, when they might still have retired into the citadel of patents, precedents, and prerogatives, and have fulminated upon the unhappy men who had stepped within the enchanted circle. It was not thus fifty years ago. Patentees were then heroic men. Towards the close of the last century, so celebrated for pensions, jobbing, the contraction of debt, the plunder of the public, and the slaughter of men, public fasts were much in vogue. The periodicals of the day record the following fact relative to one of these occasions.

‘CASE IN CHANCERY FOR THREE PENCE!!!

‘*Eyre and Strahan, King’s Printers, v. Ogilvy and Speare.*

May 3, 1794.

‘A few days previous to the last general fast, the defendants, through ignorance of the law, sold *one* copy of the ‘Form of Prayer,’ appointed to be used upon that occasion, not printed *by authority of the king’s patent.*

‘The plaintiffs, without giving the smallest intimation to desist, filed this bill to compel the defendants to account to them for the profit arising from the said sale. Upon being served with the subpoena, the defendants applied to have proceedings staid; which the plaintiffs, after considerable hesitation, agreed to, on condition of defendants paying costs, and making affidavit to the sale. This *important cause* was this day finished, when the plaintiffs received **THREE PENCE!!!** the profit arising from the sale; and when the attorney, Edward S. Foss, of Gough Square, did not blush to receive £13 6s. 9d. for costs incurred.’

Well and truly might Burke exclaim, were he now alive, ‘the age of chivalry is gone, and the glory of Europe is departed for ever!’ Just conceive of Mr. Spottiswoode now commencing an action against some Bibliopole of the Row, for selling one

copy of a form of prayer not printed by him! The thing is impossible. The days of prosecution, 'the glory' of the patentees, are passed away, no more, we trust, to return. No patentee, in his senses, will, we believe, henceforth venture to appear in an English court to prosecute for the printing of the Scriptures. Were we ourselves printers, we should not hesitate, in the face of the whole world, to employ our types and presses in diffusing the Scriptures of truth. As Nonconformists, in particular, we boldly claim it as a part of our religious rights to prepare or procure our Bibles, as well as our other books of devotion, in whatever manner we please. That right we should exercise to the uttermost. We would, therefore, present no petitions on the subject. This we should deem worse than folly; it were to concede a point the reverse of the great principle which we assume, which we claim, and for which we are ready to contend to the last extremity! All such petitioning we consider to be in the highest degree both preposterous and injurious. In printing for ourselves we contend that we do no wrong. If the patentees think differently, and hold that they are thereby aggrieved, let them seek their remedy, and we will abide by the consequences! If they do not move, our object is gained; if they do, the question will then be tried; and if, in the eye of the bench, we have not in law what we know we have in justice, we will find means to redress the mighty grievance, and to conquer this glorious privilege, which, of right inalienable, belongs to the Dissenters of England! On many accounts this is the best method of proceeding. By petitioning we should only add strength to the cause of monopoly. Considering the state of parties in the House of Commons, and especially in the Lords, and above all the jealous and bitter feeling of the Established Church which would impel them to move heaven and earth to oppose the abolition, we deem all attempts in the way of petition little better than effort thrown away. We can, to be sure, conceive of an organization and a movement which would force the abolition, or compel the grant of a concurrent patent to the Dissenters; but this would take considerable time, and be a matter of some labor and expense. To all that might be necessary for the object, however, we would cheerfully submit were it necessary. But we are, after much deliberation, conscientiously opposed to all attempts at abolition by petitioning, on the ground of moral principle. It assumes as true what we maintain to be false, viz., 1st, the validity of the Bible patent; and, 2nd, its application, supposing its validity, to the Bibles used by Protestant Dissenters. We hold that the patent is not worth a straw; and we further hold that, whatever be its character, in relation to the Established Church, it cannot upon any principle of law, of justice, or of common sense, apply to us.

We are, therefore, wholly adverse to any movement which would compromise truth, honor, and principle. We stand upon our rights. We will exercise them. Do the monopolists threaten? Nonconformists defy! Do the former assail? The latter defend! This course, which is that of principle, will be also found the path of prudence. Our counsel, therefore, to the people of England is—*No petitioning!*

Our attention is next called to the working of the Bible patents, a wide and rather complicated question, which, nevertheless, the minutes of evidence taken by the several Committees of the House of Commons, have largely served to illuminate. Of this evidence Dr. Thomson's letter contains an elaborate analysis, which constitutes the basis of much conclusive reasoning. One leading object is, to test the merits of the patent in relation to cheapness, and on this point his letter proceeds as follows:—

‘Now, Sir, for the real merits of the patent in relation to cheapness. We shall test it by various methods—by estimates of reputable printers, by Government returns, and by facts. One eminent practical witness dealt with the English patentees, in relation to the Statutes, in a very searching and satisfactory manner. The patentees averred that they did not pay. The printer sat down and calmly investigated the subject for thirty years, beginning with 1790, and made the following estimate:—

| First Ten Years, commencing with 1790. | | | | |
|--|---|---|----------|-------|
| Patentee's charge, - | - | - | £176,074 | 19 9½ |
| Printer's estimate, - | - | - | 55,614 | 10 0 |
| Second Ten Years. | | | | |
| Patentee's charge, - | - | - | £124,643 | 1 7½ |
| Printer's estimate, - | - | - | 51,484 | 0 0 |
| Third Ten Years. | | | | |
| Patentee's charge, - | - | - | £89,746 | 9 10½ |
| Printer's estimate, - | - | - | 42,007 | 0 0 |
| Aggregate charge, - | - | - | 390,464 | 11 2½ |
| Aggregate estimate, - | - | - | 149,105 | 10 0 |

‘The witness declared that, on these estimates, he would have realized a handsome profit; and, sir, let it be especially remembered that, at the time of the evidence, the quarto sheet of the Statutes had been sold, during the space of one year, for 4*d.*, during the seven years previous to that, for 4½*d.*, and prior to that period, for 5*d.* The said witness (Mr. Brook) mentioned, that he considered twopence 100 per cent. too much, and deemed one penny an ample charge—a charge which would yield him a profit of 20 per cent. Sir, will any person say that this tradesman's estimate should be received with caution, from the jealousy which reigns among people of the same craft? Be it so. What is now the fact? Investigation was followed by reduc-

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tion. The Statutes are now sold to Government for one penny, and to the public for three halfpence !

‘ So much, sir, for this branch of the English monopoly ; let us now see how the northern patentee used his privilege. We shall fix upon the stationery department. The adage asserts that comparisons are odious ; to patentees, who generally ‘ prefer solid pudding to empty praise,’ they are worse than odious—they are injurious. The arrangements of the Head Office in London, supplied a standard by which to test the charges of the Scottish monopolist. The application of that test produced confusion in more than one quarter. The Government lost all patience with the cormorant, and insisted on the surrender of this branch of his monopoly, offering $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. as compensation for his loss. With much reluctance, and after a quiet struggle, the patentees prudently complied ; for resistance had probably been fatal to the entire monopoly. They had still the undivided empire of Bible printing and publication in which to gratify their lust of lucre, and they made the most of it. The year 1829 supplies an illustration of the two systems :—

| | OLD SYSTEM. | | | | NEW SYSTEM. | | | |
|---|-------------|----|----|---------------|-------------|-----|---|---|
| Excise, - - | £6,192 | 4 | 5 | $\frac{3}{4}$ | £1,778 | 2 | 2 | " |
| Customs, - - | 1,444 | 7 | 10 | | 588 | 19 | 8 | |
| Post-Office, - | 1,246 | 9 | 6 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 660 | 10 | 8 | |
| Stamp or Tax Office, | 1,469 | 12 | 8 | | 685 | 14 | 6 | |
| | <hr/> | | | | <hr/> | | | |
| | £10,352 | 14 | 6 | $\frac{1}{4}$ | £3,713 | 6 | 9 | |
| $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for compensation, - | | | | | - | 464 | 3 | 4 |
| | | | | | <hr/> | | | |
| | | | | | £4,177 | 10 | 1 | |

‘ Thus the Government righteously rescued the funds of the country from the harpy hand of a rapacious monopoly ; but left it to devour, at pleasure, the property of the churches of the living God ! Surely, sir, these facts will prepare you for anything that may now be advanced concerning the Scriptures of truth, our next subject. Here, too, we shall commence with estimates, and then proceed to facts. One witness, Dr. Lee, a clergyman of reputable standing as a man of letters, presented the following list of estimates received from one of the principal printers in Edinburgh. As compared with the stationery business, they will be found in perfect keeping. The first list shows the selling price of the monopolist Bibles, and the second the prices at which they might be sold according to the estimate of Mr. Balfour ?—

| | THE MONOPOLIST. | | | | | MR. BALFOUR. | |
|-----------------|-----------------|----|-----|----|---|--------------|--------------------|
| | s. | d. | s. | d. | | s. | d. |
| School Bible, - | 3 | 6 | and | 4 | 0 | - | 1 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 24mo, - - | 2 | 0 | | | | - | 0 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Octavo, - - | 6 | 6 | | | | - | 2 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Quarto, - - | 9 | 6 | | | | - | 3 8 |

‘ These estimates of the Scotch printer are fully borne out even by

the evidence of the English witnesses, although the latter have to pay a higher price for labour.

‘ Mr. Childs of Bungay, whose deeds and deserts, in relation to this question of questions, can hardly be estimated in the matchless, the invaluable, body of evidence which he exhibited before the Committee of the Commons, enveloped the whole of the vast subject in one blaze of light, which sufficed at once to confound and to destroy the evidence of the monopolists, had that evidence possessed ten times the substantial importance which adhered to it. By careful analysis, we have discovered that, in his first evidence, he considerably understated everything ; on the next committee he lowered his estimates, and thus nearly approximated the truth. Mr. Childs, moreover, while attentive to the public, is not unmindful of himself. By his estimate he provides—as he ought to provide—an ample return on his capital. For example, the minion Testament, which the monopolist sells wholesale for 1s. in sheets, Mr. Childs offers to sell at 8*d.* ; nor would this be to drive a ruinous trade, for the worthy printer confesses that even then he would have a profit of cent. per cent. ! He demonstrates that the said Testament would cost him just 4*d.* Keeping in view Mr. Childs’ principle, sir, you will now be able to estimate the merits of the monopoly in regard to cheapness, as exemplified in the following list :—

| MONOPOLIST PRICES, WHOLESALE. | | | | MR. CHILDS'S ESTIMATE. | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|-----------|-----------|------------------------|-----------|----|-----------|-----------|
| | | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> | | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
| Brevier Testament | - | 0 | 10 | 0 | 7 | or | 0 | 7½ |
| Minion Testament | - | 1 | 0 | 0 | 6½ | or | 0 | 7 |
| Minion Bible | - | 4 | 5 | 3 | 0 | or | 3 | 3 |
| Small Pica | - | 7 | 3 | 4 | 3 | or | 4 | 6 |
| Small Pica, fine edition | | 16 | 0 | 10 | 0 | or | 11 | 0 |

‘ Now, sir, such are the selling prices on the one hand, and the estimates on the other. Do you suspect the estimates on the ground of rivalry or mercantile jealousy ? Let us then pass from estimates to facts. In pages 98, 99, of the Report for 1831, you will find Mr. Parker, the witness for Oxford, confessing that the minion Testament cost the University only 4½*d.*, that the wholesale price is 10*d.*, and the price to the public 1s. 3*d.* Again, what is the confession of Mr. Waddell, the manager of the late Scotch patent ? Did he not, sir, avow that the very first book on his list cost only 13*s.*, and that his selling price was just £1 6*s.* ? Did he not grant that he put a profit of from 50 to 100 per cent. upon all his editions, according as they were more or less saleable ? Nay, more, sir, what did the witness Ruthven depose to, respecting the prices of the Scriptures in America ? Did he not produce a beautiful nonpareil New Testament, for which only 4½*d.* was paid, as the selling price in New York ?’

The next subject of inquiry is that of accuracy. On this point we are anxious to avoid extremes, as will fully appear by a

reference to former articles in our Journal.* It is enough to show, that the degree of accuracy attained by the patentees has not been greater than must have been realized in the way of free trade, and hence that on this score nothing has been gained by the patent. Dr. Thomson thus proceeds :—

‘We have next to inquire whether the monopolists have really established a claim to superior accuracy. On this ground, sir, their pretensions have been great ; great nearly in proportion to the want of all foundation. The evidence given before the Committee, established a most unlooked-for fact by the public—that the Oxford Bibles have been the most inaccurate of all ! From the evidence of George Ofor, Esq., it appears that a schoolfellow of his, Mr. W. Randall, betook himself to the correction of an edition of a nonpareil Bible printed at its press, in which he found upwards of 12,000 errors ! When this industrious young gentleman had finished his Herculean enterprise, he very appropriately transmitted the result to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in return, sent him a handsome letter and £10 for his trouble. The same highly-competent witness also deposed—as every literary man knows the fact to be—that during the days of the Commonwealth, when the patent and all others were abolished, and all might print that pleased, some of the finest and most accurate editions of the Scriptures that ever saw the light were produced. Patents, sir, are not, and they never can be, a remedy for errors. Sir, they actually remove the principal inducement to accuracy. What are patents but a bounty upon negligence ; a shield to protect a man from the consequences of his own carelessness ? The plea of accuracy is just as unfounded as the plea of economy. The bulk of our daily newspapers, notwithstanding the rapidity with which they are got up, are much less incorrect than many of the patentee editions of the Word of God. What a delusion men have been labouring under ! How dearly we have paid for our deception ! How culpably patient have the people of England been under a most grievous wrong ! But the mists are dispersing, the beams of the morning have begun to break forth, and a fire is kindling in our land which shall continue to burn until it shall have consumed to ashes the parchments of this most pernicious monopoly. I trust you are convinced that the Bible monopoly has no foundation either in justice or in expediency, since it has in no way contributed to the public good. Tried by the tests of economy and of accuracy, it is, in both respects, equally wanting ; and, viewed in all its aspects, it is a meet object of condemnation !

In addition to this exposure by Dr. Thomson, the author of ‘Jethro,’ in his reply to Mr. Spottiswoode the Queen’s printer, which forms an appendix to the letter of Dr. Thomson, states a number of startling facts. The royal typographer, unhappily

* Eclectic Review, June and August, 1833.

for himself, but much otherwise for the public, has said in his attack upon Mr. Campbell, 'I cannot but look upon his bare-faced assertions as to the profits on editions of the Scriptures printed by the Universities and the Queen's Printer (for there is no attempt at proof) as a deliberate misrepresentation to catch the unwary, to assist in forming an opposition Bible Society, and to raise a subscription.' To this Mr. Campbell replies:—

'I thought I had made some 'attempt at proof;' but I may have miscalculated the effect of my own impotency; I will, however, try again. But, sir, I will freely confess to you, the subject is one of some difficulty. The Queen's printers have thrown a veil around their establishment which envelopes the whole concern in the thickest darkness. Preparatory to the Committee of Inquiry, the Lords of the Treasury, on January 12, 1831, ordered 'A return of the total number of Bibles and Testaments, and Books of Common Prayer, printed by the patentees for the last ten years; distinguishing the number printed of each size, the quantity of paper each contains, and the prices charged per copy in quires; and showing what amount has been received in drawback on the duty on the paper.' This return, with a few questions, would have illumined every corner of the dark cavern. On January the 19th, however, the patentees wrote a letter to Mr. Spring Rice to deprecate the order, declaring that 'it would be injuring the universities as well as the King's printer, if the details of their respective trades were disclosed;' but, at the same time, assuring the hon. gentleman that 'the public obtain the various articles contained under the patent, at a cheaper rate than they could be obtained in any other way.' By this means they escaped the necessity of stating the 'number of each size of Bibles and Testaments,' which went far to neutralize the whole order. On March 2, 1831, Mr. Spottiswoode appeared before the Committee; and their main object being to ascertain profits, they asked him if he could make a return of the 'number printed of each edition, the number sold, and the prices, for the last ten years;' his answer was, 'No, I cannot.' They inquired if he could do it for five years. He submitted the previous question, to which it was replied, 'the Committee have determined that that is a fit question to be put.' He was then requested to furnish this account, and informed that time would be given for its preparation. On March 30, he was called again before the Committee, but came without the account. He declared 'there never was any balance sheet;' that he was ignorant of the principle on which the division of profits had been made, and referred the Committee to Mr. Eyre. On April 15, Mr. Eyre appeared, and revealed a state of things which is very instructive.

According to him there had been no stock taken—no balance sheet—no 'fixed time for division of profits.' 'Being,' said he, 'upon a confidential footing, we kept our accounts in a way that satisfied ourselves.'

'(Q. 1695.) But when you found the accounts would bear money

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being taken away, it must be presumed there was some account made up at the time?—Yes.

‘(Q. 1696.) Can you state the amount of the profits divided at each of those periods among the partners?—No.

Here are three simple steps : moneys were divided, entries of the sums were made, yet the amount of the sum so divided and so entered could not be stated.

‘(Q. 1706.) Mr. Spottiswoode has been examined upon it, and referred to you in regard to profits?—I understand he did ; but not as, I suppose, the Committee mean. I know the business generally, but am not able to give detailed information.

‘(Q. 1722.) Mr. Spottiswoode was understood to say he had charge of the operative branch ; he was asked how the general accounts were kept of the work done and the charges made, and he has stated he *cannot give any information upon that subject*?—I cannot tell how that is ; I only know I am quite incompetent.

‘(Q. 1723.) Is there any other person likely to be better informed than Mr. Spottiswoode?—No.’

Surely if on earth there be a temple of confusion, a fit receptacle for the goddess of dulness, it is a royal printing office ! A great politician once said, that mankind were not aware how little sense sufficed to govern the world. It would really seem as if the omnipotence of stupidity extended beyond courts and cabinets. The case before us demonstrates that a small measure of wisdom and of order—*if all was true*—suffices to conduct a large business, and to print Bibles for a great nation ! In the history of commerce, in the experience of courts and committees, the exhibition of which a specimen is here given, has not often found a parallel. Upon such a question as profit, however, Mr. Hume was not the man to be easily defeated. The questions proceed till a few sparks of light are at last elicited.

‘(Q. 1731.) You admit a very large capital belonging to you, employed to carry on the King’s printing?—Yes.

‘(Q. 1732.) In what manner are you repaid for the use of that capital, and how is the account kept?—By the produce of the concern.

‘(Q. 1733.) In what way is it ascertained?—By a debtor and creditor account.

‘(Q. 1734.) Then there are debtor and creditor accounts?—Yes, undoubtedly.

‘(Q. 1735.) Cannot you supply a copy of that made up annually, or at other periods?—No ; because it involves a great many other concerns of other people, some of whom are dead and gone, and whose interests I am bound to protect.’

At last it comes out, that the profits of the patent are at least £12,000 per annum ! But enormous as this sum is, I am far from satisfied of the correctness of the admission. It is clear that the patentee, Mr. Eyre, was either very incapable or obstinately averse to deal with the question. But, sir, I have at length found a key to open every door and every cell of this enchanted castle. Are the people of England prepared to listen to the amount of profit realized, during the ten years preceding 1831, by the English monopolists ? Let them,

then, hear the fact; those profits were about £60,000 a-year! Nothing can be more conclusive than the proof of this astounding fact. At page 359 of the evidence of 1831, you will find a table, dated February 18, 1831, of 'Returns of the amounts that have been paid to each University, and to the King's printers, as drawback on the duty on paper, used for Bibles, Testaments, and Books of Common Prayer, for the last ten years.' Of this most important return, the following is the result. There were paid—

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---------|---|-----------------|
| To the English monopolists, | - | - | £97,321 | 1 | 6 |
| To the Scotch monopolists, | - | - | 16,645 | 4 | 0 |
| To the Irish monopolists, | - | - | 2,421 | 8 | 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ |

Such, sir, are the facts—now for their application. The proof is merely an affair of the rule of proportion in its simplest form. The amount of drawback, as unerringly given by the Excise-Office, determines the amount of business done by the parties respectively; therefore, independently of size, price, and quantity, if we can ascertain the gross or the nett profits of any of the bodies of patentees, we can ascertain, with sufficient accuracy, the sums realized by the rest. This we have done. When Sir David Hunter Blair was requested to state his profits, in a frank and honourable manner he referred the committee to Mr. Waddell, his manager. There was with him no shuffling, evasion, or equivocation; no plea of complexity, or delicacy, or difficulty; and the servant was worthy of his master. He was brought from Edinburgh in such haste that he had no time for regular preparation; but, to the extent of his knowledge, he spoke on every subject with an honourable candour and a beautiful transparency. Some of the chief questions follow:—

'(Q. 270.) What is the amount of the nett profits last year?—The nett profit, last year, was about £9,600.

'(Q. 271.) Have you any bad debts?—Yes, the bad debts were struck out before I made my balance, but I made no allowance for interest on capital, and for wear and tear of stock.

'(Q. 272.) From your recollection, have the past years been more or less?—Some of them more, but I think none of them less.

'(Q. 273.) Do you suppose the average of the last ten years will amount to £10,000?—I should suppose between £9,000 and £10,000, but not £10,000.'

The manager, Mr. Waddell, obviously an honest man and an upright witness, was in error. He clearly considers that the profits were nearly, but not quite, £10,000. The truth, however, is, that they were considerably more than that sum. The total drawback on the paper, during the ten previous years, was £16,645 4s.; the drawback on the year in question, viz. 1830, was £1,616 1s. 3d. If you divide the total of the ten years by the sum of that year, you will find the quotient will measure the divisor, and leave a fraction of considerably more than one-fourth above the £10,000 as the annual profit of the Scotch patentee! But what is the total profits for the ten years? Considerably upwards of One Hundred Thousand Pounds!

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Sir, here is a simple case of schoolboy arithmetic : the drawback of the Scotch monopolist was £16,645 4s. ; the drawback of the English monopolists was £97,321 1s. 6d. during the ten specified years. If £16,645 4s. realize upwards of £100,000 during that period, what will £97,321 1s. 6d. realize? It will realize within a small fraction of Six Hundred Thousand Pounds! How much is this short of Sixty Thousand Pounds a-year? Let the people of England ponder these words !

On the expiration of the patents in Scotland, a new order of things was established, whereby all that choose to give security for correctness are at full liberty to print the Scriptures. For the superintendence of this matter a special Board has been created, and their first Report issued during the summer of last year, sets forth the result of their experience in the following terms.

‘ Among the advantages arising from the abolition of the monopoly in printing, a prominent place must be given to the reduction of price in the various works that were formerly to be procured only from one patentee. The sum already saved to the public in this manner is very considerable ; and, as this saving becomes available chiefly to the middle and lower classes of society in a matter of infinite importance, and to Bible Societies, by which they are enabled to circulate the Scriptures to a greater extent than formerly among those who, though most needing them, would otherwise have been altogether deprived of their instructions and consolations, the money that is saved must be considered as having a value far beyond its nominal amount. It is not merely a question as to the amount of reduction, by the effects of competition, though, even in this respect, it is far from being undeserving of attention, but whether a vast number of individuals are or are not to be put in possession of the sacred Scriptures. In this way a very small diminution of price acquires a magnitude and importance essentially different from what can be predicated in respect of any other article of sale. The difference of *a single penny* in the price of a Bible determines year after year, whether the Word of God is or is not to enlighten and gladden thousands of families.

‘ The extent to which the prices of Bibles, Catechisms, and Confessions, are to be lowered in price, cannot be ascertained until the works prepared under the new system come more numerous into the market. It is not six months since the printing of Bibles and Testaments commenced under the Lord Advocate’s license ; and, though there are several works in progress, no Bibles have yet been published, and only one or two editions of the New Testament.

‘ The Board understand that a very considerable reduction has taken place in the price of English Bibles sold in Scotland : but they are without documents to enable them to give a statement as to its exact amount ; neither are they aware whether the reduction extends to England ; but they know that Bibles printed in England can be

bought in Scotland, at present, from twenty to thirty per cent. lower than they could have been purchased in England previously to the expiry of the former patent.

‘Already, however, even under the prospective influence of the change of system, a very considerable reduction of the prices of Bibles and Testaments has taken place. By a ‘Catalogue of Bibles, New Testaments, Common Prayer Books, &c.,’ published in April, 1838, by your Majesty’s late printers, as compared with another published by the same parties in July, 1839, there is a reduction in every article, with the exception of certain editions of the Catechism and Confession of Faith ; in none that we have observed, is it less than eight or nine, and in some it is as much as thirty-three per cent. The average reduction in the Catalogue of 1839 may be stated at about fifteen per cent. This reduction must be ascribed partly to the importation of Bibles printed in England, and partly to the natural wish, on the part of the former patentees, to preserve the market against those in Scotland who may enter into the field of competition, and avail themselves of their new privilege. Already, however, several editions are in the press ; intimation has been given of others ; and, when all these come into the market, there cannot be a doubt that Bibles and Testaments will be sold at least a third, and in some instances one half, lower than during the continuance of the monopoly.

‘Such, sir,’ Mr. Campbell goes on to say, ‘is the testimony of her Majesty’s Board—a body composed of the Lord Advocate, the Queen’s Solicitor for Scotland, the moderator of the General Assembly of the Scottish Church, two clergymen of the Establishment, two advocates at the Scottish bar, and Dr. Welsh as secretary—seven gentlemen of station, integrity, and character. Which is the more entitled to credit, the Board of seven, or Mr. Spottiswoode? Shall we believe a body of honourable and wholly disinterested men, or him who has made his thousands upon thousands by the system which he lands and upholds? He asserts that, in point of ‘cheapness,’ no ‘other system’ can equal the ‘present’ one of monopoly ; the Board maintains, that, under the free trade system, ‘there cannot be a doubt that Bibles and Testaments will be sold at least a *third*, and in some instances *one half*, lower than during the continuance of the monopoly.’ So much for ‘the bare-faced’ assertion of Mr Spottiswoode! This is one of the ‘fallacies’ which I am seeking to impress, I have reason to believe with some success, upon the people of England.’

Mr. Spottiswoode, in his letter, states, with matchless composure, that ‘whatever glosses may have been put upon the ‘subject, it has never yet been shown to those who would take ‘the trouble to investigate, that equal efficiency or cheapness ‘could be obtained upon any other system than the present for ‘supplying copies of the holy Scriptures to the public.’ In controversy it is a great comfort to have an opponent who speaks in terms that can be dealt with. Mr. Campbell took ‘the ‘trouble to investigate,’ and the following is the extraordinary result.

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‘ Before me lies the catalogue of Sir D. H. Blair, dated November 10, 1840, and beside it two of those of Mr. Spottiswoode, procured at the house of Longman, and at that of another of his agents, on Nov. 17, 1840. I select from these documents thirteen of the principal editions as nearly as possible of the same size, paper, and type. In two or three cases of slight difference, the superiority in point of excellence, in our view, attaches to the volumes of Blair. The descriptions of the respective books are in the very words of the catalogues above mentioned.

| <i>Mr. Spottiswoode's Prices in sheets.</i> | | | | <i>Sir David Hunter Blair's Prices in Sheets.</i> | | | |
|---|---|----|----|---|---|----|----|
| Quarto Bibles. | | | | Quarto Bibles. | | | |
| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
| ‘ Pica Type, with Dr. Blayney's Marginal References, Apocrypha, Index, &c., fine paper, cold pressed ’ | 2 | 5 | 0 | ‘ Blayney's Marginal References, Pica Letter, superfine royal paper, cold pressed, Apocrypha, &c. | 0 | 18 | 0 |
| Ditto. | | | | Ditto. | | | |
| ‘ Demy Quarto, Pica Type, with Dr. Blayney's Marginal References ’ | 0 | 18 | 0 | ‘ With Marginal References, Small pica Letter, demy paper, cold pressed ’ | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Octavo. | | | | Octavo. | | | |
| ‘ Royal Octavo, Small Pica Type, fine wove paper, cold pressed ’ | 0 | 15 | 0 | ‘ Small Pica Letter, superfine royal paper, cold pressed ’ | 0 | 6 | 6 |
| Ditto. | | | | Ditto. | | | |
| ‘ Royal Octavo, Brevier Type, with Dr. Blayney's Marginal References and Apocrypha, fine wove paper, cold pressed ’ | 0 | 16 | 0 | ‘ With Marginal References, Brevier Letter, superfine royal paper, cold pressed ’ | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| Ditto. | | | | Ditto. | | | |
| ‘ Demy Octavo, Brevier Type ’ | 0 | 6 | 6 | ‘ Brevier Letter, superfine demy paper, cold pressed ’ | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 12mo. | | | | 12mo. | | | |
| ‘ Nonpareil Type, with Dr. Blayney's Marginal References ’ | 0 | 9 | 0 | ‘ With Marginal References, Nonpareil Letter, demy paper, cold pressed ’ | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 12mo | | | | 12mo. | | | |
| Ditto | 0 | 3 | 6 | Ditto | 0 | 1 | 8 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| 24mo. | | | | 24mo. | | | |
| 'Pearl Type' . . . 0 5 6 | | | | 'Pearl Letter, cold pressed' . . . 0 1 8 | | | |
| New Testaments. | | | | New Testaments. | | | |
| Octavo. | | | | Octavo. | | | |
| 'Demy, Pica Type' . 0 3 0 | | | | 'Pica Letter, crown paper' . . . 0 1 8 | | | |
| 12mo. | | | | 12mo. | | | |
| 'Brevier Type' . . . 0 1 3 | | | | 'Brevier Letter' . . . 0 0 7 | | | |
| Ditto 'Common' . . . 0 1 0 | | | | | | | |
| 24mo. | | | | 24mo. | | | |
| 'Minion Type' . . . 0 1 3 | | | | 'Minion Letter' . . . 0 0 6 | | | |
| 'Pearl Type' . . . 0 1 3 | | | | 'Small Pearl Letter, cold pressed' . . . 0 0 4 | | | |
| 48mo. | | | | 32mo. | | | |
| 'Diamond Testament' . 0 1 6 | | | | 'Diamond Letter, cold pressed' . . . 0 0 4 | | | |
| <hr/> | | | | <hr/> | | | |
| Total £6 7 9 | | | | Total £2 13 3 | | | |

'This first column exhibits the prices of Bibles to the people of England—the regular publishing prices. The prices which, for a short period, have been charged to the Bible Society for certain editions, have nothing to do with the general question;—they are the exception; those above set forth are the rule. This fact has, by Mr. Spottiswoode and his abettors, been carefully kept out of view.

'Englishmen! such are the figures and the facts; such is your advantage and your honor! Yours is the delightful privilege of paying nearly one hundred and fifty per cent. more for the Word of God than is paid by the people of Scotland! Behold the blessings of monopoly! You should also remember, that we are not comparing petty and needy tradesmen, or reckless and unprincipled speculators with Mr. Spottiswoode; a course which might be justly excepted against as a matter of doubtful justice. No; the comparison is between the present patentee of England and the late patentee of Scotland—whose Bibles are in most respects equal, and in some points superior, to those of Mr. Spottiswoode—both of them gentlemen of the first respectability. This is a circumstance of the utmost importance. Nor is this all; Sir D. H. Blair pays duty on every page of his books; Mr. Spottiswoode pays not a farthing! This, too, is a circumstance of considerable moment, since it diminishes the profits of the former and augments those of the latter. You will recollect, also, that Sir D. H. Blair is not, like Dr. Thomson's board, selling his Bibles at prime cost, but at a fair living profit. We must, therefore, add the profits of Sir David and his duty on paper to the nearly one hundred and fifty per cent. profit received by Mr. Spottiswoode beyond the prices of Sir D. H. Blair. What then will be the aggregate profits of Mr. Spottiswoode? How much will they fall short of two hundred per cent.?'

The gist of Dr. Thomson's plan is to raise, by subscriptions and collections, a fund sufficient to purchase stereotype plates for the respective editions which he purposes to publish; and then to give the Scriptures at the prime cost of paper and press work. This measure is every way as beneficial as it is reasonable and practicable. The objections we have seen urged against it are wholly unworthy of notice. They apply with equal—if not greater—force to all Bible, Tract, and Missionary operations. The expense of the plates divided by 200,000 or 300,000, the number of copies which a set will throw off, sets forth a most insignificant fraction against each copy—a fraction so small that it is scarcely worth the trouble of collecting for it. Dr. Thomson thus details his prices:—

‘ I am able to speak distinctly as to the prices of the different kinds of Bibles proposed to be published, and that on the authority of estimates actually received from highly respectable printers on both sides of the Tweed. They are as follow; and, on the terms just to be stated, I may notice that some of the Bibles are actually printing, and will soon be completed.

‘ 1. A Pocket Bible, stereotyping and printing in Scotland, from a very beautiful type, price, in sheets, 11d.

‘ 2. Another Pocket Bible, of a different size and thinner, of very superior typography, stereotyping in England, but, of course, to be printed in Scotland, price, in sheets, 1s.

‘ 3. A Small Pearl-Diamond Testament, price, in sheets, 3d.

‘ 4. A School Bible, the same as that issued by the Edinburgh Bible Society, without the Scotch Psalms and Paraphrases, in sheets, 1s., or 1s. 6d., bound in sheep; with Psalms and Paraphrases, 1s. 2d. in sheets, or 1s. 8d. bound in sheep. The usual selling price of this Bible, in retail shops, has been 3s. Separate portions of it, for the use of schools, could be purchased at the following rates, viz.:—The Prose Version of the Psalms under 1d. per copy; the Proverbs, three copies for 1d.; the Four Gospels, 1½d. per copy; the Acts and Epistles, 1½d. per copy; and the New Testament entire, including Metrical Psalms, Paraphrases, &c., 4½ per copy.

‘ 5. An Octavo Bible, with Psalms and Paraphrases, printed from a large and bold type, and with fine paper, for the use of the aged, price 4s. 5d. in sheets.

‘ 6. A Royal Quarto Bible, for the use of families, containing the whole of Brown's Marginal References, making it what he called ‘The Self-Interpreting Bible;’ together with about 5,300 Critical and Explanatory Notes, and Introductory Remarks to each Sacred Book, by his grandsons, the Editors. This very superior Family Bible, the selling price of which, in shops, would not be less, when bound, than from 30s. to 35s. will cost only 8s. in sheets, and 13s. bound in calf.’

Messrs. Renshaw and Kirkman succeed Dr. Thomson, and ex-

hibit estimates which show that his scale may be reached without subscription. Printers of eminence, indeed, will be found ready at once to merge the plates on orders of hundreds of thousands, or on smaller numbers. Messrs. Renshaw and Kirkman have issued the following proposals for publishing Bibles and Testaments printed from the authorized translation, with Brown's valuable marginal references, at prices greatly below those now charged by the Bible Society.

| | Proposed prices. | Bible Society's prices. | Queen's Printers' prices to the public. |
|---|------------------|-------------------------|---|
| Nonpareil 12mo. Bible in sheep - - | 1s. 6d. | 2s. 6d. | 4s. 6d. |
| Ditto in Roan Embossed lettered (a handsome style of binding) - - - | 1s. 9d. | | |
| Ruby 24mo. Bible in Sheep! - - - | 1s. 6d. | 2s. 8d. | 5s. |
| Ditto in Roan Embossed lettered - - | 1s. 9d. | | 5s. 6d. |
| Minion 24mo. Bible in Sheep - - - | 1s. 10d. | 3s. 4d. | 6s. |
| Ditto in Roan - - - - - | 2s. 3d. | | 7s. |
| Brevier 12mo. Testament in Sheep - - | 8½d. | 1s. 1d. | 1s. 9d. |
| Long Primer 12mo. Testament in Sheep - | 1s. 3d. | 1s. 10d. | |
| Minion 24mo. Testament in Sheep - - | 6d. | 1s. | 1s. 9d. |
| Ruby 24mo. Testament in Sheep - - - | 5¾d. | 1s. | 1s. 9d. |

The people of Oxford, finding that something must be done, have issued the following advertisement.

‘CHEAP BIBLES AND TESTAMENTS.

‘The following Bibles and Testaments, printed on a less expensive paper, are now in preparation at the Oxford University Press, and will speedily be published, wholesale, on the following terms:—

| | | | | |
|-----|--|------|--------|-----------|
| No. | Bibles (in quires) cash price : | | | |
| 1. | Demy 4to, ‘English’ type, large letter, for the use of aged persons..... | 100 | at 7 3 | per copy. |
| 2. | Small Pica, 8vo..... | 300 | — 3 7½ | — |
| 3. | Brevier, 8vo. | 300 | — 2 8½ | — |
| 4. | Minion, Crown 8vo..... | 500 | — 2 3 | — |
| 5. | Nonpareil, Crown 12mo. School Edition | 1000 | — 1 1 | — |
| 6. | Minion, 24mo.....ditto..... | 1000 | — 1 7 | — |
| 7. | Ruby, 24mo.....ditto..... | 1000 | — 1 0 | — |
| 8. | Pearl, 24mo.....ditto..... | 1000 | — 1 0 | — |
| No. | Testaments (in quires) cash price : | | | |
| 1. | Brevier, 12mo..... | 1000 | — 0 7¼ | — |
| 2. | Brevier, Crown 12mo, School Edition.. | 1000 | — 0 5½ | — |
| 3. | Minion, 24mo ditto..... | 1000 | — 0 4 | — |
| 4. | Ruby, 24mo. ditto..... | 1000 | — 0 3 | — |
| 5. | Pearl, 24mo. ditto..... | 1000 | — 0 3 | — |
| 6. | Nonpareil, 12mo. ditto..... | 1000 | — 0 3½ | — |
| 7. | Nonpareil, 32mo. ditto..... | 1000 | — 0 3¾ | — |

The Bible Monopoly.

| | | s. | d. | |
|-------------------------------|------|----|----|-------------|
| St. Matthew's Gospel..... | 1000 | — | 0 | 1 per copy. |
| St. Mark's ditto..... | 1000 | — | 0 | 1 — |
| St. Luke's ditto..... | 1000 | — | 0 | 1 — |
| St. John's ditto..... | 1000 | — | 0 | 1 — |
| The Acts of the Apostles..... | 1000 | — | 0 | 1 — |

This table is, in certain material points, both defective and deceitful. Our space at present forbids analysis and discussion, else we could easily show that, the monopoly apart, it is a very unsatisfactory document. But this matter will no doubt be sifted by those who are watching the movements of the monopolists; to them, therefore,—and especially to the editors and correspondents of the *Patriot*, who have labored in the cause with a zeal so ardent and persevering, and a success so signal—we leave it. After this table we shall hear no more of 'exaggeration,' 'absurdity,' 'impossibility,' and so forth. The Oxford University, which does more Bible business than Cambridge and Mr. Spottiswoode united, has turned queen's evidence against the other monopolists. The case against them is now fairly made out; and it only remains for the people of England to pronounce judgment, and to see that the sentence be fully executed. With us price and quality are very great matters, but we are far from setting lightly by the principle. The detestable monopoly still remains! We earnestly desire to celebrate its funereal obsequies! We long to see it laid in the grave of its forgotten sister, the mother of the almanack imposture! O for another Carnan to assert the liberty of the press in respect of Bible circulation—the great object, doubtless, for which heaven bestowed the art of printing on mankind!

To Dr. Thomson, the honored originator of the present movement, we beg to tender our cordial thanks for the signal services which he has rendered to England and to the world by his efforts in this great work. He has aroused not a few minds of powerful grasp and various knowledge, who have in divers ways effectively co-operated in furtherance of the same object. It is needless, we trust, to recommend to our readers the careful perusal of his instructive letter to Lord Bexley, as also of the letters of the author of 'Jethro,' which exhibit the subject in all its varieties of aspect.

The contemplation of the foregoing tables and commentaries will surely awaken the attention of our readers to the true nature of the system which has hitherto prevailed in this kingdom. The Bible monopoly is one of the most scandalous abuses of our age and country. Truly may we say with Mr. Martin, in the great parliamentary debate upon patents in the days of Elizabeth, 'the monopolitans are the bloodsuckers of the commonwealth!' The profits of this single monopoly to a few

individuals, for a long series of years, have been at least twice, if not nearly thrice, the amount of the parliamentary grant bestowed even so late as 1840, for the education of all the youth of this mighty nation! Wisely appropriated, the profits of this monopoly during the last fifty years, might have sufficed for the creation and sustenance of a thorough system of education for every boy and every girl in England. Is the dreary reign of remorseless rapacity to endure for ever? Is the discreditable patience of England not yet nearly exhausted? Will she not at length open her eyes to the fatal and all-pervading operations of this most unjust, and most iniquitous restriction? If it be only, like the patent for almanacks, a shadow, is it not time to look through the mist, and to dissipate the deadly delusion? If it be a legal reality, is it not the first duty of the whole population resolutely to assail it by all constitutional means? The opposition of this enormous evil is not a matter of taste or choice, but of high and solemn obligation. No friend of his country can safely keep back from the struggle; no Christian can, with a good conscience, stand aloof from it! With its abolition are bound up the dearest interests of the churches of Christ at home, and the salvation of all nations.

THE CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

In the 'Christian Observer' for December last, the Editor has been pleased again to honor the Eclectic Review with his notice, and the mode of his doing so has afforded another illustration of the disingenuous spirit of which we have previously had occasion to complain. The reference occurs in a long note appended to a communication from the Rev. Dr. Pye Smith, whose admirable spirit honorably contrasts with that of his commentator. To the general strictures passed upon our Journal we have no intention at present to refer; it is enough to remark that, without claiming infallibility for ourselves, we plead 'Not Guilty' to the charges preferred by our contemporary. Our object in referring to the 'Observer' respects more particularly the following sentence:

'So much in strict argument; but we have no intention of availing ourselves of this latitude, for even in the speeches, writings, and doings, of the particular class to which our correspondent himself belongs, we could point out much, alas! that is neither 'peaceable' nor 'equitable;' for, as the Eclectic Review oracularly said, in an oft-quoted passage, 'Pure attachment to dissenting principles requires to be kept up in minds of a certain class [say nineteen twentieths of the lay-members, and many of the ministers] by a keen hatred, and now and then a little round abuse, of the Church.'

—*Christian Observer*, p. 728.

The Christian Observer.

Our first impression on reading the passage was that of surprise, our second that of incredulity. We taxed our memory to the utmost, but could recall no such sentence as is here quoted, and our most diligent examination of the past numbers of our Journal was equally unproductive. We therefore addressed a note to the Editor of the 'Christian Observer,' requesting to be informed where the passage quoted from the Eclectic might be found, and expressing our conviction that if adduced with verbal correctness, the context would be found greatly to modify the sentiment expressed. The result has fully justified our conviction, as appears by the following editorial note inserted in the 'Observer' for January.

'We have received the following from the Editor of the Eclectic Review :

'Sir,

20th December, 1840.

'In the Christian Observer for this month, page 728, an extract from 'The Eclectic,' entitled by you 'An oft-quoted passage,' is made, which I have been unable to trace out. Will you therefore oblige me by informing me where the passage may be found. I have no recollection of it whatever, and am persuaded that if quoted correctly, its meaning must be greatly modified by the context. Apologizing for the trouble thus given you,

'I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

'34, Paternoster Row.

'THE EDITOR OF THE ECLECTIC.'

'We of course comply with this just and reasonable request. The passage referred to will be found in the volume for 1832, p. 144. We did not give it as new, but as an 'oft-quoted passage.' It occurs in a long and elaborate paper, written in so much more kind and candid a spirit than that which too many Dissenters (and some of the writers in the Eclectic among them) have evinced in later years towards the Church of England, that we gladly recur to it. The immediate context contains a statement to the effect that some Dissenters, by their intercourse with pious Churchmen in the Bible Society, had found (as *we* should express it) their prejudices diminish ; so that in this way the Anglican Church has been benefited by the alliance. But the writer intimates that this abatement of virulence was not pleasing to all Dissenters ; for that some considered that 'pure attachment to dissenting principles requires to be kept up in the minds of a certain class by a keen hatred, and now and then a little round abuse, of the Church.' The writer clearly intimates his own opinion that such barbarous warfare was not lawful ; he would doubtless have wished that all men should become Dissenters by sound scriptural reason, without invective ; but his admission that he differed from some of his brethren in this matter was for this very reason the more oracular.'

—*Ib.* for January, p. 62.

Upon this passage we remark, that the responsibility of the sentence in question does not rest with the present editor of the 'Eclectic,' it having appeared nearly five years before the commencement of the new series. He believes the statement to be founded in error, and to be calumnious towards those whose spirit it was intended to describe. But further, and to this point we invite special attention, it now appears that the paper from which this sentence is quoted is 'written in so much more kind and candid a spirit' than is common to Dissenters that the Editor of the 'Christian Observer' 'gladly recurs to it.' This is sufficiently satisfactory so far as the candor of our Journal is concerned, but whether it was equally honorable to the candor of our

contemporary to detach such a sentence from its connexion in order to involve 'nineteen twentieths of the lay members, and many of the ministers' of the dissenting body in a charge of most unchristian and disreputable conduct, we leave it with the 'Observer' to determine. We have already expressed our belief that the statement is inaccurate, and though it may consist with the morality of party tactics to avail itself, as the 'Observer' has here done, of the divisions existing amongst opponents, we deem such a proceeding to be utterly incompatible with the higher code of morals by which our religious periodicals should be regulated.

Here we might close our remarks, had not our contemporary, feeling apparently that he had done the 'Eclectic' injustice in this matter, sought to strengthen his case by a reference to a recent article in our Journal on the Book of Common Prayer. We were aware, at the time we gave insertion to that Article, that it would offend the pre-possessions of many members of the Established Church; but justice to our own convictions of what was due to the religious interests of our countrymen did not permit us to hesitate as to the course we should pursue. As, however, our representation of the character of the Prayer Book has subjected us to misapprehension, we must crave permission to add a word or two in explanation. In affirming the Prayer Book to be 'the most dangerous and injurious book which the English language contains,' we had no reference to the Morning and Evening Service of the Church, nor did we design to affirm, in the sense intended by the 'Observer,' that it was 'worse therefore than the works of Tom Paine and the tracts of the Socialists.' These publications have been the source of *unmixed* evil—not so the Prayer Book. We freely admit, and rejoice to do so—yea in the very Article itself we have done it—'that thousands of devout men and women do every week, with a pure heart and humble voice, accompany the minister to the throne of the heavenly grace, using the prescribed language of prayer and praise.' But whilst the piety of many episcopalians has been nourished by some of the devotional forms of their church, we have a strong conviction that the unscriptural errors which, with fatal consistency run through the occasional offices prescribed in the Prayer Book, have proved, and are still proving to the great mass of our population, the source of spiritual delusion and eternal death. The same authority which teaches the child that in baptism he 'was made a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven,' proclaims to all bystanders at his grave—however irreligious or even profligate may have been his life—that it 'hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of' the deceased, and that his body is therefore committed to the dust 'in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life through our Lord Jesus Christ.' The sanction of the church—which, be it remembered, is in the judgment of thousands the sanction of religion—is thus daily given, in terms too explicit to be misunderstood, to an open and palpable lie,—a lie which sets at defiance the plainest statements of the Word of God, and tends beyond all other delusions to pervert the faith and ruin the souls of its members. Many pious episcopalians, and not few of the clergy, have groaned

Letter to the Editor.

under the conviction of the truth we allege ; and is it then too much to apply the terms which we have employed—strong as we admit those terms to be—to the book in which such soul-deluding errors are clothed with all the weight of spiritual authority ? The infidel publications, referred to by the ‘ Observer,’ have operated only within a narrow circle and through a very limited period of time, whilst the delusion thus sanctioned by the Prayer Book has descended through successive generations, and moulded to practical ungodliness the great mass of our countrymen. The influence of the former has been very circumscribed, that of the latter almost universal ; the one has been productive, on a small scale, of unmixed evil, the other of an aggravated and far wider form of irreligion, the more fatal from its having been mistaken for the truth of God. ‘ If the light that is in thee be darkness,’ said our Saviour, ‘ how great is that darkness.’

We trust that we have said enough to place our meaning beyond misconception, as well as to relieve ourselves from the charge of sectarian bitterness, which has been so liberally preferred against us. To the pious members of the Established Church—and more particularly to such episcopalians as are advocates of the voluntary principle—we say with all sincerity that it is no part of our mission, and is utterly foreign from our hearts to wound unnecessarily their feelings. If we have written strongly, it has been because we believe—whether correctly or not—that the case involved the welfare of souls and the honor of our common faith. Let them therefore candidly place themselves in our position, and then say whether, with the convictions we have avowed, we could honestly have done other than we have done. We might easily adduce from the writings of pious churchmen statements substantially similar to our own ; but must content ourselves with referring to those which were quoted in the article to which the ‘ Observer’ objects.

A Letter to the Editor.

Homerton, Jan. 11, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is with strong reluctance that I take upon myself thus to address you : but I trust that you and all candid persons will not disapprove of my so doing. I act solely upon my own responsibility, without any instruction or request from any person whatever.

The very able and interesting article in your last number, upon *The London University and the Colleges connected with it*, is introduced by an enumeration of nine printed documents, as the basis of the discussion. Among those are the *Reports* of three Dissenting Colleges, *Highbury, Stepney, and Spring Hill* ; but that of the oldest of existing institutions of this kind among Protestant Dissenters, *Homerton*, is not mentioned.

I have no doubt but that this omission has been the result of inad-

vertence ; or it may be that the Homerton Report, printed in September, may not have fallen into your hands. Moreover I fear that the authorities of our academy have been too backward in giving publicity to their own proceedings. For many years, they have systematically refrained from inserting narratives of the Annual Examinations in periodical works ; for the reason that a meagre recital would be unsatisfactory, and that full details might wear a semblance of ostentation. This reserve has perhaps been carried too far, and thus may have produced an impression upon the public, that we are supine and sullen or that we are indifferent to the opinion of our Christian friends, or that we need not their aid in the way of pecuniary subscriptions. Any one of these surmises would be far from the truth.

By the infinite mercy of the Most High, the person who now addresses you has been brought into the forty-first year of sustaining office as a Tutor in this seminary. The last year, God has blessed me with a colleague, the Rev. Henry Lea Berry, M.A., whose Christian excellence, his attainments, and his devotedness to his great work, fill me with gratitude and encouragement. A man of decided piety and firm dissenting principles, Robert Wallace, Esq. one of the Professors in the College of Engineers at Putney, attends at stated seasons to instruct our students in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. By the Divine blessing upon the care and liberality of our Committee, we are thus richly provided with the means of improvement.

Our term of study is six years ; which however may be reduced to five, or even a shorter period, by the result of previous advantages and superior diligence : but our new circumstances of connexion with the London University will probably render such reductions of the time much less frequent than they have hitherto been. Three of our young brethren have lately concluded their courses with honor, and have been called to the pastoral office in important stations and with encouraging prospects. The present number of students is sixteen.

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours most respectfully,

J. PYE SMITH.

Brief Notices.

Historic Illustrations of the Bible, principally after the Old Masters.
Divisions I. and II. London : Fisher.

One of the best and most beautiful of the numerous works of art which have been produced by the Messrs. Fisher. Each division contains twelve highly finished engravings from paintings executed by the most distinguished masters of ancient and modern times, and the whole when completed will form an elegant and not un instructive companion to the sacred volume. ‘ In these illustrations corporeal expression of spiritual beings is carefully avoided, as well as everything that appeared to approach the great Author of our being with familiarity. In

order to accomplish this desirable object the whole range of the scriptural works of the ancient masters has now been carefully examined, and a selection made for this uniform continuous biblical series, comprehending illustrations of nearly every book in the holy Bible free from any questionable representation, and elucidating the historical events of the Old Testament, the moral and miraculous of the New, and calculated to become a pure and powerful auxiliary in communicating an enduring knowledge and recollection of the Scriptures.'

The work may be had in monthly parts, containing three engravings each, price two shillings, or in divisions consisting of twelve plates, bound in cloth, price nine shillings.

Life of the late George Vason, of Nottingham, one of the Troop of Missionaries first sent to the South Sea Islands by the London Missionary Society in the Ship Duff. Captain Wilson, 1796. With a Preliminary Essay on the South Sea Islands. By the Rev. James Orange, Author of the 'History of the Town and People of Nottingham.' London: Snow. 1840.

It is almost impossible to read this affecting narrative without receiving the most important instructions and solemn warning. The character of George Vason is exhibited as a beacon, on which may be seen, as in letters of flame, '*Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.*'

The Captivity of the Jews, and their Return from Babylon. London: Religious Tract Society. 1840.

It is an admirable digest of the events recorded in the inspired volume, illustrated by facts which ancient history supplies. It contains much valuable information which can be found only in works inaccessible to the mass of religious readers. It is so cheap that the poor may obtain it, and so well compiled that the rich will not despise it.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Priscilla the Helper. A Memoir of Mrs. Rowlett, late of Coventry. By John Grigg Hewlett, Minister of Wall Street Chapel, Coventry.

Just Published.

Oliver Cromwell; an Historical Romance. Edited by the author of Brambletye House. 3 vols.

Ward's Library of Standard Divinity. Memoir of Dr. E. Payson. By Rev. Asa Cummings.

The Works of Josephus. Part 8.

Canadian Scenery Illustrated. Part 9.

Nuces Philosophica, or the Philosophy of things as developed from the Study of the Philosophy of Words.

A Treatise on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. By Daniel Bagot, B.D.

Visitation Sermon preached at Towcester, before Bishop of Peterborough. By Rev. A. J. Ram.

An Historical Sketch of the Protestant Church of France, from its Origin to the Present Time ; with Parallel Notices of the Church of Scotland during the same period. By Rev. J. G. Lorimer.

Elements of Electro-Metallurgy. By Alfred Smee.

Fables and Proverbs for Children. Edited by G. M. Bussey.

Christ the Theme of the Missionary. By Rev. Octavius Winslow.

Records of Wesleyan Life. By a Layman.

History of British Birds. By W. Yarrell. Parts 20 and 21.

History of British Starfishes and other Echinodermata. By E. Forbes. Parts 2 and 3.

A General Outline of the Animal Kingdom. By T. R. Jones. Parts 12 and 13.

History of the French Revolution. By D. W. Jobson. Part 1.

A Lecture on Mental Improvement. By W. F. Barlow, M.R.C.S.

New Zealand and the New Zealanders. By Ernest Dieffenbach, M.D.

Poor Jack. By Captain Marryatt, C.B.

Pictorial History of England. Vol. IV., 1688 to 1760.

Illustrated Commentary on the Bible. Isaiah to Malachi.

Fisher's Historic Illustrations of the Bible. Division II.

The Orphan ; or the True Principles of Religious Education Illustrated.

The Rhine, Italy, and Greece, Illustrated. Part I.

The Turkish Empire Illustrated. Part I.

Scott's Commentary on the Bible, Illustrated. Part I.

The Pictorial Shakspeare. Part 28.

The Pictorial History of Palestine. Part 17.

Letter of Expostulation, addressed to Rev. Thomas Spencer, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Hinton Charterhouse. By Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Bart.

The System of Late Hours of Business, and its Moral, Intellectual, and Physical Evils Considered. By the author of 'Mental Culture.' Second Thousand.

German Literature, By Wolfgang Menzel. Translated by T. Gordon. 4 vols.

Lane's Arabian Nights. No. 32.

The Scientific and Literary Treasury. By Samuel Maunder.

Important Truths, in Simple Verse ; being a Collection of Original Poems on Religious and Miscellaneous Subjects for the use of Young Persons.

The Accidence and Principles of English Grammar. By B. H. Smart.

Poems by Lady Flora Hastings. Edited by her Sister.

Wesleyan Methodism, Considered in Relation to the Church. By the Rev. R. Hodgson, M.A.

Tha Domestic Management of the Sick Room. By Anthony Todd Thomson, M.D., F.L.S., &c.

The British Government and the Idolatry of Ceylon. By R. Spence Hardy, Wesleyan Missionary.

On a Proposal to Withhold Out-Door Relief from Widows with Families, contained in the last Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales.

Outlines of Turkish Grammar. By John Reid.

The Irish Scholar, or Popery and Protestant Christianity. By T. Aveling.

The South Sea Islanders, a Christian Tale.

Moraig, or the Seeker for God ; a Poem by John Dunlop, Esq.

The Art of Needlework. By the Countess of Wilton.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR MARCH, 1841.

Art. I. *The History of England under the House of Stuart, including the Commonwealth.* Published under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. pp. xvi., 934. London: Baldwin and Cradock. 1840.

IT is a curious fact, yet one which can scarcely be controverted, that the vast majority of British sovereigns, from the Saxon Heptarchy down to the accession of the House of Hanover, must be arranged under the two denominations, acknowledging for their prototype either King Log or King Stork! Those princes, however, who gloried in the name of Stuart, and whose lot it was to succeed the Tudors, contrived to combine in their own persons the contrary characteristics of both these mythological exemplars. With regard to all and everything constituting the duties of government, the most rotten stump of a tree that ever putrified in or on the ground exactly represented them: whilst as to the purple and fine linen of sovereignty, the delicacies and sumptuous delights attendant upon a sceptre, the marrow and fatness to be drawn out of the bones of an oppressed people,—as to all these matters, they were perfectly omnivorous. Nevertheless their history comprises just that portion of our annals which, as the able author of the work now before us observes, ‘was marked by the appearance of great men, by great events, and above all by a protracted struggle in the cause of great principles. The condition of England from 1603 to 1688, exhibits that point in our progress as a nation, towards which all the previous changes in English history converged, and from which the leading events of subsequent

'times have derived thier complexion. If well understood, it leaves little to be explained in relation either to the past or the present.' We at once avow our conviction, that the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge has placed in the hands of the reading public a work replete with that kind of information than which nothing can well be more acceptable. Dr. Vaughan, whose pen with great judgment has been selected for the occasion, seems to have executed his task under every suitable impression of responsibility connected with a candid and Christian historian. His piety and laborious research are never obtruded; but they are felt perceptibly from beginning to end. The style adopted is flowing, simple, perspicuous, and therefore always agreeable. In grouping together any number of events, their connexion is never lost in their variety, nor their variety in their connexion. Order and composure of mind pervade the entire narrative, without any tendency towards either mediocrity or dulness. It should be stated also, in justice to our author, that 'the History of England under the House of Stuart' is in no way the same book with the 'Stuart Dynasty.' There is hardly a passage or sentence in the one which is to be found in the other. The best plan, perhaps, to give our readers an idea of what Dr. Vaughan has so successfully performed, will be just to glance at the pictures he has drawn, and the long narrative of more than fourscore years which he has detailed under the six heads of the Manners of the Age,—the Grievances endured and attempted to be redressed,—the Parties into which these nations were divided,—the Civil Contest, including the Commonwealth and Protectorate,—the Restoration,—and the Revolution.

1. As to the manners of the seventeenth century, it should never be forgotten that they were coarse, and yet original. The aristocracy had been subjugated to the crown, without being as yet either sufficiently enervated, or indeed sufficiently numerous, to form a class ubiquitous in its mischievous influences for moulding the middle ranks of society. Neither was there that general intercourse with the continent which might lead large masses of men to do certain things after a certain fashion in England, because they were done in France, Italy, or Germany. The spirit of the age might be somewhat homely, but it was manly and thoughtful, disposed to take liberties with whomsoever and whensoever it pleased, fond of acting out its own ideas, as well as thoroughly attached to strong ale, hot cakes, and sundry other accompaniments. The gentry under James the First, our author justly conceives to have been a healthy portion of the body politic. The court on emerging from the primness and stateliness of an aged maiden queen, rushed precipitately into innumerable excesses, which

soon became more and more aggravated, as the Scotch monarch and his Danish consort gave the reins to indecorum and licentiousness. Even then, 'there was an under current, deep and powerful, with which these light and filthy properties had little connexion.' In other words, whilst the partisans for liberty remained comparatively pure and untainted, at least for a considerable period, royalty, nobility, and courtiers attempted to identify profligacy with loyalism. London quickly saw reason to wish for Elizabeth back again. St. Giles *in the fields* still literally answered to its name, being a village, for which, in the third year of the first Stuart, an act of parliament was passed, that together with Drury Lane, it should be rendered decent, and be properly paved! 'About the same time, the distance of a mile, which had separated Westminster from the city, began to be covered with respectable houses, instead of the thatched and mudwalled dwellings which had hitherto been strewn over the space since so well known by the name of the Strand.' Along these and other lines of access, riot and disorder too often prevailed: but they were nothing as a parallel to scenes prevalent at Royston, Theobalds, or other royal palaces. Hunting, gambling, and cock-fighting wasted away the day; until night threw her appropriate veil of darkness over debauchery and dramatic entertainments. The whole head was sick, and the whole heart was faint. The genius of Ben Jonson lent its utmost aid to render indecency tolerable, if not attractive. Enormous sums were squandered in masks and other theatrical follies. Thousands of pounds would be often expended upon some single revel given on the marriage of a favorite, or merely to indulge the freaks of their majesties. In these courtly spectacles 'gods and goddesses rose from the deep or descended from the skies; and passed and repassed amid the scenic representation of earth or heaven in pageant grandeur; and in these appearances they sang appropriate songs, or gave utterance to mythological and allegorical compliments. The parts of most show, but requiring the least skill to perform, were sustained by ladies and gentlemen, who not unfrequently became visible, drawn by dolphins, or mermaids, or commanding the services of winged dragons.' Puritanism must naturally have looked on with anguish. There was a growing taste for divine doctrines and holy practice amongst large numbers of religionists which the voice of the nation, the force of circumstances, and the noble testimony they bore to the grand principles of truth and liberty, were about to bring forward into first-rate importance. Looking up to their governors, or those calling themselves the higher classes, impiety and impurity, persecution, despotism, and extravagance, encountered them. Sir John Harrington, Osborne,

and Dean White, are unanimous in their descriptions. The king too frequently abandoned himself to the most brutal excesses. His natural temperament was cold, and towards the female sex the very reverse of his notorious grandson Charles the Second : but this very fact rendered his abominable profligacy the more infamous, as being wallowed in amidst less temptation. The queen was a worthless woman, devoted to frivolity and intemperance. The Church of England, bound in golden fetters to the throne, performed the part of a *national conscience*, by flattering those in power, and denouncing, with bitterest invective, those precisionists who, although members of the Establishment, ceased in spirit to be such, and blew the trumpet of alarm against prevalent ungodliness in high places. Sermons delivered at court came to be fraught with such elements of thunder and lightning as might be manufactured out of the sulphur and brimstone of the bottomless pit : but these bolts were hurled at the heads only of those making any, even the smallest profession of external sanctity, 'whom they seated 'far nearer the confines of hell than papists.' Both patriotism and piety, therefore, witnessed the civil government given up to the unhallowed labor of endeavoring to pollute, oppress, and trample upon three kingdoms demanding, and having a right to demand at its hands, protection and improvement. We dwell a moment on this painful subject, as forming the first count in that fearful bill of indictment which men like Eliot, Pym, Hampden, and Vane, had subsequently to present against the monarchy itself, as disgraced in the persons of the Stuarts.

Doctor White, already quoted, who was no Puritan, acknowledges from a metropolitan pulpit, that drunkenness had become so general, as that the Germans might be said to be losing their charter with regard to this beastly species of indulgence. Ladies of elevated rank, and possessing influence at court, were by no means free from it. Their dress, moreover, and behaviour at revels assimilated far nearer to courtesanship than matronly or virgin propriety. The royal sports of hawking and hunting absorbed both sexes in such conduct, that an eyewitness declares, he thought the beasts pursuing the sober recreation rather than their masters or pursuers. It was the reign of Nimrod more than that of Solomon, to whom the pedantic successor of Elizabeth loved to be compared. Bold riders, daring duellists, money-lenders, gamesters, conjurors, and fortune-tellers, remained lords of the ascendant. A young Scotchman, named Hay, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, wormed himself into the good graces of James, entirely through his exploits of conviviality and profuseness. He alone expended not less than £400,000, an immense sum for those days, in furnishing magnificent entertainments, the whole of which he had drawn at

different times from the careless bounty of his sovereign. On making his entry into Paris in a diplomatic character, his horse was shod with silver, but so loosely, that at each curvet the animal 'cast off his glittering shoes in the view of the spectators, a silversmith being at hand to take others out of a tawny velvet bag and tack them on, to last only until he should come to another occasion for prancing!' Both Bacon and Coke lamented the permitted and even fostered existence of these wicked enormities. The middle aisle of St. Paul's was the daily promenade in London for the principal gentry, lords, courtiers, and men of all professions, between eleven and twelve at noon, and after dinner from three to six. Here all news and scandal, both private and public, centralized, and from thence circulated. The sacredness not merely of the house, but of the day of God, was studiously violated. Had Sir Andrew Agnew been then alive, he would have been degraded from knighthood, and probably have lost his ears; that is, had his prudence been no greater in the seventeenth than we have seen it in the nineteenth century. Dean White, together with his reverend brethren, had to uphold sabbatarian revelries upon principle; developing with their best eloquence the lawfulness and orthodoxy of wasting every Sunday afternoon in 'bowls, dice, cards, tables, nineholes, or any other games to be thereafter invented.' The crown had licensed a sufficient number of taverns and ordinaries for such purposes; enough to demoralize an entire people to the contentment of Satan himself and all his angels. It must be remembered, that, humanly speaking, such would have been the result had not providence in its mercy afforded knowledge, wisdom, and courage, to that party which princes and prelates were then doing their utmost to browbeat and keep down. One extract more from the above-mentioned dean, and we will quit the topic: 'No sin,' he exclaims, 'is so great, but it is among us; and the greatest sins many times least punished, or not at all. And this course is so general that he begins to be counted very precise that will not swear and swagger with the worst. The torrent of these things is so strong, that it seems manifestly to tend to the dissolution of society. Three things maintain society,—religion, justice, and order. Religion is pitifully violated by atheism, blasphemy, heresy, and horrible profaneness. Justice is destroyed by oppression, rapine, bribery, extortion, and partiality. Government and order are profaned by contention, by contemning the magistrate: I have often seen the magistrate faced and browbeaten as he hath gone by.' As regarded excess in apparel, he affirms that 'the walls of Babylon might be kept in repair for as little cost as our women are; when a lady's head-dress is sometimes as rich as her husband's rent-day.' Delinquency

on such a scale tended not a little to produce that fermentation out of which an age of trouble was to arise, succeeded however by better days, and a more encouraging prospect of affairs.

2. But whilst profligacy and licentious doctrines only alarmed and disgusted the more sober portion of the community, there were palpable GRIEVANCES which came home nearly to the bosoms of all. These present a curious combination of the evils of absolutism blended with some of the worst relics of that old feudal aristocracy which the Tudors had prostrated and spoiled. The king had in fact become a sort of mammoth noble: his crown was oppressive, as though it had acquired the ponderosity of all those banded coronets almost irresistible and intolerable under the Plantagenets; his wide dominions constituted in royal estimation a congeries of baronies; and there occurred times and seasons when to superficial observers our national liberties, not as yet evoked into vitality and vigor, *might* seem only to whisper out of the ground, like a familiar spirit. There was the Star-Chamber, consisting of the privy council and judges, removable at pleasure, with an unlimited discretionary authority to fine, imprison, or inflict corporal punishment; and whose jurisdiction extended to all sorts of offences not within reach of the common law. It had ever been more or less a powerful, oppressive, and irresponsible tribunal: but Cardinal Wolsey had aggravated its encroachments, so that to utter unpleasant reports respecting government, or discuss the character and conduct of some eminent official or favorite often proved enough to warrant the charge of sedition, and expose the offender to whipping, mutilation, disgrace, banishment, or the loss of property. Personal liberty in those days was violated with about as much carelessness as decapitation used to be inflicted in Turkey; so that patriots, after a little free speaking in parliament, might well feel of their limbs and look about them, to be sure they were not in custody, just as Prince Rustan, who when quitting the presence of his oriental master, always touched his pericranium, to ascertain that it stood safe upon his shoulders! What the Star-Chamber was to civil offences, the court of High Commission was to ecclesiastical ones. It was an awful inquisition against heresy, meaning by that term all contempts against the acts of supremacy and uniformity. Forty-four assessors, including twelve prelates, dispensed persecution and unjust judgments from this tremendous bench. Any three could act together, so that one of them wore a mitre. An appeal lay to it from all the provincial episcopal courts throughout the realm. Its eyes and ears were therefore everywhere; together with a forked tongue, a hand of violence, and an appetite insatiable as the grave. Woe to the culprit upon whom its iron fangs brought fear and torment; and that too all for the health

of his soul ; for religion professed to hold the balances of his cause, with jealousy seated at her elbow. The accused was obliged to answer all questions that might be put to him, however prejudicial to his defence ; for on his refusal to do so, the jailer was waiting at the door with the key of perpetual incarceration. Nor was it sufficient to reply in the way of simple affirmation. The famous, or rather infamous *ex officio* oath bound his soul by an adjuration to disclose its innermost secrets : nor should it ever be forgotten that this oath, so indignantly reprobated by the patriots, was clung to by the clergy as their palladium, during the period through which the high commission court was permitted to exist. The admission on the part of Hooker and Aylmer and many others that the British constitution was a limited monarchy, subject to certain well defined laws and restrictions, has always seemed to us an addition to the misery which our forefathers must then have suffered. The court of the Stuarts could never plead ignorance that it was trampling upon the rights of person, property, and conscience. It rushed into its political transgressions with an understanding full of light upon the subject, until that light within it became darkness : when how tremendous and criminal was that darkness ! The civil administration of the laws generally involved the suppression of virtue rather than of vice. Effective police there was none. There exists a curious paper on this subject, which our author no doubt well knows, although it has escaped us if he has quoted it, drawn up by a magistrate under the date of 1596, and published in Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 290. This gives a return of criminal statistics towards the conclusion of Queen Elizabeth's reign which is perfectly frightful ; and matters had not mended under either James or Charles. A droll member of parliament in 1601, described a justice of the peace as being a peculiar sort of animal, ' who for ' half a dozen chickens would at any time dispense with a dozen ' penal statutes.' The proclamation of martial law appeared often to be a main resource. In fact the prerogative was frequently pitching itself against parliamentary freedom, claiming absolute authority for its own rescripts ; issuing state or privy-council warrants for its own purposes ; overawing judges, advocates, and juries ; dispensing, whenever it pleased, with the acts of the legislature ; prohibiting marriages, forbidding persons to leave the kingdom for foreign travel, forcing upon them arbitrary employments, or inflicting imprisonment *ad libitum* ; and exercising both the power of impressment, as well as that of quartering soldiers upon private families. In one word, the *Jus Regium*, or kingly authority, as its sycophants loved to call it, might be described as a pasha of about twenty tails, each with the sting of a scorpion at the end of it, exasperating every

class within the sphere of its influence into resistance, or at least animosity more or less violent, towards the crown and prelacy of the land.

But the topic which addressed itself to the interests of every man having anything to lose, whether he cared about legal subtleties and clerical oppression, or otherwise, was that of taxation. Whilst other grievances affected their thousands, this excited its tens of thousands. The two grand principles of the national constitution were in theory, that no pecuniary levy should be imposed on Englishmen without their consent virtually given through their representatives; and secondly, that the consent of lords and commons should be necessary before any regulations acquired the force of law. In the latter of these principles, neither James nor his descendants could ever be brought cordially to coincide: whilst with regard to the former, although many professions of acquiescence were made in its favor, a doctrine lay near the heart of all the Stuarts, that when parliament refused its consent to supplies being raised in an ordinary manner, recourse might be had by the sovereign to extraordinary means and measures. Besides, moreover, holding fast this civil and political heresy, which of itself disqualified such princes for governing a free country, it may be admitted that not a few bad precedents, although of comparatively modern date, had grown up for forced loans and benevolences. The magna charta, confirmed as it had been above thirty times, should have been considered as an extinguisher for ever of all these malpractices. 'These loans were obtained by means of
' royal letters, called privy seals, addressed to the persons re-
' quired to become contributors; and the sums thus obtained,
' were not only obtained without interest, but could not be re-
' covered by any process of law. A benevolence was distin-
' guished from a loan, as being a gift to the crown. As there
' was no law to authorize either kind of exaction, so there was
' no direct punishment that could be inflicted on such as refused
' to part with their money when thus solicited. But the government,
' by quartering soldiers on such persons, or by forcing them to
' go on some distant mission for the crown, possessed the power
' of making such acts of disobedience both inconvenient and
' costly.' Then there were tonnage and poundage levied by Charles without the necessary authority; besides the obnoxious claims of royal purveyance and pre-emption, from which the universities were exempted within a circle of five miles. Bacon describes the purveyors as living at free quarters upon the country, felling timber without consent from the owners, and exacting labor with little or no recompense. A plan for commuting the vexation into an annual payment of £200,000 proposed under James the First, had fallen to the ground. Its

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continued existence armed the monarch and his myrmidons with most hateful and troublesome powers ; which together with monopolies and embargoes, as well as the subsequent impost of ship-money, placed trade, commerce, manufactures, agriculture, and indeed the whole property of the subject under the control and frequent interference of the executive. There was a manly forbearance, coupled with indomitable courage in asserting rights, exhibited with some few exceptions on the part of the Puritans and patriots. They suffered, they remonstrated, they waited their time, they attempted every remedy before that of the sword, until there remained manifestly no other choice than between that and slavery. The revenue of Charles the First in 1633, was £800,000. From 1637 to 1641, it averaged £900,000, compositions and subscriptions from Catholics having much increased. Before the Scotch contest of 1639, his majesty by regular economy had not only liquidated all the debts contracted during the French and Spanish wars, but had amassed £200,000 for any sudden emergency ; besides which he had a good fleet of sixty sail, lived in suitable magnificence, and possessed twenty-four palaces, so elegantly and completely furnished, that when he removed from one to another, he was not compelled to transport anything with him. These statements are from Hume ; and may serve to show how nearly British liberty was perishing altogether. With such ministers as Laud and Strafford,—with a sovereign in whom no confidence could be placed,—with a successful financial system supported not only without law, but against law,—the parliamentarians had no course open to them except that which they adopted ; the resolution we mean being admitted to be irreversible, that the freedom which had descended to them as a birthright was on no account to be ultimately surrendered.

With respect to the invasions of religious freedom, Dr. Vaughan has stated the question on both sides with a candor and Christian philosophy which we cannot help saying are as rare as they are peculiarly beautiful. Toleration, not to speak of the real rights of conscience, was far indeed from being fully understood. The persecuted, of whatever creed, talked about it with many a groan, and many a sigh, and many a noble sentiment, just so long and with the exception of the Independents no longer than, the lash fell sounding upon themselves. Whenever the wheel revolved, and a change of circumstances caused the flagellators and the flagellated to reverse their position, away went the scourge as loudly as ever, with homilies about spiritual emancipation filling up the intervals, exactly as before ; except that the persecution was laid on by another hand, and the excellency of religious liberty illustrated by another voice lifted up in vain. The formal and total separation

of the church of Christ from the state, however plain and simple it may seem to us, was a proposition which puritanism itself had hardly dreamed of, so as to admit it as a pervading principle of action: and yet until this be done, the majority of our readers will perhaps feel satisfied that the essence of religious freedom can never be thoroughly realized. A vast debt of gratitude is due on this point to the Brownists and Independents. Yet truth makes its way sometimes very slowly. Nothing was gained for religious liberty by Presbyterianism shoving Episcopacy from her seat, and then settling itself upon the soft cushion of state patronage in her stead. Neither was the acerbity of a council of elders, glorying in the ashes of past grievances and the sackcloth of hatred against all other sectaries than themselves, at all diminished by the reflection that this ecclesiastical incubus had been imposed upon the church and country by circumstances. England had not selected them after the manner in which, on the northern side of the Tweed, men, women, and children had rejected bishops. Presbyterianism made all eyes sore, as another invasion of that Scotch mist, upon which so many jokes were expended, when James the First and his hungry followers left their own land possessing no 'productions more valuable than eggs and barnacles, or a few 'drugs to cure the jaundice.' The struggle and turmoil of the seventeenth century, whilst they diffused much light and knowledge, prevented their radiance from falling upon a calm surface. The Covenanters, according to Baillie, were 'peremptory 'against keeping a door open in England to Independency.' Popery, prelacy, and sectarianism stood before the kirk in the same category with rebellion or the sin of witchcraft; with regard to which bad abomination, even as late as 1644, a committee was appointed 'to think on it, and search out the way to 'cure it,' no less than thirty old women having been burnt alive on this charge at Fife within the previous few months. Its love of souls, however sincere, was far too much connected 'with coals of fire having a most vehement flame.' But then it must be remembered, that its cruel bigotry had been kindled by the folly of a tyrannical sovereign *ab origine*. The monarch had first declared war in fact against the gospel of Christ, and laid heavy hands upon its most faithful ministers. Despotism dreaded evangelism, and therefore fought against it. It was long before the civil contest saw a sword drawn, that the highest point of demonstration was reached with regard to this question. The throne had resolved to silence or enslave the pulpit. It allied itself for that purpose with those members of the Establishment whose views, as being thoroughly secularized, coincided with its own. Ecclesiastical intolerance lifted up a gory palm to bless the royal sceptre whenever it seemed disposed to

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smite, plunder, or devour the precious sons of Zion. Puritanism, not immorality, constituted the offence never to be forgiven. A pious imprisoned clergyman petitioned Lord Dorset to use the strong influence he was known to possess with Archbishop Laud, for procuring his enlargement; when his lordship informed him in reply, that had he but been guilty of drunkenness or impurity, his liberty might have been obtained, but that the sin of godliness and nonconformity was in plain truth utterly unpardonable! The personal mutilations, the cruelties of the dungeon and pillory, as instanced and illustrated in the sufferings of Leighton, Balmarino, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick are notorious. Cold and heartless would that people have been who could have witnessed or endured what occurred under James and his descendants, without calling on heaven for deliverance, and following the banners of liberty, when at length they were unfolded!

3. Two mighty parties continually acted upon, or against one another, for eighty years, whom we may appropriately designate as royalists and patriots, although branching off into various subdivisions,—assuming different phases at different times,—and combining each within its own limits almost every grade of opinion that can be classified under the heads of absolutism and democracy. The royalists were in their own estimation, and for a long period in that of others also, the great ones of the earth. The points on which they chiefly prided themselves were their rank, titles, birth, fortune, or official power. A cardinal article in their political creed was then as now, that a certain portion of mankind, meaning themselves, come into this world for the purpose of governing all the rest, or enjoying themselves at their expense. So convenient a faith stands slightly in need of either study or ratiocination, and very much disposes the minds of those maintaining it towards supporting such princes as James and Charles were, or such prelates as Laud, Bancroft, and Mainwaring. Religion as connected with civil government exactly suits them; carrying with it all the attractions of the present world, if they are worldly men; or if not so, offering a fallacy for their acceptance, which interferes with none of their preconceived prejudices, and casts a decent veil over the habit of believing what their fathers did before them, without further trouble or investigation. None of this class would profess themselves friends to either Nero or Tiberius, or monarchs of that stamp; yet they look with favorable aspect upon those principles of irresponsibility in rulers, and infallibility in churches, which contain all those *semina malorum*, whence have sprung the monsters of a sublunary world. Two thirds, therefore, at least of the nobility rallied round the crown of Charles in the hour of danger; some of them seeing eye to eye

with the monarch, and others desiring more or less as to constitutional modifications of his authority; but both, like all other aristocracies, bent above all things upon saving harmless their own privileges and immunities. Their followers were principally peasants from their own estates, arranged under tenants or retainers, obsequious flatterers of the upper classes, and too often brutally ignorant of all that it behoved them to understand. How should they have been wise, whose talk was of oxen?—says the Apocrypha; and these were chiefly the hinds and day-laborers from agricultural districts, where population lay thinly scattered around rural mansion-houses, or in secluded hamlets, where the parson of the parish was pope on the Sunday, and the squire seemed king of the neighborhood during the remainder of the week. ‘The persons who accepted command over these troops were generally young men of family, whose habits of pleasure were in many cases little friendly to the discipline and self-denial which the service before them demanded. Some joined themselves to the royal standard from hatred of religion as exhibited in the character and manners of the Puritans. Others were there from an hereditary feeling of honor, though not altogether satisfied with the objects of the war, fearing lest its success should give too much advantage to the side of the bishops, whose authority had been exercised so perniciously, and of the king, who had shown himself so capable of following their evil example. With those was a considerable body of Catholics, who naturally preferred the connivance which they had so long experienced under the Stuart government to the persecution with which they were threatened by the men who were now arrayed against it. And to these several classes we must add a large one consisting of persons who regarded the encroachments, and the occasional violence of the commons as tending to introduce a popular into the place of a monarchical tyranny.’ Nothing, as it appears to us, can be more fairly stated, than the varieties of loyalism enumerated in these paragraphs. Dr. Vaughan has also admirably portrayed the characters of King James with all his pedantry, eccentricity, and folly; of Charles with his gravity and hypocrisy, his courage, blindness, and infatuated attachment to even the most obsolete claims of an antiquated prerogative; of Strafford with his talents and apostasy; of Laud with his bigotry, baseness, and final misfortunes; as well as of the other leading actors in the great drama, such as Wilmot, Digby, Southampton, Newcastle, Bristol, Sir John Colepeper, the Marquis of Hertford, and the Duke of Richmond. In all these instances there is a total absence of favoritism or partiality. The bright or dark lineaments appear, just as the united testimony of contemporaries, or their own biographies

prove them to have done ; nor can we forbear drawing attention to the honest reprobation with which his narrative has marked the execution of the Archbishop of Canterbury by the parliament ; a cruel measure, manifested it is true towards a cruel man, but not more sanguinary than it was altogether unnecessary. His grey hairs and softened heart might have melted even Prynne and the Presbyterians.

But while the royalists may be said to have been gathered from the highest and lowest sections of the community, the patriots derived their strength from the middle classes. Indeed the conflict might almost have appeared at one period as something like the towns against the country ; with the exception of Oxford, which has always been the Rome of England, and perhaps a few other second or third rate places under some individual influence of a character sufficiently predominant. The minority of the peerage, which professed itself attached to the popular cause, is rated by our author at a higher value than we can put upon it ourselves. Lord Essex, whose career taken in its entire length and breadth will best bear examination, proved little else than a noble encumbrance to the parliament. He was avowedly afraid of going too fast, or too far ; of his employers getting too splendid a victory ; or in other terms, could he have been placed in the temple of truth, he would have acknowledged his real object in wishing to preserve just so much of the constitution as would poise the people against the crown, and allow his order to hold the balance between them. The sublimity of the self-denying ordinance lay in transferring the weapons of combat from those who primarily contended for mere class interests, to those whose plan and principles of operation embraced the welfare of all ranks and sorts of men with little or no professed reservation. Many distinguished landholders proved themselves as beyond all praise ; but they were such as had ever looked with genuine contempt upon the delusive attractions which a court can offer, or a coronet confer. Merchants, tradesmen, operatives, and probably half of the yeomanry, chose the right side. Their sense of the value of property, of the pressure of taxation, of the importance of keeping commercial relations free from the meddling interference of government, their regard for municipal and urban associations, together with the superior degree of intelligence which they possessed when compared with the rural districts, and above all the hold which real religion had upon their minds, produced this important result. Under James the First, the liberal party imperceptibly absorbed into one vortex both patriots and puritans ; that is those who were aiming at security for mere civil rights, and those who kept their attention mainly fixed upon religious ones. These last also consisted of two classes ; namely

those who still considered the doctrines and sacraments of the Church of England as apostolic, her communion only needing some reformation in discipline and ceremonies; and those who, having separated openly from the Establishment, had adopted the leading views of the Brownists, and became afterwards much more conspicuous under the denomination of Independents. Some even of the former class would have joined the latter, had the law permitted, or at least they would not have hesitated to establish separate congregations. As the struggle proceeded through its first stages of intensity, it seemed to fuse down all minor differences; until, as matters once more cooled, and the genius of Oliver Cromwell culminated, his more immediate religious partizans held a tone and pursued a line of conduct with regard to spiritual freedom, such as their age and generation could scarcely comprehend or endure. Their descendants nevertheless reaped in joy what they had sown in tears. It in no way compromises any liberal episcopalian to admit with the utmost sincerity and cordiality, that however he may differ from nonconformity or congregationalism, the RIGHT OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT owes more to such men as Vane and his supporters, than to all the mitred Protestants of the sixteenth or any subsequent century. The Puritans, take them altogether, were a sort of persons whom, from circumstances, neither the world nor the church will be ever likely to see again. They were heroes, born of God, cradled in affliction, nursed up in persecution, and favored with the rare opportunity of instrumentally achieving for their species blessings both for time and eternity. To them, under divine providence, is the merit due of so carrying vital spirituality into the common concerns of life, even into the camp and field of battle, that the germs of civil and religious liberty became gradually yet marvellously developed, and victories were won as well as prejudices removed, which enable us in happier days to sit every man under his own vine and fig-tree. In their season of power, indeed, some of those infirmities which are inseparable from the fallen state of human nature, unfortunately appeared; but that season proved as short, as it must also be admitted that those infirmities were few. Adversity suited their spiritual character better than prosperity. No sooner had the revulsion of ill-informed and therefore outrageous public opinion laid them once more under the heels of tyranny, than their virtues revived in all the beauty of holiness. The shinings of the furnace exhibited them as purified from their alloy. Their marvellous hoping against hope, together with their immovable faith in Him, whom having not seen they yet loved, produced in their tried conversation both the patience and labor of saints. The writings of such men as Flavel, Baxter, Owen, Howe, Manton, and many more, have

constituted a mine of theological treasures, from whence Protestant churches and evangelical divines have drawn without limit, and sometimes without acknowledgment. The act of uniformity, as is well known, severed two thousand of the best clergy in England from an Establishment which could ill afford to lose the flower of its pastorate, and for which it paid heavy penalties in subsequent generations, when the coldness and sterility of Tillotson or Stillingfleet were succeeded by the latitudinarianism of Hoadley and the Arianism of Jortin and his admirers. But we must not stray too far from our subject.

4. The civil contest may fairly include the brief period of the commonwealth and protectorate: for in reality the flames of royalism, although beaten down, and kept down for a certain number of years, were yet never extinguished. To those who agree with the views entertained by the author of the *Lives of Eminent British Statesmen* in the *Cabinet Cyclopædia*, and which have recently occupied several articles in this Journal, the portraits by Dr. Vaughan of Oliver Cromwell and his satellites will seem the least satisfactory portion of his labors. There will, however, be no occasion to follow him through the fights of Edgehill, Marston Moor, Naseby, Preston, Dunbar, or Worcester. His reprobation of the barbarous murder of Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas at Colchester, we fully anticipated; and we think it does him honor as an historian unbiassed by politics. Our favorite, Sir Henry Vane, occupies a position and space far less prominent than we imagine he ought to have done. In glancing at the major-generals of the great protector, we cannot moreover help being of opinion, that greater indignation might fairly have been expressed, without in any way breaking in upon that general calmness which we so much admire, and which on ordinary occasions best becomes the style and impartiality of faithful narrative. Instead of this, we are quietly informed, with no more force than would be adopted in announcing a series of forthcoming lectures from University College, that Cromwell, like most other usurpers, became a tyrant rather in support of his authority, than to gratify his inclination;—that whenever his parliaments withheld supplies, he *extorted them by the sword*;—that when certain conspiracies were threatened, he precluded their consequences by placing the leading nobility and gentry under arrest, until they should find bail for peaceable conduct! Why,—could not Charles the First, or his wicked children and their ministers, have urged the same pleas, *mutato nomine*, for all their oppressions; and that too with an infinitely better grace than Oliver Cromwell? They acted consistently with certain rules and principles which corruption, and despotism, and circumstances had caused to become part and parcel of their inner man. The

Protector had set out upon a system directly opposed to theirs, and had risen upon the strength of it to sovereign power, which when once within his grasp, he too frequently wielded like any other tyrant! More knowledge of the constitution, more patriotic professions, nobler ideas of government, politics, and religion, as well as talents beyond all comparison greater and more splendid than theirs, distinguished the mighty patron of these major-generals; whom honest Richard Baxter compared to the colonels and barons of William the Conqueror. We should rather have mentioned in the text, than in a mere foot-note at the bottom of a page, so striking an indication of absolutism as the prohibition of any weekly newspaper without permission from government; so that the eight weekly journals previously existing, were thus arbitrarily and scandalously reduced to two! In what respect was this worse than, or indeed taking into account what we have already hinted at, in what respect was it so bad, as one of those royal proclamations which the profligate Stuarts were ever anxious to invest with that authority which could alone belong by law to the regulations of the united legislature; or in other words to an act of parliament? Dr. Vaughan, we feel persuaded, will take these amicable animadversions in the same spirit in which they are intended to be offered; and which we conclude by reminding him of the old Esopian fable, with its picturesque wood-engraving so familiar to our childish associations, of the wolf looking in upon the shepherds when regaling themselves with a shoulder of mutton!

This reminds us, however, that when he mentions Charles the First as at length consenting in 1648, with still smaller modifications, to the obnoxious propositions of the two houses, and yet not agreeing even at that crisis to the *abolition of episcopacy*, or even the alienation of its wealth for ever, he seems to us, as if endeavoring to establish a distinction without a difference on behalf of royal consistency. Dr. Vaughan admits that his majesty allowed their restoration to be dependent *on the pleasure of parliament!* But that party in parliament, with which he was then treating at Newport, which Hallam says may be called for the sake of convenience Presbyterian, but which was in fact constitutional, would surely have vanished into annihilation, at the merest possible prospect of seeing again either mitres or crosiers, just as ghosts are said to depart at cock-crowing. To all intents and purposes, the unhappy monarch preferred in this instance even the remote chance of recovering his crown, to the preservation of his conscience, in that very point for which he has been canonized as a martyr by the Church of England. Nor does it much mend the matter to discover, that according to his own papers, and his own most intimate adherents, he thus dealt with his powerful adversaries, whom he was now calling

his friends, with no other idea than to forget all his most solemn engagements so soon as circumstances might permit. Upon the whole, in most other places and passages, the perfidy of this infatuated monarch is perspicuously exhibited; although we are indeed happy to remark that it seems always done with that tenderness towards an antagonist which it behoves every Christian man to manifest. All we ask for is to have precisely the same sort of measure shown towards the other side; especially since it happens to be our own party. Generally speaking, as we have the greatest pleasure in admitting, such desires are realized; and perhaps it is from this very circumstance that we feel rather more jealous about the exception, even when it thus occurs with comparative rarity. The historian points out ably the difficulties with which the commonwealth was encompassed through its very defective authority. He does not fail to notice the severities against the royalists, almost unavoidable as we may admit they were on launching the new republic; particularly when it is recollected that its genuine supporters were perhaps not more than a fifth of the nation. He glances at the curious trials of John Lilburne, as well as at the Irish and Scotch invasions, the former 'stained with atrocities sufficiently horrible.' Meanwhile Presbyterianism grew so thoroughly disaffected, through the coldness manifested towards its idol kirk, that it seemed difficult to say whether that or episcopacy haunted oftenest the night dreams of the celebrated Council of State, of which the immortal Sir Henry Vane constituted the life and soul. Their foreign policy then passes over the page, comprising the revival of our respectability and influence amongst continental states, as also the manner in which British spirit wrenched the trident of the ocean from Holland, humbled Portugal, tamed France, and intimidated Spain. Under James, the finger of scorn had been turned upon us, from one end of Europe to the other. Blake and Cromwell soon changed the whole face of affairs. The celebrated conduct of the latter, on the 20th April, 1653, in dispersing the parliament, we should ourselves have described, as already intimated, in other terms than our author has done; feeling perfectly satisfied to follow out the views entertained of that audacious transaction by a patriot so pure as Sir Henry Vane; nor being at all attracted to any opposite course by the sentiments of an article in the twenty-fifth volume of the *Quarterly Review*, alluded to by Dr. Vaughan; yet admitted to be a singular quarter 'in which to find remarkable candor on such a subject.'

Under the Protectorate we have a sketch given of the convention and proceedings of the Little Parliament. From its dissolution it may be said that Oliver Cromwell openly vaulted

into his seat of sovereignty. The famous Instrument of Government follows, with the successive attempts which the executive made to compose jarring elements, and exorcise order out of chaos. Cromwell, indeed, like the present King of the French, lived, moved, and slept, when he slept at all, amidst intrigue and conspiracy. It is well known that he paid high for secret information, as well he might; for on no other terms could he either have existed or reigned. His domestic policy, like the ear of Dionysius, collected every rumor from afar, being at once potent, almost omnipresent, and always mysterious. War, labor, and trade throve: not a few of the military officers waxed fat and kicked: the Presbyterians, after the execution of Doctor Love, made long faces and prayed in deep silence: republicanism swaggered: royalism plotted assassination amidst potations so deep, that each malicious intention leaked out: foreign states wondered at what was come to pass: the exiled son of Charles abandoned himself to debauchery: whilst his ridiculous ministers were getting thin upon disappointed hopes and short commons, or his mother Henrietta was keeping her bed from a want of clean linen! On the whole religion flourished; more correct notions about civil and religious liberty struck their roots deeper and wider amongst large masses of people; and the Protector himself, after deliberations which once seemed interminable, at length declined a crown. More than its legitimate prerogative, he was already in possession of; and after announcing his final negative, he underwent a second ceremonial of inauguration upon the strength of a document entitled the Humble Petition and Advice, which more fully defined his authority, and enabled him to nominate his successor. The keys of Dunkirk were soon afterwards laid at his feet. The court of Madrid had to surrender Jamaica; its once dreaded might, at which the world turned pale, having clearly departed. But his highness felt stronger abroad than at home. There his soul lay among lions, and he had to show an iron hand. He played with,—then deluded,—and then controlled all the parties in succession, which struggled and roared around him. Scotch, Irish, English, the adorers of the General Assembly, worshippers of the Pope and the Virgin, lovers of prelacy and rich ecclesiastical pluralities, found indeed nothing to nourish the idea of having matters their own wilful way; being all obliged to keep body and soul together, as well as they could, upon some not very clearly defined expectation. The monsters of the arctic regions, who are said to pass a long polar winter, just kept breathing by sucking their paws, were faithful representatives of these several factions. Oliver ‘maintained,’ observes Dr. Vaughan, ‘and with much plausibility, that the salvation of the country depended on his preventing the complete

‘ success of any one of the parties mentioned, and his difficult
 ‘ effort in consequence was to balance them against each other,
 ‘ until the time should come when an amalgamation might be
 ‘ safely attempted. His experiments in regard to parliaments
 ‘ tended more and more to facilitate a settlement founded on
 ‘ principles of rational compromise ; but the effect of them all
 ‘ was to make it evident that the enmities of the several factions
 ‘ were not in his time sufficiently controlled by reason and
 ‘ humanity, to allow the country to share in the prosperity and
 ‘ greatness which it might otherwise have derived from his
 ‘ larger and more equitable policy.’ His interference with
 Savoy on behalf of the persecuted Waldenses deserves all the
 praise which has been bestowed on it ; and which was in fact
 neither more nor less than the result of that scheme of spiritual
 tolerance in which Independency gloried. Yet how incomplete
 this really was, may be seen from his stern refusal of its advan-
 tages to both Catholics and Protestant episcopalians. The
 Romanists, indeed, rendered to civil government in that age
 only a divided allegiance, and therefore, according to the indis-
 tinct notions then prevalent as to what form the rights of con-
 science, had no claim in the opinion of Protestant statesmen for
 anything more than a very restricted protection. It was possi-
 bly presumed, though certainly not with justice, that there was
 an analogy between this case and that of the members of the
 late Church of England. Both episcopacy and its liturgy were
 proscribed. Their adherents could not be styled well-affected
 to the protectorate, doubtless ; yet they had no foreign predilec-
 tions ; nor even, when Charles their Martyr was at the top of
 his career, would they ever let him have introduced any conti-
 nental mercenaries to enslave these kingdoms. The ordinance
 of 1656, which went to exclude the episcopalian clergy from
 livings and fellowships, or from being even employed as school-
 masters, chaplains, or private tutors, was beyond question a
 wicked one. Those of this communion who were disposed to
 live quietly, ought to have been let alone, *by law, and not merely*
suffered to remain unmolested, through the good nature or caprice
 of a military dictator ; and the same rule, in our judgment,
 ought to have been applied even to Catholics. Dr. Vaughan
 gives, in this stage of his subject, a rapid survey of the increase
 of sects, describing successively though briefly the Quakers,
 Ranters, Muggletonians, Fifth Monarchy men, and Unitarians.
 The meeting of the Independents at the Savoy, although sum-
 moned before the death of Cromwell, did not assemble until
 after that event. The accession and speedy abdication of
 Richard made way for the Restoration.

5. Amidst fits of enthusiasm, the tide of public opinion,
 whether above or under ground, had been setting so strongly

towards monarchy with its old associations, and the new dreams connected with it, that there was no resisting it. Great men in that age were so much above their compatriots, that like lofty mountains they were glowing in the radiance of a sunshine overshooting, but not illuminating, the vallies and levels below them. These kingdoms then presented the aspect connected with that slight or little knowledge which is said to be 'a dangerous thing.' Not but that there was enough to lead to more; yet meanwhile there was no general diffusion of intelligence, so as to prevent a thousand or ten thousand common people from supposing black to be white, just because some great man in the neighborhood thought it so. Hence marvellous blunders, and some egregious follies, were fallen into. The royal brothers, returning home amidst acclamations, bonfires, and revelries, might well whisper to each other, that their late absence from London for so many years must have been a mistake! Our author favors his readers with outlines of those three administrations which occupied the first eighteen years of Charles the Second, from 1660 to 1678. Hyde Lord Clarendon, as most persons know, held the helm of affairs down to 1667. The regicides were inhumanly tried, and many of them legally murdered. Even graves were violated. The corpses of Cromwell, Bradshawe, and Ireton, after being disinterred, were drawn on hurdles to Tyburn, and hanged upon a gallows, from morning until evening; subsequently to which, an accumulation of indignities was still heaped upon their senseless bones. The mother of the Protector, Pym, May the historian of the Long Parliament, Twiss and Marshall leaders in the Assembly of Divines, had their dust disturbed, or cast out from Westminster Abbey; together with Admiral Blake, whose achievements, under providence, admitted of no parallel upon his own element. Revenues were settled and armies disbanded. Nonconformity beheld its day of St. Bartholomew, whilst episcopacy reseated itself amongst the nobles of the land. Ireland and Scotland fretted under a new order of things,—but chafed themselves in vain. England hid her face in profligacy, discontent, and shame. She had hailed her new sovereign with gross flatteries, and insulted her God in the scandalous offices ordered to be read in all churches and chapels on the 30th of January and the 29th of May. Her object of admiration was already metamorphosed into a sword of persecution, a scourge of bitterness, and a foolscap of scorn and ridicule, before the whole family of European nations. The vices of the court, however, operated strongly in favor of the ultimate liberty and prosperity of the kingdom. Had the merry Stuart been an artful and able, but decent despot, without mistresses or the love of profuse and even extravagant expenditure, the Revolution might have been

postponed for generations, or at least until knowledge and intelligence should have become almost universal. The necessities of government once again enabled the Commons to catch the royal courser, and throw a halter over its head. Dunkirk was sold amidst groans and sibilations. Schemes sprang up in the palace to render its occupant independent of parliament; whilst the Dutch war, and similar sources of infinite expense, effectually paved the way for the final assertion of popular freedom. Intense sufferings had nevertheless to be first endured both in the metropolis and country. The Great Plague and Fire of London are most powerfully described; nor can better specimens perhaps be selected of the ability and pathos with which Dr. Vaughan can chain down attention to pictures of this sort, whenever he feels disposed to do so.

‘ In the month of June, the heat became excessive, and the deaths reported as from the plague were 276 for the last week. In the middle of July, it began to make alarming progress among the suburban parishes northward. With the approach of September, the eastern ones shared the same fate; so that the dark cloud, having thus moved round the whole circumference of the city, began to shed its disastrous influences over the trembling myriads who still clung to it as their home. From June to September the weekly report of deaths continued to increase in various degrees, until they rose to 8297. But the terror and confusion of that time were such as to render it impossible that complete returns should be made; and we may safely believe that the scene of horror was much greater than even the largest of these numbers would indicate. According to the best authority we possess, the weekly mortality during the early part of September was not less than 12,000,—a third of which amount were supposed to have died in the course of one fearful night! The Bills for the year report the total at 68,596; which fails probably by one third to exhibit the real extent of the calamity. Many died of fright; in the case of others, lunacy, brought on by the same cause, preceded dissolution; the instances of females dying in a state of pregnancy were increased more than tenfold; and the new born seemed to live only to become capable of dying. The symptoms of the disease varied considerably in different constitutions. In some cases there were no appearances of swellings; and the infected person flattered himself that his more partial and moderate symptoms were only those of ordinary indisposition; until the chest was found to exhibit a number of purple spots, which warned the victim and his friends that life would be extinct in a few hours at the utmost. These spots were called *the tokens*, and were present before the imagination of the people as the messengers of death. The persons in whom the disease took this shape died with comparatively little suffering; but when carbuncles appeared, the internal functions retained much of their strength, and a high state of fever commonly ensued. Many in their paroxysms broke away from the beds in which they were fastened, and raved upon passengers in the

streets from the windows of their apartments ; some laid violent hands upon themselves ; whilst others gave utterance to their misery in loud and bitter lamentations, or forcing their way abroad, fled, with little or nothing to cover them, from street to street shouting forth the most phrenzied language. Some of these unhappy creatures threw themselves into the Thames ; others sank in sudden exhaustion, and expired : even the officers, so great was the fear of infection, commonly forbearing to put any restraint upon them. Of those who were visited with the disease in this form, few died in less than twenty-four hours, some lived through twenty days, but the average limit was five or six days. In July and August, the majority of the infected perished ; in September and October, the recoveries are believed to have been in the proportion of three to five.'—pp. 626, 627.

The means employed to counteract this awful calamity sometimes aggravated its violence. Thus on one occasion the Lord Mayor ordered seacoal fires to be kindled in the streets, amidst which the pestilence stalked with increased desolation, until enormous falls of rain happened to extinguish them. Comets and unusual meteors diffused horror and dismay all around ; whilst soothsayers, astrologers, quacks, and other impostors, reaped a detestable harvest from the fears of their fellow-creatures. London emptied herself of all who had the means of removal. Not less than ten thousand houses were deserted in the city and its adjacent parishes ; so that grass grew in the most frequented thoroughfares : all abodes reported by the local authorities, as containing infected persons, were immediately shut up : whilst on the door a large red cross was painted, with the words written over it, 'The Lord have mercy upon us.' Watchmen, with halberds in their hands, prevented all ingress or egress ; trade was wholly suspended, and two general pest-houses were opened. The following is a graphic picture, to be read almost with tears.

'When those who ventured abroad met, they might be seen keeping at the most cautious distance from each other ; and the man who passed a house with the fatal mark upon it commonly glanced indirectly at it, and muffling his cloak about him, made his way with a timid and hurried step along the forsaken footpath on the opposite side. Men feared even the fragrance of sweet flowers, lest they should inhale the sickness from them,—and called for antidotes,—rue, myrrh, and zedoary. As the deaths multiplied, all the usual expressions of sympathy with the departed, such as tolling the parish knell, wearing mourning, and funeral processions, suddenly ceased. Men were employed to go through the infected districts, in the dead of night, to collect and inter the bodies of those who had expired in the course of the day. The distant tinkling of a bell, and the glare of torches, announced the approach of the dead cart, and as it came near the houses with the cross upon them, the men attending it uttered alter-

nately the well known cry, '*Bring out your dead!*' To this call the response of the inmates was often a wail of sorrow, as they brought their dead to their door, sometimes barely covered, but commonly wrapped up like mummies in the bed-linen on which they had breathed their last. The bodies thus obtained were lodged one upon another in the vehicle, and being conveyed to the edge of a broad deep pit prepared to receive them, the board at the end of the cart was removed, and they were made to fall as they might into their places. This done, the workmen covered them immediately with a layer of earth, upon which others in their turn were thrown in the same manner, until the dreaded receptacle became full to within a few feet of the surface.

'The mental sufferings of persons whose imaginations followed the objects of their affections to such a scene must have been great. It is well known that grief and excitement not unfrequently obtained a visible mastery over the understanding. The unwonted course of things about them filled the minds of many with ideas of the supernatural. They saw spirits walking the earth, and could trace out fearful signs in the heavens; and there were those who believed themselves commissioned to announce the wrath of the Almighty! One man took upon him the mission of Jonah. Another naked, except a slight covering around his waist, and sometimes with a vessel of burning coals raised above his head, traversed the city day and night, without appearing to tire or rest, exclaiming, '*Oh! the great and dreadful God!*' But the cause which served to push religion to the extreme of fanaticism in some, seemed to expel all sense of it from others. In the language of these, life was short; its probable end to-morrow; the future was a dream; and the fool only could suffer the fleeting moments that might remain to pass in wailing rather than in pleasure. Thus the darkest hour of calamity became marked by the utmost license in crime. Oaths and imprecations in one quarter, mingled with the adorations and prayers, which ascended from another; the song of the drunkard blending with the hymn of the devout; one class eagerly bent on riot and sensuality, converting the tavern and brothel into a species of pandemonium; whilst another, and happily a much larger one, manifested a new solicitude to diffuse the benefits of piety and charity, which the horrors around them had done much to purify and exalt.'—pp. 629—631.

Within a few months afterwards came another vial of wrath in the form of fire upon our then as now most guilty metropolis. It broke out on the 2nd of September, 1666, after an unusually hot and sultry August, on the premises of a baker in Pudding Lane, near London Bridge. The habitations about it were unhappily built of wood, much crowded together, with the roofs and partitions of many of them covered with pitch as a protection against bad weather, and being in the centre of enormous stores in which tar, hemp, other naval materials, oils, wines, coals, resin, and foreign spirits were deposited. Sir Thomas

Bludworth having to act as chief magistrate, proved quite unequal to his functions. The sailors urged an explosion of those storehouses through gunpowder, which lay in the path of the conflagration; a step, which had it been taken in time, might have prevented immense mischief. Little or nothing effectual was done, and the fiery deluge spread. Street after street became pyramids of flame, and then heaps of smouldering ruins. By night the whole slope of the city towards the river from the Three Cranes in the Vintry to more than a mile westward, 'was an arch of fire; steeples, churches, public edifices, 'sinking one after another out of sight, amid clouds of smoke, 'the glare of flames, and an incredible noise produced by the 'violence of the wind, the rush of the conflagration, and the 'frequent crash of roofs, as they tumbled successively towards 'the ground. The element which thus raged on earth seemed 'also to have taken possession of the heavens, which glowed 'with a changeful and terrific brightness, so that the lurid effect 'was observed at the distance of forty or fifty miles.' Evelyn, who was an eye-witness, exclaims, 'God grant that I may 'never behold the like. I saw ten thousand abodes in one 'flare; the noise, and cracking, and thunder of the impetuous 'blaze,—the shrieking of women and children,—the hurry of 'people,—the fall of towers and churches,—it was like a hideous 'storm; and the air all about so hot and inflamed, that at the 'last, one was not able to approach it, so that all seemed forced 'to stand still, and to let the flames burn on, which they did for 'nearly two miles in length and one in breadth.' The melted lead ran in streams along the streets; and when at last the destruction paused, out of 'nearly a hundred churches, and 'more than thirteen thousand houses, besides public buildings, 'scarcely a fragment remained erect to aid the explorer.'

With regard to political events, we perceive our limits will not permit us even to enumerate the leading incidents of the Cabal, or Lord Danby's administration; nor to linger an instant amidst those wonderful trials which terminated the reign of Charles the Second, and rendered the three or four years under his successor precursors to a better, though not an unclouded era, under William the Third and his excellent consort Queen Mary.

6. The Revolution has now for one hundred and fifty years been the standing toast and watchword of Whiggery, throughout all its phases; whilst, strange to say, Conservatives professing to represent Tories, actually vie with the Whigs, and in Ireland far surpass them, in the quantities of ale, poteen, and port wine poured forth as worthy libations to the immortal memory of the great deliverer: meaning all the time by this description that very prince, whom their ancestors plotted against as an usurper,

and whose title to the throne must be derived from principles which they themselves denounce as democratical. We profess rather a modified admiration of the whole affair. It was good so far as it went, but no further: nor was the point to which it proceeded, and where it rested, a very advanced one upon the road towards sound government and permanent national prosperity. Debates in parliament about the exclusion bill had revived in the public mind some attachment to several self-evident truths, which formed the mere alphabet of politics amongst the statesmen of the Commonwealth. The reign of James the Second had realized what the exclusionists foretold would come to pass, should the sceptre of these realms ever pass into the hands of the Duke of York. That sovereign, however, we feel persuaded might have enslaved his people, and even filled himself with the plunder of their property, as well as of their liberties, had he only been discreet enough to have let the Church alone, and have admitted the aristocracy to a convenient portion of the spoil. But never was the axiom of antiquity better illustrated, that *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat*. He laid his hands upon seven prelates, and found them seven plagues full of wrath and indignation, as to the results of their prosecution; against both his person and descendants. The peerage, too, began to tremble for its privileges and monopolies, as well as for that Terra Incognita of abuses covered over with the ermine and minevor of their order. They found a violent tempest of odium rising up, which they perceived it would be impossible to resist altogether, but from which it was equally evident they might gather no inconsiderable harvest of advantage, were they to put themselves at the head of it. Their conduct, with some brilliant exceptions, came to be regulated accordingly. The genuine nature and spirit of an oligarchy broke out whenever it could with any chance of success or safety. On the 28th of January, 1689, the Commons declared that James, having endeavored to subvert the constitution, had abdicated the government, and left the throne vacant. The Earls of Nottingham and Clarendon put the question whether a regency would not be preferable; and this motion was only lost by fifty-one to forty-nine; whilst the Lords exchanged the word *abdicated* for the term *deserted*, as a softer or more ambiguous term, and left out the most important clause in the vote of the Commons, *that the throne was vacant*, by a majority of fifty-five to forty-one! Seeing, however, in a short time that the spirit out of doors would be here too strong for them, they made a merit of necessity, and yielded ultimately as they did in the late Reform Bill. They bent like willows before the popular gale; yet contriving to retain their advantageous position, they soon assumed their

natural attitude, and grew up into greater influence than ever. Their shadow ultimately overclouded the land; and the predominant character of government from that hour down to the death of George the Fourth, became more and more aristocratical. The law,—church,—navy,—army,—corporations,—imbibed no other principle, and developed no other result. Taxation itself, of course, came to be subjected to similar influences: so that, although we most cheerfully and gratefully admit the blessings of the glorious Revolution in having annihilated the preposterous doctrines of divine right and non-resistance, except indeed along the banks of the Isis, where they still linger, we also regret most sincerely, that France, as a neighbor nation, not possessing a moiety of our intelligence or favorable circumstances, should have nevertheless shot before us in the political race, in having more completely separated than we have done, her church from the state, and prostrated into the dust those prodigies of feudalism,—an hereditary aristocracy and the so called rights of primogeniture.

Dr. Vaughan has added to his useful and laborious work a very convenient index and chronological table. In fact the whole book is written but for one simple purpose; and that is to diffuse useful knowledge upon sound principles amongst our middle classes. That it is admirably calculated for this end we entertain no manner of doubt: indeed, we imagine that there can be but one opinion on the point, even amongst those who on ecclesiastical and political subjects may not, generally speaking, happen to agree with our author. We therefore venture to recommend it strongly and cordially. It is written, as all such works ought to be composed, in the spirit of a Christian,—a scholar,—and a philosopher. His sympathies and associations are powerful ones; but they never, or at least very rarely, gallop away with his judgment. His remarks on the twenty eventful years from 1640 to 1660 form a good specimen of the candid and impartial manner in which he sums up the leading facts of an important period, letting in the lights of reflection from opposite quarters, and maintaining his own perfect self-possession amidst conflicting statements, or the most agitating opinions. We had intended to have extracted several paragraphs from these pages, but shall content ourselves with only one, to the following effect:

‘ The liberties secured in the early days of the Long Parliament, as they were in no respect greater than the people of England were qualified to use with safety and advantage, were such as an enlightened and virtuous patriotism might well have demanded: but they were liberties wrung from the grasp of a monarch who betrayed the strongest inclination to seize upon them again at the first favorable moment; and all hope of amicable adjustment being thus at an end,

the struggle became one for mastery, more than for accommodation ; and to the power from whose proceedings the contest derived that dangerous character must the evil which ensued be imputed. Thus we see in these results, *that not to concede in time is to create the necessity for further concession ; that in enlightened communities the great security against popular violence is to abstain from acts tending to justify popular indignation ; and that it is as vain as it is unjust to expect that men should act with sobriety when we have been conducting ourselves towards them in a manner which could hardly fail to goad them into excess.*'—p. 561.

Since this article was written, a lengthy criticism on Dr. Vaughan's work has appeared in the Church of England Quarterly Review, and is to be followed, it seems, by another, on the second volume, in the next number of that Journal. The writer of that article—feeble in everything except in his rancorous bigotry—has not only shown himself capable of descending to any form of misrepresentation, but of stating, once and again, as true, what he must have known to be false. Our proofs of this serious charge we may perhaps adduce on a future occasion, as we have for some time thought, that Dissenters might not be the worse for being made a little more aware than they are, of the unscrupulous enmity with which their literature is too commonly regarded by the reverend personages who affect to represent the spirit of the 'Church of England.' If what our authors have to expect from Churchmen, is, for the most part, this reckless hostility, or, what to them will perhaps be even less acceptable, an utter neglect of their productions, the need of a more effective patronage of Dissenting literature among ourselves ought to be sufficiently obvious. As to the critic adverted to, we have reason to know that this is not the first time he has called on the public to admire his zeal for the honors of 'Episcopacy ;' and should he in this instance experience some inconvenient handling for his pains, he will be aware that it is not the first time such a lot has befallen him.

Art. II. *The Theory of Horticulture ; or, an Attempt to Explain the Principal Operations of Gardening upon Physiological Principles.*
By JOHN LINDLEY, Ph. D., F.R.S. 8vo. Longmans.

HORTICULTURE has in the main been followed as an art; its most successful processes have been the result either of casual observation, or of innumerable trials and mistakes, and its principles not in general more than mere statements of the facts thus arrived at. The conditions that are necessary to healthy vegetation are obviously discerned, and provided for, when the plant and the cultivator are both of one clime, or when the exotic species are hardy and adapted to universal culture, as the rye and the potatoe. Moreover, he need not be deterred from the boldest experiments in his attempts to render the growths of the earth more serviceable. Much, therefore, has been done for the improvement of both native and acclimatized species. They have been increased in size and modified as to their qualities, forms, and colors. The peach, poisonous in its native soil, has become the delicious fruit we find on our tables. The celery and carrot, have lost the noxious qualities which they possess in their natural state. The cabbage, cherry, and apple, which we probably owe to the Roman occupation of Britain, have all become what we find them, by cultivation; being barely esculent as nature produces them. Few of the most valuable of vegetable products are indigenous to the countries where they are most useful and most esteemed, but have followed the migrations and conquests of various tribes of the human family. The grape, wherever the region may be which owns it as a native, was spread originally by the Greeks; and the introduction of the most precious of the farinaceous grasses, the wheat, and also of the cotton-tree, were among the blessings which the great Ruler ordained should more than compensate the regions overrun by the Romans and Arabs, for temporary misery. It is, of course, in the cold climates least endowed by nature, where want and necessity constitute the wholesome discipline of a race formed for enterprise and success, that tillage and culture will be most studied. And they have this advantage over countries more spontaneously fruitful, that a hot climate can be imitated in a cold one, with infinitely greater ease than in the reverse case.

Were we to be content with those foreign species that easily become adapted to our climate, horticulture might remain as it is, and leave everything beyond to the larger and less refined operations of field cultivation. While the desire of novelty and enjoyment exist, this need not be feared, and the attempt now,

we think, first made, in a way likely to be generally useful, to raise horticulture to the rank of a science, impatient of mere empirical maxims, and studious to fortify the wisest of its traditions by the knowledge of the vital laws which they unconsciously imply, is no more than might have been expected from the present advanced state of vegetable physiology. There is already available to the cultivator a great mass of well ascertained principles, without perplexing him with scientific refinements, as yet perhaps only conjectural and likely to be for ever too subtile for the worker in gardens to apply. What he needs is, 'not a treatise upon botany, nor a series of speculations upon the possible nature of the influence on plants of all existing forces, nor an elaborate account of chemical agencies inappreciable by his senses and obscurely indicated by their visible results; but an intelligible explanation, founded on well ascertained facts which he can judge of by his own means of observation, of the general nature of vegetable actions, and of the causes which, while they control the powers of life in plants, are themselves capable of being regulated by himself. The possession of such knowledge will necessarily teach him how to improve his methods of cultivation, and lead him to the discovery of new and better modes. It is very true that ends of this kind are often brought about by accident, without the smallest design on the part of the gardener; and there are doubtless many men of uncultivated or idle minds, who think waiting on providence much better than any attempt to improve their condition by the exertion of their reasoning faculties. For such persons books are not written.' That the amount of such knowledge is very small even among writers on horticulture we have the testimony of one well able to judge.

We shall attempt to increase the demand for the volume whose title stands at the head of our article, by referring a few of the ordinary processes of horticulture, to the physiological principles which they serve to develop. If much has been achieved by the force of accident and mere rational empiricism, we may confidently expect results far greater, from perseverance and observation, when enlightened by science. 'The enormous difference that exists between the skill of the present race of gardeners and their predecessors can only be ascribed to the general diffusion that has taken place of an acquaintance with some of the simpler facts of vegetable physiology.'

Nature universally employs some degree of soil or bottom heat, as a stimulus and protection to the excitability of the tissues of plants. The soil in all climates has a temperature something higher than the surrounding atmosphere. This of course is owing to the impact of the solar rays. All plants have free internal communication between their extremities, by innumer-

able air passages and chambers, so that the loss of temperature by the atmosphere in the night time, does not involve an excessive diminution of that of the plant, which would injure and perhaps destroy its excitability. For the soil, raised possibly to 150° during the day, retains a considerable warmth during the night; and through the circulation of air and fluids imparts it to the plant; thus counteracting the cooling effect of radiation. This, without referring to the probable generation of heat by the chemical re-compositions going on in plants, is a sufficient explanation of the temperature they preserve at night above that of the medium surrounding them. This elevation of temperature it is of course necessary to imitate artificially for all plants whose native habitats are in warmer climes than our own. We neglect it in the orange-tree, which flourishes where the soil never sinks below 58° , exposing it in the summer to the open air when the soil seldom reaches 66° , and keeping it in winter in cold conservatories, the soil of which often falls to 36° . We consequently lose the richness of its foliage and the perfume and juiciness of its fruit. Peach and other trees have been brought again into bearing by lessening the depth of earth around their stems, thus giving both air and heat access to their roots. The difference of temperature in the soil at the surface and two feet beneath it, usually exceeds 10° . Nature provides that the mean heat of the soil should be permanently greater than that of the air. Were it not so, the stimulus applied to the leaves would cause them to consume sap faster than the roots renewed it. It is, therefore, the proportion of soil heat to that of the air, which we must observe. We must not be content with raising the bottom heat of a tropical plant when we cannot imitate the degree of light and atmospheric warmth which it would enjoy in its native site. Whether by the occurrence of winter or the setting in of periodical rains, all plants have alternations of seasons; and these we must seek to copy in our adjustments of temperature to the varying stages of growth of our plants. The same principles of course apply to aquatic exotics, that naturally flourish in water of higher temperature than that medium retains inartificially in this country. Cisterns plunged into tanbeds, in a close heat, or on the flues of a pine-stove, secure the requisite exaltation of temperature.

There is yet wanting to horticulture some plan of providing bottom-heat, which shall more nearly resemble the natural mode. The tan-bed is too liable to fluctuations, from excess or defect, and is too insusceptible of regulation to be used as more than a succedaneum till some better contrivance be thought of.

Water is necessary, as it is itself part of the food of plants, and also a vehicle by which the soluble matters found in the earth are conveyed through the general system of vegetation.

Its importance depends on its quantity: and the same regard in giving it to plants, must be had to the natural condition of the species, and to the period of its growth, as the application of heat to their soil requires. During the season of rest (with plants of climates like our own in the winter, with those of tropical regions in the dry months) plants require but little; for perspiration is not then going on, and therefore food is not then required. Those with perennial stems, indeed, need moisture, because they lay up food against the renewal of vegetation. If, however, their soil is too abundantly supplied with it, the tissues become distended with aqueous matter, and are thus rendered liable to disorganization by frost, or the plant is driven into growth before the air is sufficiently warm to maintain the excitability of its new parts. More moisture is not needed at the period of vegetation than can be got by the capillary attraction of earthly particles. Just so much water as the soil holds by mere attraction is sufficient. Hence soils compounded of peat, loam, and sand, are found to be most suitable, in which the loam retains moisture, but is hindered from holding too much by its small masses being kept asunder by peat and sand, that of themselves would allow all their moisture to escape by percolation. In earth not only apparently but absolutely dry, plants must perish.

The younger the leaves the more sensible is the whole of their epidermis to the stimulus of light. As they grow older this hardens; their stomata are then the only passages through which vapor can fly off, and these are gradually choked up. Plants that are cultivated for the sake of their esculent leaves, need a greater supply of earth moisture to give them tenderness and succulence—as the lettuce, spinach, &c. The fruit of the strawberry is rendered large by copious watering while it is swelling, often at the expense of its flavor. The rapid evolution and infiltration of its tissue, and the increased luxuriance of its leaves, neither giving it time nor a sufficient exposure to light for the full elaboration of its crude juices. It is not yet quite clear to what causes among several probable ones, or if to all of them together, the deleterious effect on plants of too much soil moisture, or of water positively stagnant about their roots, is to be attributed. It is certain that drainage, either natural or artificial, is necessary to their health. The consequent coldness of the soil is a sufficient reason for attending to this particular. The method generally used to keep the soil humid by watering, though indispensable in the hothouse, is perhaps more hurtful than beneficial out of it. When nature waters them, the air is saturated at the same time with the soil. Perspiration in plants, as in animals, bears an inverse relation to the humidity of the air, and therefore

takes place less rapidly in these circumstances ; so that aqueous particles are less rapidly taken up by the roots to be introduced into the circulation. Artificial watering, on the contrary, is usually employed in hot dry weather. The air rapidly abstracts the moisture from the leaves—the roots are violently excited, but only for a short time—evaporation from its surface destroys the proportionate heat of the soil—the vital susceptibility is thus exhausted by being called into play too suddenly (every body knows the necessity of giving nutriment sparingly and gradually to starved persons), while one condition of its maintenance, a due temperature of the earth, is lessened. The caution that these facts point to, is generally applicable, while yet for the prevention and cure of particular diseases in plants, as in the human animal, deviations from the natural conditions on which health depends may be necessary to restore it. Thus mildew, which is so often produced by the dry air acting on the vegetable tissue of some annuals, is prevented by abundant watering. The successful cultivator of the pea, the onion, and the spinach plant, is aware of the importance of this remedy. Perhaps, where it is practicable, the saturation of the soil not immediately surrounding the roots of plants, with water, would be the safest plan of supplying it.

We have the means of the most entire control over the moisture of the air within our glazed-houses, and by choice of situation, or the occasional employment of protection by screens, some power of effecting the same thing in the open air. Evaporation increases with the velocity of the air-current passing over the plant, and, *cæteris paribus*, is least where the atmosphere is at rest. The easterly wind, with the exception of the south wind, which sometimes blows for a day or two before rain, is the driest, as it is also the coldest, of our climate. It therefore robs the plant of its juices at the same time that its cold diminishes the vital susceptibility of the plant, and contracts the vessels of the stem, thus preventing the renewal of the evaporated moisture from the roots. The utility of sheltered situations and screens is evident. Cold air is denser than warm, and consequently descends : low situations at the foot of declivities are therefore to be avoided, however they may protect from wind. Surfaces composed of fibres, as grass plots, may be considered to have greater power of radiation—thus, a thermometer placed on the grass will indicate a greater loss of temperature during the night than another on the hard compact surface of a gravel walk. The interposition between the earth and space of non-conducting screens, as thatched hurdles, which reflect again to the earth the heat which it radiates, are therefore found to prevent that injurious degree of night cold which plants growing thickly together, or on grass, are likely to suffer

from. In hothouses we can provide for any degree of moisture in the air up to saturation itself, which the natural habits of the plants grown in them may require. The means are familiar to every gardener. Where brick floors are employed, this becomes the more difficult from their hot, dry, absorbent surface imbibing the moisture of the air. It must not be forgotten, that tropical plants are in their dry season exposed to an atmosphere more free from moisture than we can readily imitate.

The sulphurous acid gas from brick flues, ammoniacal vapor from fermenting manure, and other unsuspected sources of impure vapors—an infinitely small proportion of which is enough to render air unfit for vegetation, must be provided against, and for this purpose the abundant ventilation usually given to hothouses may have its use. But as far as the natural demand of the plants is concerned, it is not required, and is even hurtful, by the sudden changes of temperature it involves. Plants exhale oxygen during the day, and inhale the carbonic acid of the atmosphere at night; and the construction of all our glass-houses readily permits of all the access of fresh air which plants need. No other means of ventilation, by opening doors and lifting sashes, are required, than the alternate expansion of the contained air by the heat of day, and its contraction by the cold of night, will secure, through the imperfect fittings of such buildings.

Some experiments of the late Mr. Knight render it almost certain that the motion which trees and plants growing in the open air must partake of, has a very beneficial effect in promoting the flow of the sap, and consequently the nutrition of their whole system. This may render the free access of air through open windows and doors healthful to the inhabitants of our glass-houses. But some mode of supplying this want of motion artificially, without violating other conditions still more important to exotics, is the desideratum to which the attention of experimental gardeners should be directed.

For more particular advice on the means to be used in these delicate adjustments of temperature and moisture to the natural demands of tropical plants at their different periods of growth, we must refer to Dr. Lindley's volume; our object being to show the obvious connexion between a just acquaintance with the laws of vegetable life and successful horticulture—to create the desire for such assistance as works similar to the one before us can afford—not to supersede the necessity of consulting them.

The germination of seeds depends on moisture, sufficient heat, the absence of light, and a communication with the atmosphere. The fully ripe seed contains more carbon than any other living part, and the excess of this element, though necessary to the

preservation of the seed, keeps the vital principle in abeyance. This impediment to germination is removed by the decomposition of moisture absorbed by the seed. The hydrogen of the water is fixed in its tissue, while the oxygen forming carbonic acid with the superabundant carbon, is got rid of by the respiratory organs. But this process is most rapid and perfect in darkness. On exposure to light, oxygen is again let loose from the carbonic acid, and the carbon again fixed. The moisture softens and expands the tissues of the seed—dissolves the soluble matters, forms the sap, and a sort of circulation, by which the different parts of the embryo become connected into one system. The heat expands the air in the minute cavities of the seed, distends its whole organism, and calls into play that peculiar irritability of its parts that is to last until it dies. A mucilaginous saccharine secretion is formed, which furnishes the matter of the new parts now to be produced. The radicle, a rounded cone, pierces the earth in search of assimilable atoms. The stem rises, unfolds its rudimentary leaves, which as soon as they are exposed to the light, decompose carbonic acid, fix the carbon, and become green. Thus, though moisture is one of the conditions required, it must not be excessive, or the seed will become dropsical, and decay from the water that is stagnant in its cavities, putrifying. As we have before said, a soil apparently almost dry, will contain sufficient moisture for the germination of most seeds. The degree of heat being regulated to the special demands of the seed, and its seclusion from light secured by a suitable covering of earth, these conditions of growth must be maintained without irregular variations, which the vitality of the young plant, hardly out of its foetal state, will not support. A covering of moss, to be removed after the plants appear, is very often most adapted to small seeds. But for fuller directions about the modifications of heat, moisture, &c., required by the seeds of particular species, and for an account of the experiments that have been made to expedite germination by boiling the seed, or treating the soil with various alkalies, as lime, which assists in the liberation of the carbon, or with water impregnated with chlorine or oxalic acid, which by disengaging oxygen, acts in the same way, we must refer to Dr. Lindley's volume.

From the reference we have made to the chief conditions of vegetable growth, it will be easy to appreciate the merit of Mr. Ward's plan of growing plants in glass cases, which enables us with slight expense and no trouble, to decorate our rooms with the choicest and most delicate exotics. The cheapest and most convenient illustration of this method is the inversion of a glass frame or bell over the mould in which the plants or seeds are set. According to the nature of the species enclosed, more or

less moisture is given to the soil, and a situation more or less exposed to heat and light, selected. The window recess of an ordinary room affords as much of the two last as most plants require that do not need stove-heat. The watering is not renewed for months—as the perspired vapor condenses on the surface of the glass, and reaches the mould again. It will be seen that all the conditions needed for the growth of the most delicate plants are here provided. They are saved from refrigerating currents of air, by their atmosphere being enclosed. The sooty impurities of London, or any coal burning districts, which constitute a perfect obstacle to the healthiness of vegetable life, by choking the stomata of leaves, are filtered from the air entering the cases. The due degree of humidity is secured to the soil, and also to the atmosphere of the plants, and when it becomes deficient it can be increased. Light and warmth can be supplied according to the exigencies of the particular species, at their different seasons of growth. All the ventilation which is required, will be sure to take place through the imperfectly closed crevices, and the upper stratum of the soil over which the cases are inverted, by the alternate expansion of the enclosed air when heated, and its contraction on cooling. And as this will be proportional to the heat enjoyed by the plants, and consequently to their excitability, it will be exactly regulated to their real necessities. The facility which this method gives to the transport of foreign species from the most distant parts of the world, through the extremest changes of climate, perhaps confers its chief value upon it in the eye of science. The seeds of many species cannot be or have not hitherto been, brought to this country in a state fit for germination. The moisture of their envelopes has been sufficient to cause their decay, or in their passage through the tropics, to bring on their germination under circumstances adverse to the preservation of the young plant. Seed packing is superseded by Mr. Ward's plan, for they may be sown in their native climates, and the young plants not be injured by low temperature even on rounding Cape Horn. Or if vegetation has only commenced in crossing the line, it will not perish, as would otherwise happen, as soon as the ship arrives in colder latitudes. The locality where this plan was first used and has been perfected, is one extremely unfavorable to vegetation of any kind; the atmosphere being loaded with carbon from the numerous chimnies of sugar-refineries that surround Mr. Ward's premises in Wellclose Square. The courteous zeal of that gentleman permits all those who are curious in the matter, to witness what he has there achieved by its means. Few exhibitions can vie in beauty or rational interest with the luxuriant vegetation of his cases and glass-houses.

It is a property of all plants to form vital points similar to that which originally produced the individual. The usual situation of these is at the axils of leaves, or of any part which is really equivalent to a leaf, as scales, hooks, tendrils, and the floral organs, which are all modifications of leaves. But they may be found on the stem between the leaves, when they are termed adventitious. These minute points may not be visible, but they are there, and may be developed into leaf buds, capable of becoming, under fitting circumstances, new and independent plants. Man has profited by the example which nature often sets him, of making these leaf-buds, or eyes, as they are called, propagate their species without resorting to the germination of its seed. Whether he employs for this purpose the distinct bud or eye, or the same in its adventitious form of a 'knaur' in the bark, leaves, cuttings, layers, which are cuttings only partly separated from the parent stem; suckers, which are branches thrown from the base of a plant when its upward development is stopped and its vital forces consequently determined to and its nutriment expended by some bud which otherwise would have remained latent; budding or grafting; he only seeks, as well as his knowledge enables him, to provide what is necessary to the assumption of an independent existence by this vital point. To do so with success, it is requisite that the embryo plant should have nutriment prepared for its use in its separated state, or be assisted in maintaining its vitality until it is capable of providing this for itself. Nature furnishes us with the means of securing the first, by constantly producing a greater quantity of elaborated sap than the immediate demands of vegetation require. It is, therefore, laid up in the alburnum, or young wood, as in a reservoir, to be expended on the fruit, or in the rapid evolution of leaves in the ensuing spring. In propagating by cuttings, as in the vine and potatoe (where the aliment is contained in the esculent tubes of its root), the bud or eye is separated from its parent with a sufficiency of nutriment attached to it to support the young plant in its earlier stages. Vine cuttings were found by the late Mr. Knight to set more vigorously if part of the shoot contained the accumulation of two years. When it is attempted to reproduce the species from its leaf, as may in some few cases be done, the stalk end of the leaf is placed in soil, and covered with a bell glass partly shaded, to give it enough solar light to excite the functions of the leaf-tissues, but not so much as the leaf would bear if it were still receiving an ascending current of sap. For this purpose also, the atmosphere in the glass is kept moist, preventing the plant from dying of perspiration before it has power to renew its fluids from root spongioles. The stimulus of bottom heat is moreover given to it. The surface by which it was

attached to the parent stem becomes covered with cellular tissue, and from this root-fibres proceed, and take up sap from the earth, which is elaborated in the leaf. The leaf increases in size, and at last the bud which it would have formed in its axil if left on the plant, is produced, and becomes the new plant. In the layer no new individual is produced, but its roots have to thrust themselves into the earth from the tongue; the prevention of the return of the sap, by partially injuring the wood vessels, contributing to such a mode of expending the sap and vital forces of the plant. Afterwards the buds which the branch thus inrooted happens to possess, will extend it, and it becomes thus independent of its parent. In budding and grafting, one plant is, so to speak, made to strike root into another, by union being produced between the similar parts of each. The result is a new compound individual. The student of Dr. Lindley's book will find a very interesting account of the principles on which the various modes of producing these results depend for their success, and to that we refer our readers.

Our limits admonish us to close. We do so with a hearty recommendation of the volume before us, which, though not professing to contain a complete Theory of Horticulture, is the nearest approach to it that has yet appeared.

Art. III. *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, translated from the Original Hebrew, with a Commentary, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical: and an Introductory Dissertation.* By the Rev. E. HENDERSON, D.Ph. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 8vo. pp. xxxvi., and 450.

THE appearance of this work must be hailed with considerable satisfaction by all to whom the sacred oracles possess an interest, either of a literary or of a higher kind. For even those who regard with indifference the spiritual truths presented to us in this portion of the prophetic volume, can hardly fail to appreciate the exquisite imagery, and the sublime poetry in which they are embodied. But hitherto, and the remark extends even to those who have possessed some knowledge of the original, that imagery has been defrauded of its full lustre—robbed in a measure of its life and its beauty, owing to the obscurity in which the explanation of the text has been involved. It is of the highest importance that the text of the prophetic books generally should be carefully illustrated, if only that justice may be done to a most important branch of the evidences of a divine revelation, which has long continued in a grievously marred and mutilated condition. For while

the commonly received interpretation of the text is in so many places evidently unmeaning or erroneous, and while each expositor proposes a different, and some even a two-fold application of it; to what purpose is it to refer the sceptic to a document of this kind, as furnishing proof of divine authority? And those even who are disposed to make every allowance that candor and devout humility can dictate, are frequently compelled, if of an inquiring mind, to desist from the perusal of many portions of these books, from their inability to comprehend the connected meaning of the writer. Doubtless many pious persons use the common version of the prophecies with no small benefit and satisfaction, though they may trouble themselves very little about history or criticism, and are content if they can derive some spiritual instruction from the drift of the whole, and from the sense which they attach to particular passages. Indeed it is one peculiar excellence of these writings, that even when we cannot clearly discern the sense of particular passages, or the true application of the whole, the grand principles of the divine government stand out so prominently, and the great truths in which man is interested are so definitely presented, and repeatedly insisted on, that it is impossible for any one whose spirit is in harmony with them, to be blind to their beauty, or to mistake their significance. Advantage may thus be derived from the study of the prophecies even when they are very partially understood. But one who has imbibed any taste for critical investigation, cannot proceed with comfort in the perusal of a record, so imperfectly intelligible; especially if he knows enough of the original to discover where our translation is lame and defective, but is not possessed of resources which will enable him to elicit a better sense. A person in this condition will confine his study to those portions of revelation which are not beset with like difficulties, rather than be continually stumbling amidst doubt and obscurity.

Our common version, though couched in beautiful and forcible language, manifestly labours under serious deficiencies. It is clear that in many passages the translators were quite at a loss for any definite and intelligible rendering. Nor can we imagine that it should have been otherwise in their lack of the necessary helps for the right performance of their task. Had their translation been far more accurate, much would have remained to embarrass the reader. The division into chapters, interrupting the connexion of continuous portions, the want of a proper separation of the distinct sections of each book and of titles indicating the various subjects of prediction, are obstacles more serious than might at first sight be supposed, in the way of the student of prophecy. These defects were suffered by Bishop Lowth to remain in his translation of Isaiah,

though they may to a certain extent be remedied by a reference to his notes; and the evils consequent upon them must be experienced by all who content themselves with the result of his labours. Where some predictions, utterly different in their subjects, run on to all appearance as one; and others, which form a grand and continuous whole, are broken up into fragments, divided by as wide a space as those which are quite unconnected, the mind will never grasp each separate prediction in its distinct and palpable integrity: the eye will run along a confused panorama, where one scene trenches upon another, and will find the representation, though imposing in parts, as a whole, incongruous and unmeaning. But this deficiency is the least fault which is chargeable upon the bishop's translation. His mind was not fitted, either by its constitution or by its previous training, for the task which he undertook. He was possessed of an elegant taste and of great ingenuity, but was sadly wanting in that caution and diffidence which should ever characterize the critical expositor of an ancient and obscure composition, especially when there is contained in it the element of inspiration. He had long been conversant with classical models, and his taste was completely conformed to their style of thought and expression. Though he could in a measure appreciate and descant with rapture upon the beauties peculiar to Hebrew poetry, yet the murmurs of the waters of Siloah were, to his ear, mingled with the flow of the Ilissus. Had it been otherwise, how could he ever have thought of transfusing the nervous couplets of the Hebrew seer into those frigid paraphrases of modern Latin verse, of which, in his lectures on Hebrew poetry, he has given us some specimens—elegant and well turned indeed, and in their kind superior, but ‘oh! quantum mutatus ab illo!’ Let one but compare the commencement of his translation of the ode of triumph in Isaiah xiv. 4, with the original:—

איך שבת לגש ‘How hath ceased the oppressor!
: שבתה מדהבה Ceased the gold-exacting *queen*,’

There is the living, fiery, energy of nature, the true prophetic tone. Now let us turn from the prophet to the bishop; from the simplicity of truth to the refinement of an imitated classical style:

‘Ergo insolentis corrui imperi
Insana moles? occidit urbium
Regina victrix, nec subacto
Effera jam dominatur orbi?’

How hath the gold become dim, and mixed with alloy!
Mark the childish astonishment of the interrogation; the po-

verty of the lagging and useless epithets; the utter loss of the original personification,—‘the oppressor,’ being sunk into a matter-of-fact ‘empire,’ and then say whether this was the man that was likely to catch the spirit of Isaiah. Besides, his knowledge of the prophet’s language was far too superficial to qualify him for a safe guide in the grammatical interpretation of the text. And when this, the very foundation, was wanting, what availed all other endowments? But, more than this, the principles of criticism, which he had adopted, were of the most unsound description. Having imbibed the views of Father Houbigant, whose rash conjectural emendations of the text are notorious, he set out with the fixed persuasion that our present text of Isaiah is in a very corrupt state, and that this is the chief cause of the difficulties met with in its explanation. Accordingly, whatever could be derived from MSS. of any age or country, whatever ingenuity could extort from the ancient versions, or fabricate from its own resources, was eagerly brought forward, in order to substitute for what was difficult and idiomatic, something that should be easy for the interpreter, and plain and level to modern tastes and ordinary capacities. If in any instance some favorite doctrine could receive fresh and unexpected support from an ingenious turn given to a passage, this ground was sufficient for the adoption of the new rendering; and the recovery of this lost proof was announced with loud gratulation by those whose love for spiritual truth was greater than their skill in criticism. Thus in ch. liii. ver. 7, the words correctly rendered in our version, ‘He was oppressed and he was afflicted,’ were twisted into, ‘It was exacted, and he was made answerable;’ for the refutation of which we refer our readers to Dr. Henderson’s note on the passage. Marked with faults so glaring as these, the bishop’s translation turned out to be of very little value indeed to the critical student, except as affording a warning against the tendency to unbridled speculation, of which the Scripture critics of English growth have presented but too many examples. Of a far different character were the labors of the Exegets of Germany; and to none of them, in reference to this book, are our obligations so deep as to the great reformer of Hebrew lexicology, Gesenius. His thorough and almost matchless acquaintance with the Hebrew idiom, and the extensive investigations in oriental philology, of which his lexicons present us with rare and valuable fruits, pre-eminently qualified him for the interpretation of the chief of the prophetic writings. Yet the results of his toil, disguised in a foreign language, were not available to the mass of biblical students in this country. And it could not be but that his scepticism should leave the traces of its baneful influence upon his mode of expounding many of the most impor-

tant passages. We might expect that such an expositor would exert all his strength in endeavoring to wrest from the hands of believers those texts to which they had been accustomed to cling, as proofs of the prophet's anticipation of our Saviour's kingdom. Accordingly (not to mention his perversion of ch. vii. 14), we find him, in ch. lii. 15, actually assigning to a Hebrew verb a sense new and destitute of proper authority, in order to remove the appearance of too close a resemblance to the New Testament character of Christ, as our great High Priest, unto the 'sprinkling of whose blood' we are chosen (1 Pet. i. 2). כִּן יִזְה גוֹיִם רַבִּים* is correctly rendered in our common version, 'so shall he sprinkle many nations;' but Gesenius prefers to follow the rendering of the LXX. (whose authority here is not worth a rush), and translates, 'So shall he cause many nations to rejoice (or to admire).' He attaches to the root יִזְה, in this solitary instance, the idea of 'rejoicing,' and supports his conclusion by comparing with it an Arabic root, to which that signification has been erroneously given by Golius.† Ample scope was therefore left for one possessed of sufficient learning and true piety, to apply to the elucidation of the text, under the guidance of better principles, the aids accumulated by infidel scholarship. This task has been most creditably accomplished by the laborious and learned author of the present translation. His previous work on Divine Inspiration afforded a sufficient guarantee of the soundness of his doctrinal views; and if any proof were wanting to substantiate his reputation on the score of learning, it is abundantly supplied in the copious and satisfactory notes, by which the text of this volume is illustrated. These we consider to be a most valuable contribution to the cause of biblical exegesis. They contain not only a well digested statement of the opinions of nearly all previous commentators of any note on each contested passage, but also an explanation of each difficult root, with illustrations from the ancient versions and cognate oriental dialects, even to the Ethiopic, and the Coptic. Dr. Henderson has likewise allowed no instance to pass unnoticed, in which it seemed to him that rash expositors had proposed unwarrantable emendations of the text; which of course brings him into pretty frequent contact with Lowth, Secker, and their followers—a tribe to which might well be applied, with a little variation, the lines of the Roman satirist—

* While considering this passage, we were exceedingly struck with the fine musical flow of the original, which is here more easily recognised by an English ear, provided it be read according to the accents, than elsewhere in general. We allude particularly to ver. 13—15.

† See Dr. Henderson's work, p. 376.

Emendatores, præceps 'pecus, ut mihi sæpe
Bilem, sæpe jocum, vestri movêre tumultus !'

In reference to the misnamed corrections of such authors, we cite with pleasure the concluding remarks of Dr. H., in his *Introductory Dissertation*, p. xxiv.

'Gesenius has demonstrated that they are in most instances altogether uncalled for; in others, without any solid foundation; and that had the bishop been more familiar with the comparative philology of the Hebrew text, and the oriental dialects, and more deeply versed in the minutiae of the Hebrew syntax, he would have been under no temptation to tax his ingenuity, or to have recourse to the desperate remedy which he has so freely applied in the exercise of therapeutic criticism. * * * It has, I trust, been made apparent to the satisfaction of the reader, that the text is by no means in that corrupt state in which it has been represented; and that, carefully and accurately examined by all the lights which the present improved state of oriental philology and biblical criticism supplies, it justly demands our undiminished confidence and respect. The errors of transcription which have crept into it, are in general of little or no consequence, as affecting the sense, and may easily be rectified by a judicious use of the various readings exhibited in the MSS., by comparing the renderings given in the ancient versions, by consulting the testimonies of Jewish and Christian writers; and by due attention to the context, and to the scope of the writer.'

The *Introductory Dissertation*, from which this is quoted, consists of four sections, containing much useful and some important matter, especially the second and fourth. In the first a clear and succinct account is given of the life and times of the prophet. From this we shall take occasion to say something concerning that order of divine messengers, to which he belonged, and the peculiar circumstances which called forth his ministrations.

The situation of the class of ministers, called *prophets*, in the Hebrew commonwealth, was strikingly different from that of any similar class in the surrounding Gentile nations. They did not form a body of regularly trained sages, like the Chaldeans at the court of the king of Babylon, to whom their royal master could have recourse whenever counsel more than human seemed necessary, or when 'the visions of his head upon his bed troubled him.' Such evidently was the idea formed of the prophets of Israel by the Syrian king, when he sent Naaman to king Jehoram to be cured of his leprosy; he must have thought of Elisha as an official minister at the court of Samaria.* They

* Ahab and Jezebel, however, among their other unlawful innovations, maintained bodies of prophets in connexion with their court. Thus we read

were not the *νεωκοροι* of any shrine,—the guardians of some sacred spot where divine influence was thought especially to diffuse itself; like the prophets of Jupiter at Dodona, or the Pythoness and *ὑποφῆται* of the Delphian Apollo, into whose treasury the wealth of the surrounding states and kingdoms was poured, while the oracles of inspiration came forth in accordance with the wishes of the highest bidder. As little did they resemble an incorporated body of diviners, like the College of Augurs, at Rome,—leagued together for the promotion of political ends by means of religious imposture, and themselves sharing in the power and emoluments, as they were allied with the families, of the dominant Patrician order.

If we look into the interior of the Hebrew state, we shall see a king, surrounded by the ministers of his court, possessed of limited authority, and bound to govern and judge according to the statutes of his sovereign Jehovah, the Lord of the land, of whom he is but the viceroy. We shall find an hereditary priesthood, discharging the regular services of the temple, in close connexion with the throne, and subject to its authority (1 Kings ii. 27); a consecrated tribe also, scattered throughout the land, to assist and direct the people in the performance of the numerous rites enjoined on their observance. But apart from these, and entirely unconnected with them, the prophets present themselves. We see them in the better times of Hebrew history, assembled in their schools, or in a company ‘coming down from the high place, with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp before them,’ uttering in hymns the praises of Jehovah, or making known, in lofty verse, his *Mishpâtim*, the principles of his government, in their spiritual beauty and extent.* Again, in an age of corruption and idolatry, we behold some individual of this class come forward, charged with an extraordinary commission. Standing forth in the royal presence before the assembled nobles and priests, in his loose garb of hair-cloth bound round him with a leathern girdle, with hair and beard unshorn and shaggy, he denounces to the arch-rebel and his accomplices their treacherous revolt

of 450 prophets of Baal, and 400 prophets of Astarte (in our translation ‘of the groves’), who ate at the queen’s table; and of 400 false prophets of Jehovah, who prophesied before Ahab and Jehoshaphat, in the gate of Samaria.

* This would seem to have been all along the distinguishing function of the prophetic office. Prophecy appears to have been always conveyed in lyric song; for of such a kind are even the predictions of Noah and Jacob. If we are to judge from the example of Elisha (2 Kings iii. 15), the impulse of the Spirit seems regularly to have been bestowed in connexion with the influence of sacred music. It is evident that they also performed the duty of faithful historians of the theocracy.

from their lawful sovereign, ready to confirm his threats of divine vengeance with a sign of supernatural power. Nor was this a mission that might be undertaken lightly, from the impulse of enthusiasm or the promptings of ambition. If the sign proposed was not performed, or if the prediction failed of accomplishment, the law of Moses doomed the impostor to death. The prophet held his commission immediately from the Deity : he might not say aught beyond what was suggested to him by direct revelation from God. But, while he confined himself to the announcement of that message, he was to brave undaunted the opposition of all, to defy at once their contempt and their fury ; being set ' like a defenced city, as an iron pillar, and as ' brazen walls against the whole land ; against the kings of Judah, against the princes thereof, against the priests thereof, ' and against the people of the land.' Entire want of success was not to discourage him. Nay, he was often to regard it as a natural consequence of his message, that it should ' stupify ' the heart, and dull the ears, and close the eyes ' of those to whom it was addressed. But, amidst all the contempt to which he was exposed, there was much to sustain his heart, besides that which alone could effectually support him, the consciousness of the presence of the ' Holy One of Israel.' He belonged to a nobler than any merely royal line ; by virtue of his office he was the successor of Abraham, to whom the two-fold promise of an earthly inheritance and a universal spiritual blessing was revealed. Over the maintenance of the covenant connected with the former, he was appointed to watch, and to lead on the brightening development of the glories of the latter. He knew his testimony to be a link in the chain of the divine communications, whose course might be traced from the groves of Mamre to the death-bed of Jacob in Egypt ; from the summits of Sinai and the plain of Moab, to the tabernacle in Shiloh ; and thence onwards until its last link was fastened to the footstool of the triumphant Messiah, by him who, in the isle of Patmos, heard the voice and saw the form of ' the alpha and the omega, ' the first and the last.'

Among those of his order who have recorded their predictions, the prophet Isaiah not only claims the most distinguished rank by the importance of his subjects, and the beauty of his style, but may also be considered the first in point of time of those who belonged to the kingdom of Judah. Jonah, Hosea, and Amos, had preceded him in the kingdom of Israel ; but their predictions were entirely confined to the condition and fortunes of their own state, with the exception of the mission of the first to Nineveh. Micah was indeed his contemporary, but younger, for he did not come into notice till the reign of Jotham. Thus, we may justly assign to Isaiah the leadership of that noble band of

witnesses for Jehovah, who lifted up their voices, with hardly any hope of success, to testify against the crimes of their countrymen, to denounce the coming desolation, and to point the hopes of the faithful few to a distant future of holiness and peace. He does not seem to have commenced these his extraordinary labors until the reign of Ahaz, when the tide of corruption set in with a resistless current. During the two preceding reigns, his exertions were probably confined to the discharge of the ordinary duties of the prophetic office. The period of his youth was probably spent in the study of the law, and in the regular labors of a religious instructor, poet, and historian. But a crisis was at hand in the character and condition of the nation which called for mightier efforts.—Idolatry had first appeared in the reign of Solomon, towards its close, under the patronage of his heathen queens, and had received fresh encouragement from the superstitious mother of Asa. Unlawful worship on the high places had likewise gained an extensive footing; and to this the established practices of the kingdom of Israel must have given powerful countenance, and been a continual temptation. Though the idols were removed by Asa and Jehoshaphat, their worship was introduced more extensively than ever by the wife of king Jehoram, the wicked Athaliah, daughter of Jezebel. During the fourteen years that her influence lasted, the corruption became so deeply rooted that, it was only in appearance extirpated in the early part of the succeeding reign. No sooner was the priest Jehoiada dead than, at the instigation of the princes of Judah, king and people abandoned the house of Jehovah, and flocked to the abominable rites of their favorite Baalim and Ashtaroth. Yet the defalcation does not seem to have been entire or universal. The corruption in its worst extent was probably confined to the higher classes, who scorned restraint, and were fond of foreign customs; and even they, doubtless, still worshipped Jehovah, though not exclusively. The bulk of the common people may have been kept tolerably attentive to the external observance of the law, by the influence of the Levites and prophets, though they clung to their now hereditary reverence for the high places, and to a superstitious regard for teraphim, amulets, and incantations. Such was the state of religion when Uzziah ascended the throne. This active prince brought the kingdom to a state of greater strength and prosperity than it had enjoyed since the days of Jehoshaphat. His scheme of policy was taken up and pursued with equal success by his son Jotham. The national wealth thus began rapidly to increase, and luxury and vice followed in its train. Contrary to the express prohibitions of the law, horses and chariots were multiplied; and the chief men of the state, neglecting justice, were bent only on increasing their gains, and extending their

landed possessions to the utmost limit. Though both Uzziah and Jotham were, on the whole, faithful to the theocracy, yet they were by no means zealous worshippers of Jehovah, and the corrupt practices of the people were allowed to go on unchecked. At length the increasing defection from the true God, found a fit leader in the profligate Ahaz. Casting aside every restraint, this worthless king practised the worst abominations of the heathen openly in the midst of Jerusalem. In every street of the sacred city, altars smoked with incense to some of the innumerable *non-entities* (עֲלִילִים) of Phœnicia and Syria. Every high-place, and hill, and green tree, witnessed the prostitution of his sacred dignity; while from the valley of the Son of Hinnom, was heard that fearful din of strange music, which betokened that there foul revelry was held in honour of

——‘ Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice and parent’s tears,
Tho’ for the noise of drums and timbrels loud
Their children’s cries unheard, that passed thro’ fire
To his grim idol.’

But the scourge of the avenger was at hand. Judah was attacked and devastated at once by the Edomites from the south, the Philistines from the west, and the combined force of Israel and Syria from the north. Annihilation seemed hourly to impend over the Jewish state and the house of David. Now, consequently, was the time to make the voice of warning heard, and it is sounded. But the prophet speaks not of himself, or in his own name. He calls upon the universe to listen to the complaint of its insulted Maker :

‘ Hear, O heavens, and hearken, O earth !
For Jehovah speaketh ;
I have nourished and brought up children,
But as for them—they have rebelled against me.’

There has always appeared to us to be something inexpressibly sublime and touching in this solemn exordium. The hushed heavens and the silent earth are listening, and amid the stillness, a fearful cry is heard of a Father wronged by the children he has nursed. Then the inspired poet pours forth in impetuous strains his descriptions of their guilt and their sufferings, exhortations and entreaties to return to obedience, promises to the obedient, threats to the impenitent, hopes of a distant glorious period to the believing; and again, denunciations against the idolaters, with predictions of ruin, captivity, and a future restoration. Such are the contents of the first four chapters, which we would connect together as one prophecy. The same theme is resumed with fresh and more striking illustrations in chap. v.;

more vivid delineations are given of the prevailing corruption, and an announcement of the near invasion of the Assyrians is made. The prophet then subjoins, in support of his authority for these declarations, an account of the scene and circumstances of his investment with his extraordinary commission, which had taken place about sixteen years previously.

The first six chapters thus appear to form an introduction to the whole prophecy, depicting the state of things which called it forth, presenting in brief the main subjects of it, and vindicating the authority of its author. There seems no need to imagine with Jahn that the sixth chapter is misplaced, and ought to stand at the commencement of the book. We should be still more loath to adopt the alteration, which he seems desirous to propose, of "Uzziah" into "Jotham," in v. 1, or to embrace as an alternative his conjecture that some predictions of Isaiah, during the reign of Jotham, have been lost. There is surely nothing strange or improbable in the supposition that the prophet may have retired from public view, or at least from active labor, during the reign of Jotham, until the crisis came which called for his services. We are rather surprised that Dr. Henderson has taken no notice in his commentary of the difficulty which Jahn and others seem to have felt with the present reading (though not, in our opinion, reasonably,) on account of the length to which it extends the official life of Isaiah.

The contents of the prophecy may be divided into four sections. We very much wish that Dr. Henderson had consulted the benefit, or at least the convenience of the student, by placing between the Introductory Dissertation and the Translation, a tabular view of these, with their various subjects distinctly enumerated. We suppose, however, that he has left this as a task to be executed by the student for himself. The first section comprehends chap. i.—xii., and contains the introduction we have described; encouragements relative to the invasion by Pekah and Rezin, predictions of the invasion of the Assyrians, and of their miraculous destruction, with intimations of the Messiah's kingdom, following up the promise given to Ahaz, and closing with a prediction of the first restoration of the Jews.

In reviewing the subjects to which these prophecies refer, one is apt at first to be startled by the apparently incongruous mixture of events, different in character and widely separated from each other in time. We have no sooner been told of the approaching subjugation of Syria, and of the entire removal of the sister kingdom of Israel within sixty-five years,* than we

* See ch. vii. 8, 9. We feel inclined to differ a little from Dr. H. in the translation and intention which he attaches to these two verses. We should render them thus: 'For as surely as the head of Syria is Damascus, and the

are surprised by an announcement of the birth of the Messiah. This again is succeeded by a description of the Assyrian invasion, in the midst of which the voice of the Messiah himself is heard,* comforting his disciples, and warning the impious. The near and the distant are continually united, because the accomplishment of the former is that contemporary sign which is to be the guarantee for the fulfilment of the latter. They are linked together, as an envoy's proclamation and his credentials; associated together, they invite our attention and confidence, like a stranger introduced by a friend—the unknown and mysterious vouched for and recommended by what is known and acknowledged.

In the application of the prophecies, we were much pleased to find that Dr. Henderson has entirely rejected the hypothesis of a double sense, or two-fold application, to which in one form or other most interpreters have seemed so fond of adhering. Yet no mode of explanation can be more unsatisfactory, or less needful. We should hardly hesitate to affirm, that the adoption of such a supposition robs the prophecies of all force of conviction, effacing every lineament of genuineness and certainty, and reducing them to the ambiguity of Pythian responses. This manner of exposition has been the standing disgrace of our Biblical commentators. It has given room on the one hand to the sneers of such infidels as Bolingbroke, who affirmed that the Old Testament prophecies might very well be applied to the events of modern European history; and on the other hand to the absurd and dangerous conceits of the Plymouth Brethren, who, determined to have something definite at least, press the literal meaning throughout, even where the language is plainly figurative. We were, indeed, surprised and vexed to find so judicious a writer as Davison, in his *Discourses on Prophecy*—a work, on the whole, deserving of all praise—while condemning what he calls the abuse of the two-fold application, actually adopting it in the case of the most important predictions,† and justifying himself by the assertion that the proof of prescience is thus made doubly strong, since the difficulty of accomplishment becomes, as it were, twice as great. But if a prophecy be such that it will apply equally well to the restoration of the Jews from captivity, and to the conversion of the Gentiles; or again to the destruction of

head of Damascus, Rezin, so surely within sixty-five years, &c. And as the head of Ephraim is Samaria * * * so, if ye of Judah believe not, surely neither shall ye remain.'

* See ch. viii. 16. This is a strongly marked instance of the abrupt changes of the person speaking, which are of frequent occurrence in the prophecies, as in other lyric compositions. They cannot seem strange to any one who is conversant with our old ballads.

† See the work, p. 195.

the Jewish polity, and to the end of the world, it must necessarily be of so indefinite and loose a character, as to be capable of adaptation to any great deliverance, or to any great convulsion. If truly divine, it must possess the unity of truth; it must suit the one, and not the other; it must have been intended for one, and not for both; and marks should be discerned and pointed out by the faithful expositor which shall show its congruity with the received, and its incongruity with the rejected, application. This Dr. Henderson has done in most instances successfully; there are some passages, indeed, in which we see reasons for differing from him, but it would hardly be interesting here to descend to detail, from which we are prevented also by want of space.

The second section of the book extends from chap. xiii. to chap. xxiii. inclusive. With the exception of ch. xxii., it is entirely occupied with the 'denunciation of the doom' (נִפְּזָה) of each of the foreign nations, whose fortunes were more or less connected with those of the valley of vision itself. This section is replete with the most interesting statements, embellished by the most lively and beautiful imagery. But without further remark, we shall proceed to give two extracts, in which we think the present translation most strikingly manifests its superiority to our common version. The first is the address to the Ethiopic nation contained in chap. xviii. It follows close upon the prediction of the miraculous destruction of the Assyrian in the close of chap. xvii., and refers throughout to the same subject. It will be better, however, to let Dr. Henderson speak for himself, and we shall therefore give in addition his introduction to the chapter.

'Chap. xviii.—While considerable obscurity hangs over certain parts of this prophecy, it nevertheless presents several points which serve as distinct landmarks for the guidance of the interpreter. That it is not a separate or disjointed portion of the book may be maintained on three grounds. First, it is not introduced as a distinct prophecy, which is the case with all the other prophetic oracles contained in chaps. xiii. xxiii. Secondly, it is not denunciatory of judgment, upon the nation to which it refers, which is likewise the case with those oracles. And thirdly, ver. 4—6 are so obviously parallel with chap. xvii. 13, 14, that they can only with propriety be viewed as referring to the same event. It must, therefore, be connected with the last three verses of the preceding chapter; and, according to the unrestrained explanation of the geographical and other features which it exhibits, and the historical circumstances of the period, there is no country to which it can consistently be applied but Ethiopia. At the time Sennacherib invaded Judea, which was towards the close of the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign, the king of Ethiopia was Tirhakah, a monarch of great military renown (Strabo, xv. 1, 6), whose figure, name, and the expedition which he undertook against Sennacherib are recorded on the walls of a Theban temple (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 140). According to the Phonetic alphabet his name is THPK, or, as found on

the ruins of Medinath-abu, and those of the Mountain Barkal, in Abyssinia, THPKA. See Rosell. Mon. ii. tab. 8. Succeeding Saba-cho and Sevechus or So, he also reigned over Upper Egypt; and in all probability had his residence at Thebes. As the ultimate object of Sennacherib was the conquest of Egypt, Tirhakah, being informed of his approach, set out with an army to attack him; see 2 Kings xix, 9; Isa. xxxvi. 2. While on the point of taking Jerusalem, the army of the king of Assyria was miraculously destroyed; and as this event was not only of immense importance politically, but calculated to draw the attention of the surrounding nations to the character and claims of Jehovah, it was proper that messengers should be despatched to the principal powers, and especially to Tirhakah, who was more than ordinarily interested in the fate of the Assyrian army. The despatch of these messengers, and the result which followed, form the subject of the present chapter.

1. 'Ho! thou land of rustling wings,
Which art beyond the rivers of Cush;
2. Which sendest ambassadors by sea,
And in vessels of papyrus on the surface of the waters:
Go, ye swift messengers, to the nation drawn out and
plucked;
To the people terrible from the first and onward;
The nation powerful and victorious,
Whose country the rivers divide!
3. All ye inhabitants of the world,
Ye that dwell on the earth:
When the standard is raised on the mountains, look ye!
And when the trumpet is sounded, hear ye!
4. For thus hath Jehovah said to me:
I will sit calmly and look on in my dwelling-place;
It may be like the serene heat in sunshine,
Like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest;
5. But before the harvest, when the blossom is gone,
And the flower has become a ripening fruit,
He shall cut off the twigs with pruning hooks,
And the shoots he shall remove by cutting them off.
6. They shall be left together for the ravenous birds of the
mountains,
And for the wild beasts of the earth;
The ravenous bird shall summer on them,
And every wild beast of the earth shall winter on them.
7. At that time a present shall be brought to Jehovah of
Hosts,
From the people drawn out and plucked;
From the people terrible from the first and onward;
The nation powerful and victorious,
Whose country the rivers divide,
To the place of the name of Jehovah of Hosts,
Mount Zion.'—pp. 155—160.

Our second extract is from chap. xxii., the message of the Lord to the impious steward (or, as our version, in accordance with the Targum and Saadiah, renders it *treasurer*) Shebna. This passage struck us particularly as having, in the present translation, gained considerably in force of language. Now we must say that, on the whole, we think Dr. Henderson has not come up, in point of racy and powerful diction, to our old translators: but here he has decidedly surpassed them, not only in accuracy but also in this their peculiar excellence. We would recommend the reader to compare the two in this place.

‘ Chap. xxii. 15.

- ‘ Thus saith the Lord, Jehovah of Hosts :
 Go in now to this steward,
 To Shebna, who is over the household [and say],
 16. What hast thou to do here ? and whom hast thou here ?
 That thou hewest out here for thyself a sepulchre ?
 He heweth out his sepulchre on high !
 He cutteth out a mansion for himself in the rock !
 17. Behold ! Jehovah will cast thee headlong, O thou mighty !
 He will grasp thee firmly,
 18. And, whirling thee round and round, will toss thee
 Like a ball into a wide country :
 There thou shalt die,
 And there shall be thy splendid chariots ;
 Thou disgrace to the house of thy Lord !
 19. I will drive thee from thy post,
 And pull thee down from thy station.’—pp. 189—192.

The third division of the book comprises ch. xxiv.—xxxv. inclusive. The subjects are—the coming desolations of the Holy Land; the restoration of the Jews, and hymns on the occasion; judgments on Samaria; the siege by Sennacherib; the rejection of the Jews and call of the Gentiles; topics connected with the Assyrian invasion; the fall of Assyria; the ruin of Idumea by Nebuchadnezzar; and the future period of the joy and happiness of the righteous. Prophecies of the Messiah are as usual interspersed, especially in ch. xxviii. and xxxii. The prophecy against Samaria, in ch. xxviii. must have been accomplished in a very few years; and that of the siege of Jerusalem in ch. xxix. and the sudden disappearance of the invading myriads, is verified by the pen of the seer himself, in the historical account which we have in ch. xxxvi.—xxxix. The denunciations against the land of Idumea, in ch. xxxiv. have been most remarkably fulfilled, even to the letter, as is witnessed by those travellers who have lately visited that long lost region. The application of the first four chapters of this section has been the subject of an endless variety of opinion among commentators,

so that they have been accounted by Vitringa, Michaelis, and others, the most obscure and difficult in the whole book. The desolations effected by Shalmaneser—those by Sennacherib—those by Nebuchadnezzar—those in the time of the Maccabees—all the desolations of Palestine, including that by the Romans;—each of these applications has had its supporters. Most of the Reformers, induced probably by the excited and troublous character of the times in which they themselves lived, applied it to judgments to be brought upon the earth in general. Dr. Henderson considers it ‘in the light of a prophetic review of ‘the judgments brought upon the land, more especially those ‘brought upon it by the Chaldeans, down to the time of the ‘Messiah,’ without any reference to times yet future. This view seems to us best to accord with the strength of the language and with all the circumstances alluded to.

After the triumphal song of praise, which the restored Jews are introduced as uttering, there occurs a short passage of pre-eminent importance, in which is foreshown the sum of the blessings of the gospel dispensation. We shall quote it, along with part of the notes by which it is illustrated.

‘ Chap. xxv. 6—8.

‘ In this mountain, Jehovah of hosts shall prepare for all people,
A feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees :
Of fat things full of marrow, of well-refined wine on the lees ;
And he shall destroy in this mountain,
The face of the covering which covereth all people,
And the web that is woven over all nations.
He shall utterly destroy death ;
And the Lord Jehovah shall wipe away the tears from all faces,
And shall remove the reproach of his people from the whole earth ;
For Jehovah hath spoken it.’

‘ Fatness is not confined by the Hebrews to animals, but is used of other subjects, the superior excellence of which they would express. Comp. however, τὰ σιτιστὰ, Matt. xxii. 4, שְׁמֵרִים, lit. *preservations*, i.e. preservers, the lees, or sediment of wine, produced by the bubbles of fixed air, which, during fermentation, rise to the surface, and bring along with them the skins, stones, or other grosser matter of the grapes ; thus forming a scum or spongy crust, which, after a time, breaks in pieces and falls to the bottom. When this has taken place, the wine becomes clear ; but as the fermentation does not then cease, it increases in the excellence of its qualities, by being suffered still to continue for a time on the lees. See Lowth's note, and comp. Jer. xlviii. 11. By metonymy of the cause for the effect, the word is here used to denote the excellent wines thus prepared by lengthened fermentation. To render them quite fit for use, they are purified by being filtered or drawn off from vessel to vessel. This is expressed by מִזְקֵרִים, the pual part of זָקַן, to *fine, purify*. Comp. the Arabic زَقَّى, pl. زَقَقَة, *vinum, kamoos*, from the skin in which it is kept. Such

wine, Pollux, in his *Onomast*, calls σακχίας οἶνος ὁ διυλισμένος. Thus Aq. in the present case: πότον λιπασμάτων διυλισμένον. ם״ן״ן, the other part. from ן״ן, Arab مخرج, *emedullavit os*, to draw the fat out of marrow bones, is assimilated to the former, instead of being written ם״ן״ן, which would be the regular form. ץ is the substitute of ן, the third radical.

‘8. A more glaring instance of mistaken historical interpretation is scarcely to be found, than that given of the first words of this verse by Grotius: *donec vivit Ezechias!* Vitranga, true to his principles of interpretation, explains them first of the times of Simon and John Hyrcanus, and then of certain periods of the Christian dispensation. Rosenm. and Gesen. apply them to what they designate the renewal of the golden age; and the latter has a long note on the passage, in which he endeavours to support his view by referring to the Zendavesta. But all such exegesis fails to meet the *exigentia loci*. What Isaiah predicts is not the partial or total cessation of war, extraordinary longevity, or such like, but the absolute abolition of death. In proof of this fact the apostle expressly quotes it, 1 Cor. xv. 55: τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος. Κατεποθή ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῆκος:—thus concluding his celebrated argument in defence of the doctrine of the resurrection.

‘By his inspired authority I deem it the only wise, because the only safe course, in this and all similar cases, to abide. The words, as alleged by Paul, are found in the version of Theodotion, with which the Targ. and Syriac agree in reading the verb as a passive. נִשְׁחַד in Chal. as here commonly signifies *to destroy, destroy utterly*; in Kal, the more usual signification is that of *swallowing*, which most of the versions have unhappily adopted. נִשְׁחַד, the Greek translators render by ἰσχυσας, εἰς τέλος, εἰς νῆκος; attaching to the term the idea of what is *overpowering, durable, complete*. The significations of the Hebrew root נִשְׁחַד, used only in Niph. and Piel, are *to shine, lead, lead on, be complete*; in Chald. *to surpass, excel, vanquish*; hence the idea of *victory, eternity, &c.*, attaching to נִשְׁחַד, and of *completely, entirely, forever, &c.*, to נִשְׁחַד נִשְׁחַד. The words are equivalent therefore to ὁ θάνατος οὐκ ἔστι ἐτι, Rev. xxi. 4; where there seems to be an evident allusion to our text; and where the subject is as here, not the millennial state of the church, but the state of glory, after the resurrection of the body. It will be then only that a period shall be put to the reproachful persecutions of the righteous, which Isaiah likewise predicts. ׁ״ has here the force of: *It shall assuredly be, for Jehovah hath spoken it.* The prophecy embraces the whole of the New Testament dispensation, from its establishment till its termination at the last day.’

—pp. 214—216.

To this section an historical supplement is appended, in an extract from the contemporary history of the times, in which is recorded the fulfilment of many of the most striking prophecies in the preceding portions. It concludes with an announcement of the Babylonish captivity, serving well to introduce the subsequent predictions, which are almost exclusively suited to the condition and feelings of the people in that time of suffering.

The fourth and last section of the book, from ch. xl.—lxvi. is to us in the present day the most interesting, and also on the whole the most easily intelligible. It relates chiefly to the work which was to be accomplished by Cyrus, to the person and office of the Messiah, and to the final restoration of the Jews to their land, when their present dispersion has ended. The style of its composition differs considerably in form and spirit from that of the preceding portions of the book. There is not that excitement of feeling, that burning energy of expression, and quickness of transition, by which they are marked. Its subdued tone, clear, full-flowing periods, and prolonged earnest expostulations, would seem to indicate that it belongs to the evening of the prophet's life, just as the same qualities in the book of Deuteronomy show that it is to be assigned to the old age of Moses. The frequent exposures of the folly of idolatry are also signs which support the propriety of referring it to the reign of Manasseh, who promoted that mode of worship with an unexampled if not with an exclusive zeal. The predictions concerning Cyrus are so distinct, and were so exactly accomplished, that the efforts of the neologian critics have been directed more against this section than against any other part of the book, to disprove if possible its authenticity. They maintain that it is the production of a writer subsequent to the Babylonish captivity, whom they call the Pseudo-Isaiah or Deutero-Isaiah. Without going into a lengthened refutation of their arguments, which he considers unnecessary after the elaborate dissertations in which they have been met and disproved, Dr. Henderson satisfactorily exposes the source from which their errors have proceeded.

We were at first rather disinclined to agree with Dr. Henderson in understanding the admonitions contained in chap. lviii. as having a reference to the Pharisaical spirit which prevailed among the Jews at the time of Christ's advent, and the delineation of profligacy in the following chapter as descriptive of the national corruption which preceded their overthrow by Titus. We were disposed to adopt the supposition of Hengstenberg, who finds here a reference to contemporary practices, indicating that the writer must have lived when the national government and religion were still upheld in Judah. But upon considering the relation of the passage to what goes before and follows after, Dr. Henderson's opinion appears to us about as probable as any other. It is not possible that the prophet can be speaking of a contemporary state of things in chap. lviii., if this portion of the book was indeed written in the reign of Manasseh. It may have been composed in the end of Hezekiah's reign, and the expressions would then be tolerably applicable; still, however, it is perhaps better explained, in con-

nexion with the context, of future times. The last seven chapters are applied by Dr. Henderson to the final conversion and restoration of the Jews, and the millennial state of the church. This gives a satisfactory definiteness to the predictions, and removes all need for that loose allegorizing which cannot be too strongly condemned. Such an application is also fully borne out by other parts of holy writ, and by the consideration that a prophet of the theocracy might naturally be expected to be chiefly charged with the proclamation of what concerned the fortunes of his own nation, and its polity. Yet we think there is something too fanciful in the idea expressed in the introduction to chap. lxvi.; that the prophet there 'anticipates and reprobates the attempt that will be made by the unbelieving portion of the Jews to rebuild their temple and re-establish their ancient ceremonies.' We have no evidence whatever that any such attempt will be made; and it is without example in the prophetic writings that an expostulation should be introduced concerning sinful conduct, the occurrence of which is not directly foreshown. It is doubtless a warning against that inveterate fondness for forms and ceremonies which the Jews have continually manifested. This tendency has been, and ever will be, the great obstacle to their reception of the gospel, with its more pure and spiritual mode of worship. Such declarations, therefore, were well fitted to draw the ancient Jews to a perception and appreciation of the *spirit* of their law, and to prepare them for the free and noble principles of the Christian dispensation.

But with another interpretation, which may displease some on account of its entire contrariety to received opinions, and with the arguments by which Dr. Henderson has supported it, we were highly satisfied. We mean his explaining chap. xix. 18, 19 of the temple of Onias near Heliopolis, as he does in the text, and in the following notes.

'For עִיר הַהָרָס *the city of destruction*, which several of De Rosse's codices express by עִיר הַהָרָם, sixteen MSS. and several printed editions read עִיר הַחֶמֶס *the city of the sun*, which is supported by the renderings of the Complutensian edition of the LXX., Symm. Vulg. Arab. Saad., the Talmud, and other Jewish testimonies. Whether Aq. and Theod. also so read, is uncertain. The Targ. unites both readings. The present is one of the only two passages in the Hebrew Bible, in which Eichhorn is inclined to admit that the Jews have been guilty of wilful corruption; and certainly there is ground to suspect that it has been tampered with, in support of party prejudice. We learn from Josephus and other Jewish authorities, that Onias, son of the high-priest Onias III., whose right it was to have succeeded to the office, finding that the high priesthood was transferred by Antiochus to another family, fled into Egypt, where he so effectually recommended himself by his talents to Ptolemy Philometor, and his queen Cleopatra, that in the year B.C.

149, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army ; and, soon after, he and Dositheus, one of his countrymen, had committed to them the entire administration of the government. Availing himself of his popularity, Onias persuaded the king to grant him permission to build a temple for the religious services of the numerous Jews resident in Egypt, and actually constructed one on the site of an ancient temple of Bubastis, or Isis, at the city of Leontopolis, in the Heliopolitan nome, of which he was governor. This erection corresponded, in miniature, to the temple at Jerusalem. Onias himself became high-priest ; other lineal priests and Levites were appointed ; and the whole service was conducted strictly according to the Mosaic ritual. The temple continued to be thus used till the time of the emperor Vespasian, who ordered it to be shut up and finally destroyed, on account of the attempt of the Egyptian Jews to throw off the Roman yoke. Joseph. Antiq. lib. iii. cap. iii. § 1—3, xx. x. § 1. Con. Apion. lib. ii. cap. v. Wolfii Biblioth. Hebr. tom. iv. p. 353. Talmud. Joma, 4. Maimon. Menachoth, 6.

‘To justify this understanding, Onias appealed to the 19th verse of this chapter, by which the scruples of many of his brethren were removed ; but it would seem that strong prejudices continued to be excited and fostered against it, most likely by Palestinian Jews ; for the text of the LXX. if not originally, yet very early, exhibited the reading, πόλις Ἀσείδευ, i. e. קִרְיַת צְדָקָה *the city of righteousness* : a reading copied in the Hexaplar Syriac ܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܐܝܬܐ, which inserts in the margin the readings of Aq. Symm. and Theod., but takes no notice of the Complutensian Ἀχίρην, so that it cannot have existed in the MSS. consulted by Origen. So violent a departure from the Hebrew text, on the part of the Alexandrian Jews, could only have been provoked by something similar on that of their brethren in Palestine, who, finding the use to which they applied the text, in all probability changed קִרְיַת צְדָקָה into קִרְיַת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ, and thus characterised Heliopolis, the city of the *sun*, as that of *destruction*, to which they wished it might be devoted. What warrants this conclusion, in addition to this circumstance and the support it derives from the authorities above quoted, which sustain קִרְיַת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ, is the total irrelevance of the common reading in such a context. Were the prophet still denouncing judgments against the Egyptians, there would be some propriety in his giving to one of its cities the name of ‘the city of *destruction*,’ but he is speaking of the establishment of the worship of the true God, in application to which, nothing would be more out of place.’

‘Ver. 19. Commentators generally take the ‘altar’ and ‘pillar’ here spoken of in a figurative sense, and some, as Gesenius, regard them as collective nouns, intimating that spiritual worship would be rendered to Jehovah throughout the land of Egypt. Since, however, the prophecy has respect to a period prior to the introduction of the gospel economy, we are not at liberty to interpret the terms otherwise than literally ; and as, during the period referred to, myriads of Jews were resident in Egypt, and worshipped the God of their fathers, there seems no valid reason why we should not consider the altar to be that erected by Onias at Leontopolis. It may, indeed, be objected, that such a prediction would sanction the violation of the Mosaic statute, which ordained that sacrifices should nowhere be offered except at the

place which God should choose, Deut. xii. 5—14: but it must be recollected, that this enactment had an exclusive reference to Palestine, to the circumstances of the Israelites as exposed to idolatry in that country, and to the theocracy as established among them there. Had they been at liberty to sacrifice privately, i. e. each at his own altar, it would infallibly have led to idolatrous practices, as the event proved, in the numerous instances in which they transgressed the commandment. None of these reasons apply to the Egyptian Jews. The theocracy was drawing to its close. Few, comparatively, of the Jews in Egypt could repair to Jerusalem at the appointed festivals. No encouragement was given to private sacrifice. The establishment at Leontopolis was exclusive; and Onias, who would have succeeded to the priesthood at Jerusalem, if he had not been unjustly deprived of it, had alone the right to officiate in holy things, and not Alcimus, who only exercised the office of high-priest in virtue of his having been invested with it by Antiochus. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 9. § 7.

‘Nor does it appear that this central worship in Egypt had the smallest influence in leading the Jews to practise idolatry, but the contrary. It tended to wean them from an undue attachment to Jerusalem, as ‘the place where men ought to worship,’ and to attract the surrounding idolaters to the service of Jehovah; and as both temples were destroyed, under the same emperor, within a few months of each other, and no provision was made in the Hebrew scriptures for any future erection of the kind, it was demonstrated to the Jews that henceforth, neither at Jerusalem nor elsewhere, were men exclusively to worship the Father, but that in every place incense should be offered to his name and a pure offering.’—Mal. i. 11.

By the publication of the present volume Dr. Henderson has conferred a very valuable boon on the Christian public at large; and on students of theology in particular. The latter have now within their reach the collective results of the labors of all preceding commentators on this most important book, digested and freed from whatever was discordant with the spirit of the inspired author. The work of Lowth no longer remains as the only guide to which one could apply when beset with difficulties. Those, too, who wish to consult the prophecies for the evidences of their faith or for encouragement to their hopes, may now do so without fear of being perplexed. They are here presented with an antidote to the conceited vagaries of such literalists as *the Brethren*, while they need no longer have recourse to the old unsatisfactory expedient of a perpetual vacillation between a temporal and a spiritual reference. We heartily wish success to all Biblical critics, who, like Dr. Henderson, endeavor to elicit and display the mind of the Spirit, by the employment of all the aids which learning can furnish, under the guiding and animating power of the only principles which can lead to the right apprehension of revealed truth.

Art. IV. 1. *Reise in Abyssinien*, von Dr. EDUARD RUPPELL. Erster Theil. Frankfurt am Main. 1838.

2. *Travels in Abyssinia*. By Dr. EDWARD RUPPELL. Vol. I.

DR. Rüppell is well known to our German neighbors by his *Travels in Nubia, Kordofan, and Arabia Petræa*, which made their appearance in 1829, and also by his *Illustrations of African Zoology*. The subject of his present work is of equal interest, as it relates to a country of which little knowledge has hitherto been obtained in Europe. Referring to the idea which originated in the narratives of both Salt and Bruce, that the entrance into Abyssinia was barred up with almost insuperable difficulties, and that the individual who penetrated into the interior of the country would have to pay the penalty of his rashness by imprisonment, our author says that he ‘encountered’ none of the obstacles which these travellers had represented as so formidable. Times may have changed in Abyssinia as well as elsewhere; be that as it may, it is gratifying to learn that that religious fanaticism, depicted in such fearful colors, no longer exists against Europeans; the hope may therefore be entertained, that an abundant harvest will shortly be reaped from this productive field now opened to philosophical (and may we add to Christian?) research.’ The obtaining accurate geographical and statistical information was not the only thing kept in view by Dr. Rüppell in his different journeys into Africa, one principal object was the prosecution of inquiries connected with various branches of natural history. The results of his labors in these distinct departments of knowledge he has published in separate works; it is to the travels alone that we now proceed to introduce the reader.

His first chapter, on the political condition of Egypt under Mehemet Ali, contains a sketch of the political events in which the viceroy or his adherents acted the principal parts, or which were immediately connected with his plans. This history embraces a period of thirty-four years, and ends with 1834; but as other materials exist from which the English reader may obtain information on these points, we pass over this part of the work.

Chapter II. is on the administration of Egypt under Mehemet Ali. The alterations gradually introduced into the government of that country are numerous and vast. At the time of the French invasion, and even down to the end of the year 1809, the only assessment levied on the peasantry was a land-tax, paid partly in money and partly in kind, for such lands as were overflowed by the Nile; the extent of the inundation decided the abundance of the harvest; when it, therefore, had ended,

the probable return could be estimated, and the tax was accordingly fixed for the current year. Any artificial irrigation did not subject the cultivator to an additional tax. In many places this land-tax had become private property; in others it was appropriated to the support of the mosques and to the maintenance of schools. The principal revenues of the government were derived from the customs and from the capitation-tax paid by all except the Mahomedan part of the population, increased by occasional contributions levied on individuals and public bodies. These resources proving insufficient to meet the expenses of the war against the Wahabees, Mehemet Ali imposed a tax in money on every village throughout the country. When the individual owners of the taxes of different localities remonstrated, he required them to produce the documents on which they founded their demands. These deeds he never returned, but declared the claims to be null and void. At about the same time he imposed an assessment on the estates belonging to the mosques and various public establishments, the entire maintenance of which he subsequently undertook, making himself successively sole proprietor of all the taxes and then of the soil, exempting only the ground on which dwelling-houses stood, and gardens inclosed within walls, which were still regarded as private property. The peasantry were restricted as to the articles they should raise on their ground; additional imposts were levied, being certain quantities of butter, coals, and other fuel, straw, dates, baskets, mats, pigeon-dung, etc.; and conscriptions of men, children, and cattle for compulsory labor on the public works were enforced. The government then usually purchased the remaining produce at a fixed price, and retailed it to the consumer at a fourfold cost.

The ingenuity of the pascha was however not yet exhausted; as appears from the following passage.

‘ Ever since 1822, the sale of products brought for daily use into the market has been burthened with a particular tax. I mean not merely the ordinary duties levied at the gates of cities on all provisions carried into towns from the country, but an entirely new impost, which the genius of Mehemet Ali discovered for his unfortunate subjects. When a countryman had the extraordinary good luck to have paid all his arrears of taxes, and not to be liable to either the government or the farmer through the default of any living or deceased member of his district, if he ventured to sell the remaining portion of his wheat at the regular market, he was compelled to purchase this favor by paying an *ad valorem* duty of from sixty to eighty per cent.

‘ In 1833, when the Nile scarcely rose at all, and consequently a partial failure of the next year's crop might be expected; all provisions naturally rose in value; notwithstanding this Mehemet Ali saw fit to buy up 10,000 ardel of wheat for exportation to the coasts of

the Black Sea, because he anticipated a higher price for his corn than it would have fetched in Egypt.

‘No peasant is permitted to quit the country, and give up agriculture, which is thus overtaxed, and seek some other mode of life in the city.’—pp. 52—54.

This part of the population being thus reduced to a state but little removed from slavery, we will hastily glance at the condition of those who are supported by trade and manufacture.

‘Till the year 1815, Mehemet Ali had taken no other share in commerce than the sale of permissions for exporting various native productions; the industry of the country was entirely unfettered, and had acquired some consequence by the manufacture of cotton, woollen, and linen fabrics, the making of sugar, dyeing with indigo, working up of old copper, preparing leather, and some few other branches of manufacture.’—p. 54.

This prosperity has been annihilated by the pascha's grasping disposition, of which the following illustration given by our author may suffice.

‘The hide of every beast that is slain must be delivered to the pascha or to his farmer; when it has been tanned by the government, the leather is sold for the use of the natives at a price ten times greater than that at which it could naturally have been produced.’—p. 59.

Baskets, matting, linen, indigo, &c., are all under similar regulations.

As a pleasing relief to these scenes of oppression, we will mention the seminary at Boulak, near Cairo, established by Mehemet Ali in 1819. The number of lads is considerable; instruction is given in the grammar of the Turkish and Arabic languages, arithmetic, geometry, drawing, natural history, geography, French, and Italian. The advantages of the institution begin to be properly estimated; the disinclination to it was at first so great, that it was found necessary to purchase the good will of the parents. This school rendered a printing-press necessary; one was established in 1819; many European compendiums translated into Arabic have issued from it. We have not room to do more than mention his separation of the military from the civil power—his patronage of the medical profession—his establishment of a school of artillery—a naval school—and a veterinary college. The reckless waste of human life in the construction of the canal which communicates between the Nile and the harbor of Alexandria is well known.

Chapter III. consists of sketches and Notices of Lower Egypt. The prosperity of Alexandria, the population of which

city amounts to 60,000 souls, forms a striking contrast with the deplorable condition of other parts of the country.

‘ In the many large villages, which are very numerous in Lower Egypt, one third is frequently forsaken, and the inhabitants of the remaining two thirds are in the most abject poverty. No trace remains of the silver ornaments of the female sex, furniture is fast vanishing from the houses, the cattle are becoming fewer, and the date-trees are diminishing in number.’—p. 88.

The following observations of our author are not unimportant, as being calculated to remove a general misconception.

‘ With reference to the fertility of Egypt a very erroneous impression prevails generally throughout Europe, occasioned by the publications of ill-informed authors, who have written on the agriculture of this country. These persons commonly assert that a harvest is reaped three or four times a year from those lands which lie on each bank of the Nile. The truth really is, that, with the exception of gardens, the ground is never sown more than twice in the year; the natural inundation of the river suffices for the first crop, to sow the seed and gather in the harvest is all that is required; for the second a constant artificial irrigation is necessary. The much-praised fertility of this district really consists in the fields requiring no manure for either crop, as the slime deposited by the natural inundation is sufficient for both, and a failure of the corn-harvest is unknown. The first sowing takes place shortly after the retreat of the waters, that is to say, in November, and the harvest will be in March; the second, which is preceded by an artificial watering of the fields, is between April and August. The sudden rise of the river frequently damages this second crop, as the land is flooded before the corn is quite ripe. In cultivating the cotton and sugar-cane, which require long-continued artificial irrigation, those lands are used which are protected by means of small dams against the impetuosity of an inundation. The produce of the harvest, as compared with the sowing, is often ridiculously exaggerated in the narratives of Europeans. The following is the result of my inquiries respecting the four kinds of grain that are chiefly sown in Egypt. A piece of land of equal size and similarly circumstanced produces in one harvest—of wheat fifteen times the quantity sown, of barley eighteen times, of beans twenty-four times, and of maize thirty-five times.’

—pp. 91, 92.

Our author, in his fourth chapter, notices the following curious usage which prevails with reference to such Arab vessels as navigate the Red Sea.

‘ The owner selects among the Beduin tribes along the coast which he chiefly frequents, some chieftain, under whose special protection he places the ship and her cargo. This chief, to whom the name of *Kafier* is given, engages to employ all his influence, that in the event

of any disaster at sea befalling the craft for which he is guarantee, neither the ship nor its cargo shall be plundered by Beduins. The owner in return pledges himself to give his protector annually a certain quantity of cotton cloth or money, and when the vessel lies at anchor off a place where the Kafir or one of his dependants resides, the captain furnishes him with rations of meal, rice, and coffee.—p. 110.

On the 5th of May, 1831, our author left the harbor of Tor, the Raito of ancient geography, having despatched one of the company to make corresponding barometrical observations along the shore of the Red Sea, whilst he ascended the mountains. His only companions were one European and two Beduins of the tribe of Soelhe. He directed his steps to the village of El Wadi, which is inhabited by about thirty Arab families, who are supported chiefly by the sale of water and other provisions to the travellers landing at the harbor of Tor. They also derive considerable profit from a large date plantation, which is the property of the Convent of Mount Sinai. At the time of gathering the fruit a cloth is spread beneath the tree, all that falls into the cloth belongs to the monks, the rest to the Beduins. As an Arab always climbs the tree, it is easy to guess where most of the fruit falls.

The following is the account he gives of his ascent of Mount Sinai.

‘ Early in the morning of the 7th of May, I ascended Mount Sinai called by the Arabs Gebel Musa. From the monastery to the chapel at the summit of the mountain, occupies an hour and a quarter; the path is steep, but not very difficult; pieces of rock are laid all the way so as to serve for steps; but so unequal in size, that I could not venture to estimate the height of the mountain by the number of them, as Seetzen did when he ascended in 1806. The whole mountain consists of vertical strata of a fine-grained, grey granite, composed of equal parts of felspar and quartz intermingled with a very small quantity of mica; low bushes shoot up in all directions between the masses of stone, and afford a delicious sustenance for the goats. The top of the mountain is a single summit, with a small level place on which is erected a little Christian chapel: at no great distance, but rather lower, stands a mosque, near to which is a cistern of excellent water. The Christian chapel terminates the journeyings of the different religionists; according to tradition it covers the spot where Moses received the tables of the Ten Commandments.

‘ The prospect from the summit of Sinai is bounded on the E. S. and W. by lofty mountains: on the N. alone the eye ranges over an extensive landscape, whose yellow, sandy level, broken by low rocks of black porphyry, forms a contrast that produces a singular impression.’—pp. 117, 118.

Our author bears testimony to the accuracy of Burckhardt's description of Sinai. Dr. Rüppell claims the honor of being

the first to estimate the height of this mountain with any degree of correctness ; he sets it at 7035 French feet above the level of the sea at Tor. On the following day he ascended Horeb, or Catherine's Mount, the height of which he found to be 8063 French feet.

On his return from this excursion he was compelled to take up his residence again for some time at Cairo, and await the arrival of those remittances which were to enable him to set out on his travels to Abyssinia. On the 29th of July, just one month from the date of his departure from Cairo, he arrived at Djetta. The journal he kept on his voyage down the Red Sea forms the subject of chapter V. During his stay at this town he witnessed a procession celebrating the conversion of an Abyssinian Christian priest to the Mohamedan faith. These conversions are by no means infrequent ; the most unworthy motives often induce the possessors of a nominal faith to change it for a system that will better promote their temporal interests. The man referred to in this case had changed his religion for the third time.

From this town our author went to Massaua, and next made an excursion to the valley of Modat. Whilst he staid at Arkiko he had the good fortune to be present at the wedding of the Naib's second son, Mehemet, with a daughter of the Scheik of Afté and Zula. After saying that the Kaimakan's landing was announced by a salute of artillery, and the continued firing of the soldiers, which lasted till our traveller and this important personage had arrived at the house of the Naib ; he proceeds,

‘ On our arrival at his residence we reclined on sofas, and were regaled with coffee and honey-water. The Naib wore the suit with which I had presented him ; but the bridegroom until after dinner was dressed in his every-day clothes, a dirty cotton cloth, and was by no means distinguished from the rest of the company, who took not the slightest notice of him. Till dinner the guests were entertained with the singing of four Abyssinians, who accompanied their songs, which were in part impromptu, with the notes of a one-stringed violin.’

—p. 238.

The company were divided into two classes at dinner, the nobility partaking first, and the others regaling on the fragments left by their superiors.

‘ The repast consisted of roast mutton literally swimming in butter, rice-pillav, and very greasy cakes, on which honey was poured. After the meal the company retired to a neighboring courtyard to witness the dancing, or rather jumping, of two nearly naked men, having one or two swords in their hands. Time was beaten on a kettle-drum, and the female spectators sang in a low tone, whilst the men from the

neighborhood awaited with impatience the signal that permitted them to fall upon two camels which were given on the occasion.

‘ Among the guests were some Schohos, with their hair standing on end, six inches long, stiffened with a quantity of mutton suet smeared on it so as to make it almost grey ; others of these fashionables were strongly scented with civet ; several old men had dyed their beards of a brick-dust hue. There was nothing remarkable in their dress ; the inhabitants of Arkiko almost without exception wore over their shoulders a dirty ragged cloth, which had once had the form of a tunic.

‘ Three hours after evening-prayer came the most important part of the ceremony, at least as far as the Naib was concerned. A herald, or public crier, summoned all the company to range themselves in a circle in front of the house. The bridegroom was then introduced, arrayed in a scarlet mantle, with the beating of drums and a doleful kind of song ; over him was carried a white cloth, supported on four poles, beneath which he modestly took his seat on a straw mat. A piece of muslin was now thrown over him, and a naked sword was laid at his feet. Naib Jahia and his deposed predecessor, Naib Etman, sat near him in great wooden arm-chairs ; both wore large green caps like those of the mullahs in Cairo, and a wide benisch of red cloth that had seen much service. The herald again proclaimed silence, and asked for the wedding presents, which he then began to collect.’—pp. 239, 240.

After this begging scene was over, the company retired amidst the blowing of trumpets and firing of muskets, to an open space outside the town ; some fakirs then addressed the bridegroom in speeches expressive of their good wishes. A nosegay of aromatic plants being given to each guest, the feast ended.

Our author's residence on the island of Dahalak, excursion to the ruins at Zula, and abode at Massaua till his departure for Abyssinia, form the contents of chap. IX. The Abyssinian coast, he informs us, is inhabited south of Massaua to Bab el Mandeb, by an independent tribe, called the Danakils, who devote themselves entirely to fishing and a seafaring life ; their name is derived from Donak, signifying in the Tigre language a ship. Dr. Rüppell considers them from their physiognomy, dress, and language, to be of Abyssinian origin, and identical with the people of Tigré. The island he believed to be of volcanic origin. Its population he estimates at 1500 souls. Near to Dahalak Kebir, the chief settlement, are fifteen cisterns, with carved figures, the remains of a civilization that has long since vanished. A little to the north-west is a large square, with tombs and several chapels in the elegant Saracenic style of architecture of the thirteenth century. The inscriptions are mostly on black syenite, in Coptic and Arabic characters ; none of the present inhabitants can read the former. The prosperity of the island arises from its pearl-fishery and its security against

becoming the seat of war. Their women are richly adorned with silver, and the island possesses a large number of vessels and negro slaves. The diligence of the men is strongly contrasted with the indolence of the inhabitants of the neighboring coast. Their language is the same as that spoken at Massaua, only with a large admixture of Arabic words.

In consequence of the troubles at Djetta he returned to Massaua, whence he made an excursion to the ruins of Adulis. The remains of this ancient emporium had not been previously visited by any European. As Mr. Stuart, the companion of Salt, failed through the mistrust excited by his extreme anxiety to go thither, Dr. Rüppell casually mentioned his desire in connexion with a hunting excursion which he proposed making. His wish was gratified, and the services of Mehemet, the son of the Naib Jahia, were purchased as his companion and protector. On the 29th January, 1832, he left Arkiko, and on the next day arrived at the ruins, which are situated at about the distance of a mile from Afté.

‘ On the north bank of a wide, dry bed of a river that flows from the south-west, lie ruins of dwelling-houses, which had all been constructed of small unhewn lava-stones covering a level space for about 500 paces in a direct line east and west. They are almost entirely destroyed. In the midst of the rubbish stand the relics of a large pile of buildings, which had most probably been a Christian church. Within a space of about sixty feet each way, are many fragments of square columns with from sixteen to twenty flutings; the capitals, which are likewise square, consist of a thick stone nine inches high and one and a half feet square, which has on each side ten grooves and a band rather wider, two inches in thickness; all are of lava. It was not possible to discover the plan of the edifice, or even the number of columns; of capitals I counted five. No trace could be found of image or inscription, and the inhabitants of the place assured me most positively that they knew of none; notwithstanding the once famous Adulitic inscriptions might perhaps again be brought to light here. South-east from this ruin is a large burial-ground, in which the bones of a Mahomedan saint repose. My attendants betook themselves thither barefoot to perform their devotions, but prohibited my approach, as the spot would be profaned by the footsteps of a Christian. I found its latitude by observations to be $15^{\circ} 15' 44''$ N’.

‘ The reader may well feel surprised that the ruins of Adulis should contain so few objects of importance, and that the place itself, as having been a trading city, should lie at such a distance from the shore. I cannot satisfactorily account for its position except by imagining an elevation of the coast to have taken place through volcanic agency; certainly the soil carried down by the stream whose bed is close by,—a stream, too, but rarely full of water, cannot in the course of thirteen centuries have formed a plain of more than three miles from the ruins to the sea shore. The absence of more numerous traces of

buildings will excite less surprise if we consider the houses of the port of Massaua, which in the present day maintains the rank once held by Adulis.'—pp. 266—268.

During our author's stay at Dahalak the long-expected caravan from Gondar arrived at Massaua. One of the most considerable merchants from Gondar, named Getana Meriam, an artful and designing man, who seems to have acquired great influence over his fellow-travellers, was introduced to Dr. Rüppell; from him he obtained an account of the political condition of eastern Abyssinia, and also a sketch of its history, which, however, is too long for an extract. Some idea may be formed of the unsettled state of the Abyssinian empire when we say that from the abdication of Teckla Haimanot, 1778, till the year 1833, fourteen different princes have two and twenty times occupied the imperial throne of Gondar. The friendship of Meriam was purchased by the loan of a sum of money, and every arrangement for the journey made in accordance with his advice.

Shortly before quitting Massaua the Banians celebrated a feast called the Avatara. The streets of Masaua (the only place on the Red Sea where the festival is kept up) were paraded with doleful music, in which the ten incarnations of Vishno were set forth. Grotesque dancing was kept up through the whole of the night; all the performers were masqued, having on their heads representations of a tiger, an elephant, a hydra, a sea-serpent, a tree laden with fruit, &c. They stopped before the door of every house, and money was contributed by the rich. This performance happens towards the close of the Christian carnival, which in many of its features it closely resembles.

The length to which this article has already extended admonishes us to conclude; when the second volume shall make its appearance we may perhaps avail ourselves of Dr. Rüppell's information to make our readers acquainted with the interior of this interesting country.

Art. V. *Oliver Cromwell; an Historical Romance*. Edited by Horace Smith, Esq., Author of 'Brambletye House.' In three vols. London: Colburn. 1840.

THE character of Oliver Cromwell is one of the unsolved problems in English history. Much has been said and written upon it, yet it is difficult to rest with entire satisfaction on any solution that has been proposed. The insane loyalty which attended the restoration of the Stuarts long prevented any attempt at an equitable analysis of his qualities, and even in more modern times, when a better spirit has presided over our historical literature, the career of the Lord Protector has been too commonly surveyed through the false medium of party associations. The same neglect of historical fidelity as was evidenced by Echard and other of our earlier writers, has in consequence been witnessed in our own times. The result of all this has been an exhibition by ultra writers of two distinct and wholly opposite personages, the one all demon-like, the other a saintly patriot. The facts of history and the philosophy of our common nature have been alike disregarded by both parties, and the cautious and honest inquirer is in consequence perplexed by unnecessary and most distracting difficulties. The number of Cromwell's advocates has hitherto borne no proportion to his assailants. 'History,' remarks Dr. Vaughan, 'has hardly another man of whom so much has been written, and so little in a friendly spirit.' The present volumes are significant of a momentous change which the political sentiments of our country have for some time past been undergoing. Had it been attempted some few years since to make the Captain-General of the parliament the hero of an historical romance, he would undoubtedly have been depicted in the darkest and most revolting colors of which our nature admits. Such a work would in all probability have basely pandered to the false passions and distorting prejudices which have consigned the memory of some of our most distinguished patriots to unmitigated reproach. Something of this kind is observable even in the *Woodstock* of Sir Walter Scott, where traits of character are attributed to Cromwell wholly out of keeping with the nature of the man. It was not in his heart to quail before a portrait of the monarch whom he deemed—and justly deemed—the representative and champion of religious intolerance and civil despotism. Whatever other doubts may have harassed the mind of Cromwell, we do not believe he was ever tormented by any apparition of Charles Stuart. We have fallen, however, on happier times, and have in consequence now before us an

historical novel in which the hero of Marston Moor and Naseby is represented as one of the most sagacious and magnanimous of an illustrious band of patriots. The theme is a tempting one and we could willingly pursue it, but the space within which our notice of these volumes must be confined warns us to proceed at once to our more immediate object.

The personages introduced are for the most part strictly historical, and the part they act is in literal accordance with the view which contemporary witnesses give us of their character. The nature of the work, which follows closely on the heels of history, precludes any display of skill in the development of the plot. The principal events in which Cromwell acted so distinguished a part are taken up in order, and exhibited with little aid from fiction, from the veritable documents of the period. The work opens at the commencement of the Long Parliament, when the patriot spirits of England were firmly arraying themselves against the tyranny of Charles. Edgar Ardenne, a pupil and friend of Milton, a youth of noble bearing and courteous manners just returned from foreign travel, is introduced at Royston, in altercation with Walter Danforth, the landlord of the White Dragon, respecting the probable dangers he would encounter in prosecuting after nightfall his journey to Huntingdon. Despite the admonitions of his host, Ardenne proceeded towards his father's hall, but had not journeyed far before he was overtaken by a violent storm. It was an autumnal night, and thick darkness had fallen upon the land, when having with difficulty forded the river Cam, he was suddenly confronted by a body of deer-stealers, who, suspecting him to be one of Lord de la Ware's keepers, engaged him in deadly conflict. The noise of their weapons attracted the attention of two or three horsemen passing at some distance, who immediately proceeding to the spot, drove off the marauders, and guided Ardenne to a small inn in the neighborhood. One of the party which had come thus opportunely to his aid was Oliver Cromwell, then unknown to Ardenne, who indeed was but very partially informed of the state of things in his native land. The conversation which took place, couched as it was on the part of Cromwell in all the peculiarities of the Puritan dialect, awakened the astonishment of the young Englishman, and led him to scrutinize, with mingled feelings of interest and contempt, the features of the strange man into whose society he had been so suddenly cast.

Having lodged Ardenne at the Fox, at Bourne, Cromwell proceeded to the house of Colonel Pym, whither he had been journeying when attracted by the noise of our young travellers rencontre with the deer-stealers. The wonted sagacity of the future Protector enabled him at once to read the real character

of the youthful Ardenne, notwithstanding his cavalier bearing an ill suppressed contempt for the Puritan dialect in which Cromwell poured forth the aspirations and confidence of his excited soul. 'Thy spirit,' he exclaimed, 'is of our order, thy heart is with us, and thy tongue *shall be*, yea, and thy sword likewise.' Prompt in action as in thought, he immediately formed the project of bringing in Ardenne for the representation of Huntingdon, then vacant by the death of its late member; and proceeded in company, with Hampden and St. John, to the residence of Milton, 'a fair suburban villa' situated in Aldersgate, to satisfy themselves of the safety and prudence of such a step. The conversation which took place between these illustrious individuals, though not distinguished in the case of Milton more particularly by the higher qualities of his mind, is sufficiently characteristic to present some points of considerable interest to the historical reader.

As the result of their interview with Milton, Ardenne took his seat in the Long Parliament as member for Huntingdon. His father, Sir Henry, was a staunch old royalist, but the son had imbibed the spirit of his tutor, and his character is ably drawn as amongst the most noble and high-minded of the day. Public affairs now moved on with fearful rapidity; the storm which had long been gathering covered the heavens with blackness, and threatened speedily to smite the inhabitants of the land. The popular leaders emboldened by the success of their earlier measures, began to contemplate a permanent abridgment of the royal prerogative, until the boldness of their schemes alarmed the more timid and prudent of their associates, and gave rise to some appearance of reaction in favor of the king. This led to the Grand Remonstrance, which finally separated Lord Falkland and others from the counsels of the patriots. Had Charles been wise he might have profited by this division, but his madness prompted him to a step which destroyed for ever all hope of an amicable settlement of the existing difference. The attempted arrest of the five members was one of the most insane follies of which tyrant was ever guilty—it unmasked the despot to the eyes of an indignant people, and hastened on the fearful tragedy that was coming. History records that the accused members received information of the king's design, which enabled them to withdraw before his appearance in the house. This is supposed to have been conveyed to them by the Countess of Carlisle, an attendant on the queen, and the following is the use made of the incident by our author.

* As the day advanced, the members of the lower house might be seen hurrying toward St. Stephen's, some mounted, some on foot, but all accompanied by at least one armed retainer; and these were

greeted severally by the multitude with shouts of approbation, or with groans of censure and reviling, accordingly as they were known for men of popular or loyal principles.

‘ Meanwhile, in a small chamber of the palace at Whitehall, richly adorned with painted walls and splendid oaken carvings, and overlooking from its lofty casements the streets through which the crowds were flowing towards the parliament, sat Henrietta with a single lady, a page awaiting, near the door of the apartment, the pleasure of his royal mistress. A frame filled with embroidery stood before her, at which it seems she had but recently been occupied, though now she held a volume of some French romance, from which, however, her eyes glanced so often towards the windows attracted by the mingled clamors of applause and hatred, rising at times even until they penetrated her reluctant ears, as to denote that little of her mind was given to the wild witty author, who apparently engaged her. Her eyes were full of bright and keen excitement ; a hectic flush glowed in a spot of vivid crimson high upon either cheek, and her hands trembled with a visible and nervous agitation. Her conversation also, if the light and frivolous sentences that fell from her lips at intervals merited such a title, was broken, interrupted, and evidently embarrassed by some internal conflict which she hesitated to disclose. •

‘ For a considerable time she struggled to maintain a semblance of composure ; but, as the hours passed onward, her trepidation became more and more apparent. At every step that sounded in the long corridors, at every closing of a distant door, she started—and once or twice, when the rattle of a carriage or the clatter of a horse’s hoofs appeared to cease before the gates, she actually hurried to the balcony and gazed abroad into the town, exposing herself as if unwittingly to the rude stare of the transient multitudes who failed to greet her with the smallest tokens of affection or respect.

‘ Twice or thrice, ere the bells chimed ten, the page in waiting was despatched to learn whether no tidings had arrived from parliament ; and each time that he returned the bearer of a negative, a peevish exclamation of disgust escaped her, not unnoticed by the lady who attended on her privacy. At length, peal after peal, the steeples rang forth ten, and then, with an exulting smile, as though she could contain herself no longer—‘ Rejoice !’ she cried in high triumphant tones, ‘ rejoice ! my Carlisle—for ere now the king is master in his states—ay ! and his enemies are all in custody !’

‘ ‘ His enemies—your grace,’ exclaimed the patriotic lady, to whom, with indiscretion equalled only by that of the rash doating husband whom she thus betrayed, she had divulged the secret—‘ his enemies ?’

‘ ‘ His enemies, said I ?’ returned the queen, in accents sharper than before—‘ in truth, then, I spake wrongly ! His traitors, rather !—His false, rebellious, and bloodthirsty traitors ! By God’s help, now his captives—Hampden and Pym, and all their rabble rout !’

‘ And as she spoke, sweeping across the room with such a port as would have well beseemed a Britomart striding upon the prostrate necks of Romans, in their turn subdued and humbled, and, entering again the balcony, she cast a wistful glance down the long avenue.

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But scarcely had she turned her back, before the highborn lady whom she had addressed hastily tore a leaf from out her tablets, traced on it some half-dozen words, and pleading, on the queen's return, casual indisposition, quietly left the chamber.

'Ten minutes had not well elapsed ere she re-entered it—nor would the change in her demeanor have escaped the close and subtile watchfulness of her imperial mistress, had not that royal lady been herself perturbed too deeply to investigate the mood of others. The Countess of Carlisle's features, cast in the purest and the calmest mould of conscious aristocracy, had worn throughout the morning an expression of grave feminine anxiety, and her broad placid eye had followed with a quiet yet observing scrutiny every unwonted movement, every nervous start, and every change of color that had resulted from the queen's excitement ; nor had she tardily discovered that some dread crisis was at hand—though what that crisis was, not having been a party to the councils of the regal circle on the previous night, she might not even guess. The thoughtless words, however, of the fickle-minded Henrietta had given her at once the clue which her quick apprehension followed, as it were intuitively, through all its labyrinth ; and she at once availed herself of the discovery she had made with a degree of cool and present courage, that, even in that age of prompt and daring action, failed not to wake the admiration which it merited.

'Now, however, when the hardening excitement had passed over—when the nerves, which had been strung so tensely to the performance of her duty, were no longer kept in play—when she knew that her trusty messenger was on his way, and past the palace-gates already, bearing the tidings of approaching insult, outrage, and peril to the liberties of England's parliament, the majesty of England's laws, she for the first time trembled, not for herself, but for her country. She for the first time began to fear that she might be too late, and that the blow might have already fallen, ere her warning should arouse the destined victims to perception of their danger. Her face was paler than its wont ; and her blue eye, so tranquil in its usual expression, was slightly anxious.

'It was but a little while that her uncertainty continued—for, ere an hour had elapsed, the queen, whose passions became more and more enkindled with every moment of suspense, sending another messenger to learn whether the Houses were in session still, received for answer, that they had just adjourned until one of the clock, and that the members even now were passing to their lodgings.

'*'Heavens !'* cried Henrietta, almost in despair at this unpleasing and most unexpected news. *'Just Heavens ! can it be that he hath failed me !'* And casting herself down at length upon a couch, she covered her head with a thick veil, and waited in an agonized and speechless fit of mingled hope and terror, the result of her intriguing machinations.'—Vol. i. pp. 235—241.

Scarcely had the five members withdrawn, when a trampling noise as of soldiers marching, was heard without, and the din of grounded arms rang audibly upon the ears of the parliament.

The door of the house was then opened, and the king entered, leaning on the shoulder of the Palsgrave. Our limits will not permit us to give at length our author's description of the scene which ensued, the following abridgment will however suffice to convey some idea of the skill with which it is depicted.

' The face of Charles, grave and even sorrowful by nature, was something paler than usual ; but with that sort of paleness which conveys no thought of cowardice or trembling, but of immovable resolve. His mouth was firmly closed but not compressed, nor showing aught of effort !—His eye, calm, searching, cold,—but keen and hard as iron !—His nostrils only of his features gave token of emotion, or of any feeling hotter than determination ; for it was dilated wide, and slightly quivering ! Yet was his hand steady, as the columns which upheld the roof above him, and his stride, now that he stood among his lieges—however it had been irregular and hasty ere he entered—was measured, long, and equal.

' As the king advanced along the floor he turned his head from side to side, perusing with deliberate and steady glance, the lineaments of every member whom he passed ; and if when at a distance not one eye had sought him, so when he now stood close beside them not one eye avoided him. Each, as Charles came into his line of direct vision, met his hard gaze with an unblenching and unloosing brow ; for not one man—even of those the most devoted to his will, of those who *would* have served him at that moment, who afterwards *did* serve him, with their whole hearts and lives—but was disgusted, angered, full of deep sorrow, almost to despair.....

' The glance of Charles, when first it fell upon the coarse and most unpleasing lineaments of Oliver, was instantly averted, but averted merely as men ever turn the eye away from objects naturally hateful or unseemly. At that point of time the face of Cromwell was, as tranquil, as immovable, as that of his great future rival ; but the tranquillity was no less different, than is the stillness of a hushed volcano and the peaceful calm of heaven. The swollen and corded veins upon the temple, the eyebrows lowered and contorted, the balls gleaming beneath them with a fixed and baleful light, the nostril rigidly distended, and the lips pressed so tightly that they alone of his whole aspect were of a livid whiteness.

' Ere Edgar had the time to think, had there been any matter yet for thought, the eye of Charles stole back, half timidly as it appeared, toward that tigerlike and glaring face. Then as it met the sinister and ominous stare of fierce defiance, it brightened also—vivid, and keen, and with a falconlike and noble splendor.

' For some short space they gazed—those two undisciplined and haughty spirits—into each other's very souls—mutually, as it seemed, conscious at a glance of irremediable and desperate hostility. The king's look, quiet, although high and angry, and most unutterably proud—Cromwell's, sarcastic, bitter, furious, and determined, and withal so savagely triumphant, so mirthful in its dire malignity, that Ardenne thought he never had beheld a countenance so fiendishly ex-

pressive ! And Charles Stuart's aspect—after a fixed encounter of ten seconds' space—Charles Stuart's haughty aspect quailed beneath it ; and as he passed along—for the whole occurred in less time than were needful to recite it—he gazed no more around him, but went directly onward, looking (and that, too, gloomily) upon the ground, toward the Speaker's chair.

' But the stern democrat, as if conscious that his genius had prevailed, cast his eyes round him with an air of loftier feeling than Edgar had as yet observed him wear. It was a trifle, at the period when it passed ; and none but he noticed it ; but after-times and after-deeds stamped it, no more to be erased, upon the tablets of his inmost soul.

' Meanwhile the king had reached the chair ; and Lenthall, the bold Speaker, who had hitherto sat still, as proud, and far more placid, than his visitor, arose and stepped out stately and cold to meet him. Then the king mounted to his place, stood upon the step but spoke not, nor sat down ; and there he stood, gloomily gazing on the House, with a dark look of sullen anger, for many minutes.

' At length he spoke. 'Gentlemen,' he said, in high voice, clearly audible to the most distant corner, though neither musical nor pleasing, —'Gentlemen of the Commons, I am sorry for this my cause of coming to you. Yesterday I did send a sergeant to demand some, who by my order were accused of treason. Instead of prompt obedience, I received—a message !' and he uttered the last word with the most concentrated scorn and insolence. 'I must, then, here declare to you, that though no king that ever was in England could be more careful of your privileges than I have been, and shall be, yet, I can tell you, treason hath no privilege ; and, therefore, am I come to tell you, that I *must* have these men and *will*, wherever I may find them !'

' As he spoke, he looked around the hall with a deliberate air, scanning the faces of all present, if he might find his men ; then, raising his voice higher yet, he called aloud, till the roof rang again. 'Ho ! I say, Master Hollis ! Master Pym !'

' No answer was returned, nor any sound, save an increased and angry tumult in the lobby, with a brandishing of partizans, and a producing of concealed but ready pistols, so that some members thought to see the soldiers instantly rush into the chamber.

' After a little pause, finding he got no answer, he turned to the Speaker. 'Say,' he exclaimed,—'say, Mr. Speaker, be any of these men here present ?'

' For a moment Lenthall paused, as doubting whether to hurl his own defiance, and that of the assembled Commons, into his very teeth ; but ere the echoes of the monarch's voice had ceased, he had resolved upon the wiser and more prudent part, and bending with most deferential courtesy his knee, 'I have, sir,' he replied, 'nor eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place, save as this House, whose servant I am sworn, shall order me. And, therefore, must I pray your majesty to pardon me that I return no further answer !'

' 'Ha ! sir,' returned Charles sharply, and with incipient fury, but a moment's thought convinced him that the humble answer of the Speaker defied at once, and rendered hopeless, any charge of violence

against him. ‘Ha! sir,’ again he said, but in a milder tone, ‘I do believe my eyes are to the full as good as yours, and I do see my birds are flown; but this I tell you, and so look ye to it—I hold this House to send them to me! Failing of which, I shall myself go seek them! For, sirs, their treason is most foul, and such as you shall thank me, all of you, now to discover. And I assure you, on a king’s word I assure you, I never did mean any violence, and they shall have fair trial—I meant not any other!’

‘Stepping down from the chair, he walked, uncovered still, but at a quicker pace than that with which he entered, toward the lobby; but now as he departed, his looks were not turned haughtily from side to side, but sadly bent upon the floor; nor was his passage silent as before—for member after member started up as Charles went past him, with bent brow and clenched hand; and groans both loud and deep saluted him.

‘As he came nigh the seat of Cromwell, the king raised his visage, haggard now and pale, as with an anxious curiosity to look upon the man before whose eye he felt himself to have recoiled; and, as he met it, Oliver sprang upon his feet, his long tuck rattling in the scabbard as he rose, and stamping on the floor with fury, shouted aloud, in tones not mild nor measured, the word ‘Privilege!’ A dozen voices took it up, though not so loudly, nor with so marked defiance as the first daring speaker, and the whole House was in the wildest and most uncontrolled confusion.’—*Ib.* pp. 254—263.

We need not dwell on the events which followed. The triumph of the patriots was complete, and Charles, foiled and dispirited, retired from the metropolis, to raise his standard at Nottingham. The civil war now raged with fearful violence and doubtful issue, until the remodelling of the parliament’s army and the entry of the Scotch Covenanters into England placed the king at the entire mercy of his exasperated opponents. The principal battles which occurred from Edge Hill to Worcester are described with considerable power and vividness; indeed, we should refer to our author’s accounts of these engagements as the most favorable specimens of his style. The scenes are depicted with much graphic effect, and the character of the two armies, the genius of their commanders, and above all the forethought, sagacity, calm determination, and dauntless courage of Cromwell, are brought out in the clearest and happiest form of military description. We select the following sketch of the battle of Naseby, as most suited to our limits.

‘A little after ten, on that bright summer morning, Rupert’s bold cavaliers had cleared the woodlands; the heads of Astley’s columns were seen slowly taking up their ground, and wheeling into line to form the centre, while Langdale with his northern horse was toiling at a full mile’s distance in the rear to bring up their field ordnance. ‘Still no material opposition was offered to the royalists, except that now and

then a solitary cannon belched forth its snow-white cloud, and hurled its shot with terrible precision into the crowded files, as they debouched upon the plain.

‘ But now the trumpets of Sir Marmaduke were heard on the left, and he appeared with all his Yorkshire chivalry; though still the cannon of the cavaliers were at the least a mile behind, encumbered by the fat loam of that hostile district. Still the impetuous Rupert paused not—the instant that the cavalry of Langdale came into view upon the left, his bugles sounded for the charge; and with a cheery shout, leading his fiery squadrons, himself the foremost man, he hurled himself against the horse of Ireton, with the velocity and brightness of a thunderbolt.

‘ Forward they rushed—a torrent of plumes, scarfs, and rich embroidery—their brandished rapiers glittering aloft like lightning, and their high-blooded chargers tearing the turf to atoms in their furious speed. Such was the fury of their onset, that neglecting to discharge their carabines they plunged at once into the closest conflict. There was a clang as of ten thousand smiths plying their iron trade!—a shout that was heard, as men say, at Harborough!—And brave although they were, stubborn and resolute, the cavalry of Ireton wavered. In vain their high-souled leader strained every nerve, and bled at every pore;—now here, now there; rallying, shouting, charging, in vain he crossed swords with the fiery prince and checked him for one moment—they bent, they broke, they fled!

‘ ‘ Now, an he wheel upon our flank, the battle is half lost already!’ hissed the deep tones of Cromwell in the very ear of Ardenne—‘ But lo! the Lord hath blinded him—the God of hosts hath robbed him of his understanding! See where he drives along heedless of aught save massacre and havoc!—Ho! by the light of heaven, this day shall crown the whole!’

‘ Scarce five troops of the whole left wing had held their ground, and these under the valiant Ireton, as fired by the success of their companions, Astley’s stout infantry came steadily and firmly onward, charged gallantly upon a stand of pikes—they were hurled backward, as from a castle-wall, and still that deep array of pikes rolled onward. They rallied, and again they charged, driving their horses in upon the serried spears, and firing their pistols in the faces of the sturdy footmen; but the cavaliers received them as the bull receives the mastiff, and hurls him from his unscathed front. Their leader was dismounted, and made prisoner, their bravest were stabbed down and mangled by the goring pikes—they scattered and fled in diverse directions.

‘ But now the musketry awoke, mixed with the louder bellowing of artillery, but save the rolling smoke-wreaths packed above the hosts in the calm hush of the hot noontide, and the red glare that ever and anon surged upward, and now the waving of a standard, and now the flash of wheeling weapons half seen among the volleying clouds, nought could be descried.—Yet still the royal foot pressed on unbroken and invincible; and Fairfax—though his lines fought stubbornly and well, and formed again when shaken by the musket-buts and halberts of the royalists, who hardly fired a shot, still fighting hand to hand, and

poured their volleys in, deliberate yet fast—felt that he still was losing ground, and that the vantage of the hill alone preserved him.

‘ On the right of the parliament’s army the conflict had been long delayed ; for Langdale had scarce formed, even when Rupert’s charge had pushed the horse of Ireton clear off the field ; and Cromwell dared not flank the foot of Astley, lest he should be in turn out-flanked by Langdale. But now with kettle-drums and trumpets, and shot of carabine and pistol, Sir Marmaduke advanced upon the gallop ; and Cromwell, tarrying not to receive his charge, swung forth his heavy squadrons with a thundering hymn to meet him.

‘ An officer rode forward from the Yorkshire men, as both lines halted to reload, and Oliver dashed out in person to encounter him. Their pistols were discharged in vain, for Cromwell’s bullet glanced from the corslet of the cavalier, and the other fired at random. Then blade to blade they met, a dozen passes flashed with the speed of light between them—their horses wheeled and bounded obedient to the bit—Oliver missed a parry, and his morion, with the chin-strap severed, fell clanging to the ground ; but without hesitation on he went, and hailed so thick a storm of blows upon his foeman, that he beat down his guard, and hurled him headlong.

‘ The whole passed in a few instants—ere a few more had elapsed, the adverse lines were mingled—yet as they closed Born-again-Rumford sprang to earth, caught up the general’s morion, and tossed it to his saddle bow. Hastily, as he galloped on, shouting his battle anthem, and still at every shout striking a cavalier down from his saddle, he threw the morion on, but with its peak behind, and so unwittingly fought on through all that deadly strife.

‘ Equal in numbers, and well-matched in spirit, the tug of war was dubious and protracted between the northern horse and the unconquered ironsides ; but in the end Cromwell’s enthusiastic energy prevailed, and Langdale, fighting to the last, was driven from the field. Then—then was the superior moral of Oliver’s men proved past doubt—obedient to the first word, they drew off, careless of plunder or pursuit, although their blood was stirred almost to frenzy by the protracted struggle, and by the heat of their religious zeal.

‘ ‘ On, Ardenne, on ! ’ Oliver shouted, as he halted his own five regiments. ‘ Pursue, pursue ! suffer them not to rally—support him, Rossiter—away ! Break them to pieces—scatter them ! The Lord of Hosts hath given them a prey into our hands ! All glory to the name of our God ! ’

‘ As he spoke, he wheeled at once upon the flank and rear of Astley’s infantry, which still maintained the conflict in the centre, slowly but steadily forcing their way against the stubborn valor of the puritans. One hope remained for Charles—one only. In the reserve himself, with his life-guard commanded by Lord Lindesay, and his own picked horse-guards—his *troupe dorée* of nobles under the Earl of Litchfield, and Rupert’s best foot-regiments—in all some thirteen hundred men, fresh and unwearied, who had not on that day unsheathed a sword, or pulled a trigger, Charles had a fair occasion to draw out and fall upon the flank of Cromwell, as he swept round to

charge the foot ; and so, to do him but free justice, he proposed. Bidding his trumpets sound, and drawing his own rapier—sheathed, as he was, in glittering steel from crest to spur, conspicuous by his broad blue scarf and diamond George—he plunged his rowels into that snow-white charger, rendered immortal by the deathless pencil of Vandyck—his pale and melancholy features transiently lighted up by the strong excitement—‘Follow me!’ he exclaimed, ‘follow me all who love Charles Stuart!’

‘Full of ecstatic valor they sprang forth—another instant would have hurled them on the unexpected and unguarded flank of Oliver, who was already hewing his way, crimson with blood from plume to saddle-bow, through the now reeling infantry. The charge *must* have been perilous to Cromwell in the extreme—*might* have destroyed him utterly. And had it so fallen out, the victory would have been the king’s; for Rupert’s scattered troops were even now beginning to return, and Fairfax could scarce hold his own.

‘But the charge was *not* made. Whether from folly, cowardice, or treason, it now can never be discovered, the Earl of Carnewarthe, a mere cipher in that band of England’s noblest peers, seized on the bridle of the king. ‘Saul o’ my body!’ he exclaimed, in his broad Scotch accent, ‘will you then go upon your death this instant?’ and ere the hapless monarch could comprehend his meaning, or arrest the movement, he dragged his charger toward the rear.

‘Then, on the instant, a strange panic fell on all around ; so that they fled upon the spur, although no enemy was near them ; and though at length the king’s exertions—who spurred through the ranks beseeching them to stand, and even striking at the fugitives in impotent but noble indignation—brought them to rally, and ride back toward the field, the moment had gone by. It was too late. For Fairfax, when he saw how Cromwell had succeeded on his right, and felt the consequences of his charge upon the royal foot in the disorder of that sturdy mass, moved down at once his own life-guard from the reserve, and brought it into action.

‘The prince had, indeed, now returned from his insane pursuit, but his men, deeming that their part was played for that day, could not be brought to form again or charge by any effort of their leaders. And now but one battalion held its ground, a solid square of foot presenting an impenetrable front of pikes on every side to the assailing horse, while from its inner ranks it poured a constant shower of balls, that mowed down all before it.

‘Cromwell, meantime, was overthrowing every thing, traversing Astley’s line from the left endwise toward the centre, when Fairfax, wheeling his life-guards round upon the rear of that undaunted square, charged it himself in front. Two horses were shot under him, but a third time remounting, he brought up his men, though shattered by the constant volleys, to renewed exertions.

‘In the last deadly rush, his helmet was torn violently off by a pike’s point. The colonel of his life-guard proffered his own ; but no ! bare-headed as he was, he dashed upon the spears—he hewed his way into that serried band—with his own hand he cleft the ensign of the

regiment, who crossed his path, through morion and skull down to the very teeth—he waved the captured banner round his head, and threw it to a private for safe keeping, who afterwards would fain have claimed the honor. That line of pikes once broken in swept the Independents with the rush of a springtide, and, where it fought, that firm battalion, refusing quarter and resisting to the last, was trodden to the earth, annihilated, but unconquered.’—Vol. ii. pp. 254—266.

The victory of Naseby terminated the war, and decided the king's fate. He fled instantly to Oxford, whence he withdrew in disguise to the Scotch army, in the forlorn hope of awakening their loyalty and separating them from the cause of the parliament. This is not the place to enter on the questions which are suggested by the king's conduct at this period ; it is sufficient for our purpose to note the events which occurred, and these are briefly told. Charles was delivered up to his English subjects, and in the course of the disputes which ensued between the parliament and the army, was seized by the latter as a prize too valuable to be left in the keeping of their opponents. The policy of the king, although a prisoner, was as hostile as ever, though the weapons with which he sought to protract the contest were of a different order from those which he had hitherto employed. Defeated in the field, he yet hoped to triumph by duplicity and craft. The notion had unhappily become fixed in his mind, that the fate of his opponents was in his hands. They were known to be divided, and he secretly negotiated with both parties under the firm persuasion that he was more necessary to their success than their favor was to his safety. This period of his life was consequently filled up with intrigues. He sought to play off the one party against the other, and trusted to the chapter of accidents to extricate him from the dangers of his position. The treatment he received from the army was more considerate and liberal than from the parliament, but the besotted king, instead of availing himself of his brightening fortunes, was only encouraged to foster delusive hopes, and to entangle himself more thoroughly in the meshes of an unprincipled and tortuous policy. Cromwell, and his son-in-law Ireton, were at this time desirous of coming to an amicable arrangement with the king. The political sagacity of the general forewarned him of many difficulties that would attend the establishment of a republic, and as his own heart was yet free—at least to a considerable extent—from the ambition which subsequently led him astray, he looked to the restoration of Charles, under such stipulations as would guarantee the liberties of the nation, as the only practicable method of accomplishing the object of the war, and of restoring peace to the country. He was, therefore, in frequent consultation with the monarch,

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and would seem to have entertained sanguine hopes of the accomplishment of his patriotic scheme. His movements were not unobserved by the army, and the fierce agitators took advantage of them to bring his integrity into doubt. A marked change suddenly occurred in the conduct of Cromwell, which the royalist writers have attributed to his deep and subtle policy, but which finds a more satisfactory solution in his detection of the treachery of the king. Carte, in his life of Lord Orrery, relates that the general received advice from one of his spies of a secret letter about to be conveyed from Charles to his queen, and which was alleged to contain matters of great moment to Cromwell's personal safety. He immediately repaired with Ireton to the house of Ardenne, then residing in the Strand, and the following is our author's account of the measures which were adopted to intercept this fatal epistle.

‘ ‘ Three days since,’ said Cromwell to Ardenne, ‘ Charles accepted fully the conditions of the army, as I wrote you on Monday. The adjutators are brought over; the parliament must come to our terms. So far all's well. But with the dawn to-day a letter came to me at Windsor—from one who has conveyed us much intelligence, and never has deceived us—a friend in the king's bedchamber—*verbum sat*; he writes us that Charles Stuart hath been all yesterday in deep debate with Ashburnham, that firebrand of the queen's—that their resolves are taken—and a letter—of a surety in cipher—but then we hold the key, the Lord be thanked for it—prepared for Henrietta, to be conveyed right cunningly this night to Dover, by an unconscious messenger. What the contents may be, our friend might not discover, though, as he writes, he left no stone unturned; but of this he is certain, that it is all-important, and decisive of the king's intention as to the pending treaty. This letter we *must* intercept; and, therefore, we rode straight in this disguise to Brentford, and thence took boat, to baffle prying eyes; and so far all goes rightly. Now attend—the bearer of this letter will come at ten o'clock to night, carrying a saddle on his head, to the Blue Boar in Holborn, thence to take horse for Dover. The man will wear a green plush riding-coat, and breeches of the same, the elbows of the doublet, and the seams of the trunk hose guarded with neat-skin leather—a stammel waistcoat, and a red ribbon round his hat, which is of common straw. The saddle will be old and somewhat patched and ragged, and in the off-side flap, between the tree and pommel, the letter is concealed. The man knows not that it is there, deeming he goes to buy a famous hunting-horse from one John Styles, a horse courser. He is to put up at the Red Lion inn in Dover, and there will be one, knowing his description, who shall search the saddle and—find nothing!—for we must have the packet:—How goes the night, Sir Edgar?’—

‘ ‘ Past seven, I am sure—nay ’—after looking at his watch—‘ but it lacks scant a quarter of an hour to eight. I thought not that it was so late!’

‘ ‘Nay, then, we are but just in time—you will go with us, sir, and aid us. We must have three, and know none else in whom we may so perfectly rely. You are aware that Charles is on parole not to hold secret intercourse with France—his parole broken, there is no breach of honesty or honor in seizing and perusing his dispatches. That package—open it quickly, Ireton—contains a dress like these that we now wear—the uniform of one who hath about your inches, borrowed for the nonce. It savors somewhat of tobacco-smoke and stale october, but we must not be nice. I pray you don it speedily. Nay, Ireton, you forget, where is the net to gather up his lovelocks, and the peruke? Quick!—quick!’ he cried impatiently, binding up Edgar’s flowing hair, and covering it with a foxy wig, close-clipped, and cut into a hundred little peaks.

‘Some pigment was now laid on Edgar’s whiskers, and mustaches, suiting them to the color of his false hair. A kerchief of coarse cotton next replaced his collar of fine lace, and a garb similar to that of his companions, his well-fancied habits. A clumsy broadsword was produced, with a wide leathern shoulder-belt, from under Cromwell’s cloak ; and this with an old pair of his own military boots, carefully soiled for the occasion and fitted with rough iron spurs, and an unpolished headpiece, completed his attire.

‘ ‘Mind now your bearing,’ Cromwell said as they left the house ; ‘smoke without ceasing, jostle a little those whom we meet with in the streets, and quote the strongest texts you may remember. When that we reach the inn, the great gate will be closed, the wicket only open. We will all enter in, and drink till half-past nine of the clock ; then go forth you, as if upon some errand—loiter about the gates, until you see our man : follow in after him, and when he passeth up the yard—for he will go directly to the stables—bar instantly the wicket, and advise us ! Now let us move on somewhat smartly.’

‘Abruptly entering the tap-room in which were some four or five grave-looking citizens, comforting themselves after the business of the day with poached eggs and canary, buttered ale, spiced claret, and half a dozen other drinks and dishes fashionable in those days, but long ago forgotten—

‘ ‘Ho ! Landlord !’ shouted Cromwell—‘bring us three cans of your best double ale—good measure, and be quick about it ! Surely my flesh doth thirst for a cool drink, even as the faint spirit thirsteth for a soul-searching exposition of the mysteries that be essential to salvation.’

‘ ‘Such as Lieutenant Profit-by-the-Word poured forth to our great edifying yester even,’ Ireton answered. ‘Verily, good man, he was upheld most marvellously—four hours did he hold forth steadily, not waxing faint in flesh, nor weary in well-doing, but borne along in spirit with exceeding fervor, and his voice ringing like a trumpet, louder at every close. Truly a second Boanerges!’

‘ ‘Ay ! and he touched with the true unction on that hard rock that splits all weaker vessels, the full justification of the soul by faith—the utter needlessness of works to save, when that the soul is filled,—ay, as a tankard that doth overflow its brim—(and lo ! my can is out.

Ho ! tapster, fill us the good black gallon jack, and fetch us more tobacco)—or as a mill-dam that doth burst its banks with the true grace of God !

‘ ‘ Yea !’ answered Ireton,—‘ yea ! verily he did ; but I bethought me somewhat, that he o’ershot the mark, when he did undertake to prove that those who have been once in grace may never relapse into sin, and that unto the pure all things are pure and holy.’

‘ Just as the clock was chiming the first stroke of ten, he saw his man approaching, bearing a saddle on his head, and clad precisely as had been described. He was a tall, stout, servant-looking fellow, ruddy and fresh complexioned, but without one gleam of intellect in his broad jovial face—the last man in the world one would have taken for a spy or trusted emissary. This Edgar saw, as he passed by him near a lighted shop. He suffered him to get some dozen paces in advance, and then with a slow sauntering gait pursued him. He saw him stoop beneath the wicket, and, without looking to the right or left, walk up the yard toward a group of hostlers, playing at odd or even on a horseblock round a dingy lantern. Silently and unseen he dropped the bar across the wicket, and looked into the tap-room.

‘ ‘ Tarry,’ said Cromwell,—‘ tarry yet a while—the bird is ours !’

‘ In a few minutes the sound of a horse’s hoofs were heard upon the pavement.

‘ ‘ Now then,’ cried Oliver. ‘ Now !’ and instantly unsheathing his long tuck, he darted through the doorway, followed immediately by Ireton and Sir Edgar, likewise with drawn swords.

‘ Cromwell had reached the man, before they overtook him, but Ardenne heard him say, ‘ You ride forth late, my friend ; but we be placed here in the name, and by orders of the parliament, to search all goers out. But verily thou lookest like an honest lad. Thou hast, I warrant me, nothing that thou wouldst care to hide !’

‘ ‘ Not I, i’ faith,’ replied the stranger, bluntly ; ‘ search away, master soldier, if such be your orders, but I pray you delay me not, because I am in haste.’

‘ ‘ Lead the man’s horse into the stable, Fast-and-Pray,’ said Cromwell, glancing his eye toward Ireton, ‘ ’twere a shame to let the dumb beast stand here in the pelting rain ; and thou, good Win-the-Fight, come in with us. Verily, friend, we will not detain thee long—but a horn of ale will not harm thee this damp night, I trow.’

‘ ‘ Not it—not it !’ replied the fellow, ‘ what would you have now ?’

‘ ‘ Oh ! turn thy pockets out. Surely we will not be too hard with thee. Well ! well ! this is a purse—good lack ! a heavy one ! and this a letter—‘ to Master Styles, horse-courser, Dover !’ Look sharply, that he be not too deep for thee, this John Styles—he played our colonel Whalley a deep trick with a spavined jade some two years past. He is a keen blade. Well !—this is a pipe—and this a bacca-box—so ! so ! in these there is no treason. Truly I said thou wert an honest fellow ; and I was not deceived. Another cup of ale ? Tush ! never mince the matter, ’twill warm thee more than thy plush jerkin—Upseyes ! So ; down with it like lambs-wool. Well thou mayest.

go now, so thou wilt not tarry and have a rouse with us. **Ho ! Fast-and-Pray**, bring out the worthy fellow's horse ; he is not such as we be sent to look for, and—now I think of it—our time of watch is ended !’

‘ A quick glance interchanged with his son-in-law, assured the general that the letter was secured ; so, slapping the messenger upon the back, he bade him mount and God go with him. And as he rode away, unconscious that his journey was now useless, the three companions hurried to Ardenne's house, where they might profit by their prize in safety.

‘ A short half-hour's walk placed them before his door—so quickly, goaded to their utmost speed by anxious curiosity, did they retrace their steps. Lights were set in the library—the curtains closely drawn, the door locked—and then Ireton produced the packet. It was a small despatch, and fastened with a plain flaxen cord and ordinary seal, addressed to ‘ Master Ephraim Mackleworth ’—evidently a feigned name—‘ at the Red Lion, Dover.’ Within this was a small letter, simply directed to H.M.R.—bound with a skein of white floss silk, and fastened with the impression of a finely-cut antique upon green wax. Oliver caught it with an impatient gesture from the hand of Ireton, broke the seal, cast his eye hastily upon it, and exclaiming, ‘ Nay, it is not in cipher !’ read thus aloud :

‘ With a calm voice, though bitter in the extreme and scornful, Cromwell read out this document. Ireton's eyes flashed fire, and, as his father-in-law ended, he violently dashed his hand upon the table—

‘ ‘ Whose dogs are we !’ he cried in fierce and ringing tones, ‘ that we should be thus scandalously dealt with ? As the Lord liveth, he shall die the death !’—

‘ ‘ But three days since,’ said Cromwell—‘ hypocrite that he is ! base knave, and liar !—he proclaimed, through me, his full acceptance of the army's terms—his last words were, ‘ and for myself henceforth I hold me bound by them ! And I, fool that I was, *I* did rejoice and triumphed in my heart, that England should have peace !—And now—he will *hang* both of us ! ay, **HANG !**—Can there be any trust in such a man ?’

‘ ‘ None !’ answered Edgar, mournfully—‘ there can indeed be none !—It is long since I have even dreamed there could ! He is unstable as the sands of the sea-shore, and false—as fortune !’

‘ ‘ Alas !—alas ! for England !’ Oliver exclaimed, in deep, impressive tones—‘ If it be thy will, mighty Lord, that this thy servant be a prey and victim to this man of Belial, truly I am prepared. But for this godly and regenerate land, for this oppressed and miserable people, in whose behalf, already many times, thou hast displayed the wonders of thy might—the miracles of thine invincible right hand—not for myself—not for myself, O Lord, poor sinner that I am, and leaky vessel, do I presume now to remonstrate—to strive earnestly—to wrestle, as did Jacob in the dark, against thy great decrees—but for this lovely isle—this precious England !’

‘ ‘ With Caiaphas — *I* say !’ returned the fiery Ireton—‘ With Caiaphas ! Jew though he was, unrighteous judge, and murdurer of

the Lord's Anointed !' 'Ye know not'—'tis to you I say it, my friends and fellow-soldiers—'nor consider that it is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not !' '

'This bold speech, for that night, ended the debate. Cromwell was silent, though the remarkable and resolute compression of his own mouth, and the deep frown that furrowed his high forehead, and the determined gleam of his hard eye, showed that his silence was produced by anything rather than doubt or fear.'—Vol. iii. pp. 58—72.

The evidence thus obtained of the king's duplicity decided the wavering resolution of Cromwell. To persist in braving the dangers of his position after such a discovery of the king's faithlessness would have been to evidence an infatuation equal to that of the monarch. 'Finding that we were not likely,' said Cromwell, when giving an account of this transaction, 'to have any favorable terms from the king, we immediately from that time resolved his ruin.' The execution of the king afforded ample scope for the display of Cromwell's ambition. His star was now in the ascendant, and the baneful influences of prosperity were soon visible in his conduct. The purity of his patriotism had, it is probable, already suffered somewhat from the rude encounter of other and base passions, but now that he stood the acknowledged master of three kingdoms, with an invincible army at his command, and the multifarious sects which had risen during the civil war looking to him as the minister and viceroy of heaven, it is no wonder that his integrity failed, and that some elements of selfishness were permitted to divert his magnanimous soul from its sworn object, and thus to shade the lustre of a course which would otherwise have been beyond all precedent. It is a vulgar error to suspect the sincerity of Cromwell's past professions, or to attribute his services in the popular cause to the instigations of personal ambition. This was an after theory, adopted by his opponents in utter neglect of the history of his early life, in order to give the coloring of truth to their perverse and falsified statements. It is without a tittle of evidence, and is wholly unnecessary in order to account for the false position in which he subsequently suffered himself to be found. It happened to him as, alas for human nature, it has happened to most others in similar circumstances, that his moral greatness was unequal to his fortunes. In a perilous hour he yielded himself to the temptations with which prosperity is fraught, and became in consequence involved in a series of inconsistencies which have served to render his history a warning rather than an example to posterity. It must in candor be admitted, that the difficulties of his position were exceedingly great, but no ingenuity can reconcile his

breaking up of the Long Parliament in 1653, just at the moment when they were completing a measure for their peaceable dissolution, with the sincerity of his own professions, or with the purity of the patriotism which he continued to avow. The Declaration, which was published in the name of himself and his council of officers, afforded a triumphant vindication of the Long Parliament from the charges which he had so wantonly preferred against it. By this instrument he took on himself the functions of the whole constituency, and proceeded to organize a system of military despotism more obviously subversive of public freedom than the tyranny which he had so nobly contributed to overthrow. The plea of necessity ordinarily urged in his defence, is clearly without avail, as that necessity was for the most part of his own creating. One act of despotism necessitated others, but can never be admitted to extenuate or defend them. Having passed the line which separates patriotism from tyranny, he was reduced to the miserable alternative of sacrificing himself or of completing a despotism too vigilant and powerful to be successfully resisted. This appears to be the truth of history, and we painfully record it. It is some alleviation to know that the military usurper retained to the last some of the noble qualities which in happier days had won the confidence and admiration of his countrymen. His ambition was always of a high-minded and magnanimous order. The glory of his country was identified with his personal aggrandisement, and never did England stand so proudly among the nations of Europe as during his protectorate.

Cromwell paid dearly for his apostasy from the public cause, and there were moments, it is probable, in the closing period of his life when he would gladly have exchanged his residence at Whitehall, with all its flattering distinctions, for his former post as colonel of the Ironsides and member for Cambridge. His last days were embittered by mistrust and apprehension. He had lost his self-respect, and with that his proud reliance on the fidelity and gratitude of the nation. A thousand heads were plotting his ruin, and many a bold blade, wielded by royalist or republican hands, was ready to send him to an untimely and unpitied grave. Cromwell knew all this, and could not now fall back, as he had done in happier times, on the proud consciousness of having hazarded such dangers in a single-hearted pursuit of the liberties of his country. The publication of Colonel Titus, entitled *Killing no Murder*, is known to have racked his mind to the last point of endurance. Our author has powerfully described the mental agitations of the Protector at this period, but we have already exceeded our limits, and must not venture on further extract.

We have said enough to inform the reader of our estimate of

these volumes. They are written with considerable ability, and display an intimate acquaintance with the character and events of the period to which they relate. The appearances of effort are too obvious in the style, and the description of character and incident is occasionally marked by something of exaggeration. We are compelled to differ from the author in his estimate of the latter part of Cromwell's career, but the spirit of the work is so incomparably superior to what we have been accustomed to meet with, that we are not disposed to enter into controversy with the writer. The return of Ardenne just in time to wait beside the dying bed of the Protector, and his renunciation of the suspicions which had led him to abandon his services some years before, appear to us the most unnatural part of the narrative. Violence is done to the sagacity of Ardenne in order to bear out the author's theory of Cromwell's character. The minor plot of the work, which is based on the mutual attachment of Edgar Ardenne and his beautiful cousin Sybil, occupies but a small portion of the volumes, and serves to relieve the narrative of more important public events. The character of the father is well drawn. His loyalty is of the unreflecting and hereditary order common to the cavaliers of his day, and his cruelty towards Edgar is ably balanced by the hearty repentance of his deathbed. We could have wished that Sybil had been permitted to share in the calm joys and brightening fortunes of her lover, but authors, like critics, must have their way in such matters.

Art. VI. 1. *Slavery and the Internal Slave Trade in the United States of North America: being Replies to Questions transmitted by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World. Presented to the General Anti-Slavery Convention held in London, June, 1840. By the Executive Committee of the American Anti-slavery Society. London: 1841.*

2. *American Slavery as it is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses. New York: 1839. Published by the American Anti-slavery Society.*

IF there were, there ought not to be, and we trust there is not, anything merely enthusiastic in the anti-slavery cause. Neither the feeling generated nor the effort engaged by this great object, should be of the nature of a temporary and evanescent ebullition. The appeal which it makes is not only to the deepest sympathies, but to the strongest moral principles of

our nature : and it can be satisfied with nothing short of an unalterable resolution and indefatigable action. We cannot dictate to divine providence, and say that slavery and the slave-trade shall be exterminated ; but we must declare for ourselves that we will never cease to strive for their extermination. If the object is not to be effected—and we know it is not—by a single effort, we must return to it many times ; for it can never be abandoned. Not only do we wish ourselves to feel this, but we wish slave-traders and slave-holders to know it ; lest they should suppose that abolitionism is a mere fit of sentiment that will exhaust itself, and leave them, after a temporary disturbance, in quiet perpetration of their atrocities and pursuit of their gains.

In accordance with the principle we have laid down, we devote the present article to that stubborn and ferocious form of slavery which exists in the United States. A more complete portraiture of it than has ever before appeared is presented in the works which lie on our table ; and we shall endeavor to make such selections from them as will exhibit its principal features. The duty will be painful to ourselves, and will afford little pleasure to our readers ; least of all will it be agreeable to our trans-atlantic neighbors : but we must perform our duty, and we shall hope for beneficial, if not pleasurable results.

To begin with some account of the works before us. The first and most considerable is published by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. It originated in the following manner. That body, in anticipation of the General Anti-slavery Convention, issued queries in various directions, with the view of obtaining enlarged information ; and among these was a series addressed to the Committee of the American Anti-slavery Society. The answers returned were deemed, and we think justly, worthy of publication, and they constitute the first volume on our list. It does not, of course, consist altogether of original matter, but avails itself freely of statements already published ; many new facts, however, and much original matter are added, and the whole is thrown into a new arrangement. The caution, fidelity, and temper with which it is executed are altogether admirable. It is better fitted than any volume which has yet issued from the press to convey to English readers a knowledge of the entire subject ; and should be perused by all who wish to become thoroughly acquainted with it.

American Slavery as it is was published by the Committee of the American Anti-slavery Society in 1839. It is a condensed statement of facts, on authorities which in all cases are given, tending to show that slavery in America is not the Elysium which southerners have declared it to be, but fearfully the

reverse. It is adapted particularly to readers in the United States, and has had, we rejoice to know, a powerful effect in dissipating the delusions long prevalent there on this melancholy subject. It is compiled with the most rigorous scrupulosity; and the statements contained in it are at once so well authenticated and so numerous, as to establish, beyond doubt or challenge, the general character of the slave-system. It is the most elaborate and irrefragable piece of demonstration of its class which the world ever saw. Although its documentary character, multitudinous references, and very close print, make it somewhat heavy reading, it is invaluable as a treasury of facts and a book of authentic reference.

From this brief notice of the works on our table, we proceed to the more immediate purpose of the present article. Towards the close of the volume published by the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, we find an interesting passage relating to 'the rise and progress of the pro-slavery spirit in the United States.'

'The predominant feeling in this country at the establishment of our independence, and for some time afterwards, was, as we have already shown, unquestionably favorable to universal liberty. The countenance of slavery in the union, at the time of its formation, seems inconsistent with this supposition; but facts innumerable demonstrate that to have been a misjudged measure of temporary policy, rather than the result of a deliberate purpose to establish slavery as a permanent system. True, it was both a blunder and an enormity; but that it proceeded from a wish to perpetuate slavery is contradicted by the entire history of the times and of the men. Such might have been the motive with some of the southern delegation, but we have the clearest evidence that it was only a small portion, even of them, who were prompted by such considerations. The tolerance of slavery as a temporary system was an expedient to conciliate and secure immediate adherence to the union; while in all the states it was conceded, that, from the time specified in the constitution of the United States for the abolition of the African slave-trade (1808), slavery itself would rapidly tend to extinction. Ardent attachment to liberty and sympathy for all who were oppressed, which were strong feelings of the rising nation, it was confidently anticipated would speedily sweep away the last vestige of American bondage. To the natural, and, as it was believed, the certain operation of these sentiments, the extinction of slavery was too securely committed. Had any other result been anticipated, it would have found no tolerance with a large majority of the founders of our government.

'A strong anti-slavery feeling pervaded at that period the various denominations of Christians. Slavery was then the common mark for denunciation. No one feared, as now most do, to launch the bolts of truth against it. Statesmen could utter their abhorrence of it boldly, without fear of losing office. Ministers could direct against it the

artillery of inspiration without incurring dismissal. Editors could wield the influence of the press against it without forfeiting their lives or their living. Even in slave states, slavery could be held up to public execration without calling down the inflictions of lynch law.

‘ Numerous associations were formed, both in the free and slave states, styled Abolition Societies, and expressly avowing as their object the extinction of slavery.

‘ Of one of these societies, formed in the state of New York, the Hon. John Jay was first president ; and of another, in Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin was first president. These societies proposed only a gradual abolition of slavery. *Immediatism* was not then dreamed of. But, as it was, these early associations had a remote influence in effecting the abolition of slavery in the northern states. We say a remote influence, because it is well understood that the abolition in those states was dictated in the main by mere state policy. The discussions of natural rights which preceded the revolutionary war, contributed in the first place to arouse public attention to the subject of slavery. This gave rise to abolition societies and publications, by which a public sentiment, to some extent previously formed, was greatly strengthened. The conviction that slavery is a sin obtained to a considerable extent ; the conviction that it was a burthen and a curse became in the free states nearly universal.

‘ In view of the strong repugnance to slavery which pervaded our government in its infancy, the inquiry is very naturally suggested—what could so soon have given rise to a marked partiality for it, which has gathered strength ever since, and threatens to extinguish in Americans all love of liberty and law. What could have so completely revolutionized the national sentiments, that a system which was first regarded with jealousy, and tolerated only on the supposition that it must soon die of itself, should in a few years become the paramount national interest ?

‘ We will glance at some of the causes which have produced this humiliating change, by which our nation has been struck down from its sublime attitude as the asserter of human rights, and degraded into a champion of oppression in its foulest form.

‘ 1. The first great cause has been the increasing profitableness of slavery.

‘ For a time, the products of slave labor constituted a comparatively small item in the national wealth, and slavery was correspondingly unimportant. But gradually the cotton and sugar cultivation, especially the former, became the commanding interests of the land. The south was growing rich apace, and the north, with characteristic eagerness for gain, entered by every crevice through which she could thrust herself, and began the scramble for gold. Her manufactories, her various mechanical trades, and her commerce, entered the alliance. Her adventurous sons, from the shrewd lawyer to the shrewder pedlar, with his ‘ notions,’ rushed southward. Her fair daughters, in alarming numbers, began to discover that their native climate was too severe for their lungs, and that nothing could rescue them from untimely graves but a residence in the sunny south. The south soon became the centre

of attraction to the whole union. Her estates were the most splendid, her cultivation the most lucrative, her manners the most fascinating, and her hospitalities the most princely. Of all these attractions *slavery* was seen to be the basis. *This* gave to the south her resources, her leisure, her polished courtliness, and open-handed generosity. This made her a land of princes, and a school of Chesterfields. It was very natural to transfer the admiration from the effects to the cause ; hence slavery came to be regarded, by the south herself and by all her admirers, as an 'institution' most important and indispensable. It could no longer be viewed in the light of its intrinsic attributes, but was contemplated through the medium of the magnificent ends which it subserved. It ceased to be beheld as the vortex of the slaves' rights, interests, and hopes, and was seen only as the full fountain out-pouring its golden sands at the master's feet.

' 2. Long familiarity with slavery, also, very naturally begat forbearance for it, and forbearance as naturally ripened into friendship.

' 4. Various circumstances contributed to make the master the object of sympathy, and the slave the victim of contempt and detestation.

' The master was white—the slave black ; the master was elevated—the slave degraded ; the master was an equal—the slave an inferior ; the master was a fellow-countryman, a friend, a relative, a ' Christian' —the slave was a stranger, a suspected foe, a barbarian. Besides, the master was such by a sort of necessity, and could not get rid of his slaves without evil to them, and peril to himself and his country ; therefore his holding them was esteemed both patriotic and humane. Such was the verdict of public sentiment. Sympathy was thus entirely misplaced ; while it should have been operating to shield the helpless against the strong, it was weaving sophistical defences for the oppressor. This monstrous perversion of sympathy sealed the fate of the slave, almost beyond redemption.

' 5. We must not omit to notice the agency of the Colonization Society in extending the influence of slavery.

' The society was an imposing one. It numbered among its officers, advocates, and members, nearly all the ministers, churches, presses, statesmen, judges, professional men, philanthropists, and men of wealth in all parts of the land. It had its head quarters at Washington city, and its auxiliaries in nearly every state capitol, with minor branches in almost every county. It claimed, withal, to be a religious institution, an organized missionary society for the christianization of Africa. For a society of such pretensions and such patronage to endorse the system of slavery—at least to assert its present rightfulness, was reason enough, were there no other, for its growth and stability. This was a far more effectual support to slavery than if the clergy or the church as a body had sanctioned it, or than if it had obtained the full concurrence of congress, the judiciary, or the executive ;—for the society combined the sanction of all these, and of every other class, rank, and condition in the community.

' 6. The last cause which we shall mention of the rapid increase of slavery, was the proscription on all discussion of its merits.

‘Of course, not to discuss slavery and expose it to the public gaze, was virtually bidding it God speed. It needs no patronage of the rich, it craves no advocacy of the learned, it asks no fostering hand nor watchful care, it begs only for *silence*—it has obtained, not only this, but patronage, vindication, fostering, and vigilance besides.

‘Considering the causes which have been enumerated, the enormous growth of slavery is no matter of wonder. The only wonder is that it has not wholly supplanted the love of liberty, law, and religion throughout the land.’—*Replies*, pp. 229—236.

Our next extract relates to the condition of the slaves. The number of slaves in the union is about three millions.

‘There are three principal conditions or modes of slavery in the United States. The first is that where, on account of exhausted lands, slave *labor* is unprofitable, and the master resorts to slave-breeding and selling to make his slaves a source of profit.

‘The second condition is that of domestic slavery, including every species of house and family servants. This condition exists wherever slavery is found. Few of any class or profession in the slave states dispense with domestic slaves. Not to have from one to a dozen is almost certainly to forfeit caste in a slaveholding state; and, what is a more serious consequence, it is to be without servants altogether, for, where slaves are the domestics, *free persons* think it a degradation to be such.

‘The third condition is plantation slavery, or that where large bodies of slaves are employed in the cultivation of lucrative products, and where labor, consequently, is profitable. This condition differs widely from the two former. It is a system of productive industry, in which respect it differs from the first condition; and it congregates large numbers under the same management, thus differing from domestic slavery. These are not the only points of contrast. It is necessary to discriminate between these conditions, if we would form a correct idea of American slavery as a whole; and, for want of such discrimination, there has been interminable confusion. Some have considered slavery only in its first form, others only in the second—the mildest of all—others in the third only; while others still have viewed it, as every one should, in all its conditions. These totally different observations of slavery have, to some extent, given rise to disputes between the abolitionists on one hand, and the pro-slavery class on the other, respecting the treatment of slaves; and it is plain that such disputes must be perpetual, unless the disputants will agree to look at the same aspects of slavery. It is the domestic condition which the apologists have in their eye, when they deny the representations of the abolitionists; whereas the latter usually describe plantation slavery, the very condition of which the apologist (who, if he has *ever* been in the south, has been there as the planter’s parlor guest, and that but for a few days) is most likely to be ignorant.

‘Now, while the abolitionists contend that even domestic slavery is vastly worse than pro-slavery writers represent it, still they maintain

that it is so different from plantation slavery, as to furnish little data for judging of the latter. But, in forming an opinion of slavery in the consuming states, which of these two conditions should be chiefly considered? Surely that which embraces the largest number of slaves; and at least nine-tenths of the slaves in the planting states are prædials.

‘But plantation slavery has still stronger claims to special notice, because it gives to the whole system of slavery its importance and permanence. Lop off this branch, and the whole tree dies. Domestic slavery cannot stand alone. It was that form chiefly which existed in the now free states, and so feeble was its hold on life that its extinction required scarcely an effort. What is it that has given to American slavery its gigantic form and mighty sway? What is it that has reared about it such massive walls and impregnable towers? What is it that has transformed it in a few years from an abhorred system, into a venerated ‘institution,’ too sacred to be spoken against with impunity? It is the alliance which has been formed in the planting states between *slavery and cotton*, by virtue of which the most profitable and abundant staple which our country produces is made dependent for its culture exclusively upon slave labor.

‘But plantation slavery puts in another claim to special attention: it actually sustains slavery in the breeding states. It has been seen that slavery could not exist in Virginia and the other breeding states, but for the large sales of slaves which are annually made to southern planters. Of course the American slave trade is likewise upheld by plantation slavery. So also is the African trade, so far as respects its market in the United States.

‘Plantation slavery therefore stands before us charged with the continuance of domestic slavery, slave-breeding, the American slave trade, and in part the African. Surely, if pre-eminence in guilt can entitle any form of slavery to marked consideration, plantation slavery makes good its claim.

‘We feel warranted, therefore, in taking this condition of slavery as the basis of our remarks in reply to the question now before us. It has been observed that the features of slavery in the breeding states received their peculiar mould from the unprofitableness of slave labor. In the consuming states the reverse is true. The lands being fresh and the products rich, slave labor is exceedingly productive. We do not mean to say that it is more so than free labor would be; we merely state the fact that it is eminently productive. The grand pursuit of the southern planter is GAIN—gain on the broadest scale, and by the most rapid process of accumulation. The machinery of cotton and sugar cultivation is a means to this great end. To the same end the *slave* also is made a means, and his rights and interests are all pushed out of view by this huge overgrown interest which quite fills up the planter’s vision.

‘To increase the master’s wealth, the slave is driven night and day; and since his necessary supplies of food, clothing, and shelter, are to be subtracted from the master’s gains, they are dispensed with the

most niggardly hand. Every thread that can be spared from his back, every grain of corn from his mouth, and every item of convenience from his miserable hut, are rigorously withheld. In short, there is not a jot or tittle of the slave's comforts which can escape the all-grasping clutch of avarice. To describe plantation slavery in a single sentence, it is that system which degrades man not into property merely, but into an inferior species of property, whose worth consists in its fitness to procure that which is esteemed a far higher species of property—**MONEY.**

‘ We shall now briefly trace the operation of this principle upon the slaves of the planting states.

‘ The leading policy is to open immense estates for sugar and cotton cultivation (chiefly the latter), and *stock* them, in planter phrase, with large gangs of slaves. The proprietorship by single individuals of thousands of acres and half thousands of slaves, is quite peculiar to the planting states. This practice operates with extreme severity upon the slaves. The congregating of such numbers under the arbitrary control of one individual is eminently fitted to stimulate the fiercest passions, and transform the most humane into monsters of cruelty. When a man has but a single slave, he is under few temptations to be cruel, and those few are kept in check by a sort of personal attachment, which masters often feel for a faithful body servant. But let the same man become the owner of a thousand slaves, and his situation is wholly changed. His love of power, before scarcely excited, is aroused to the energy of a master passion. In the multitude of its subjects it finds new scope and wider range. The temptations to exercise it have increased with the number of the slaves, while the restraints from personal attachment have in the same proportion diminished, or rather wholly ceased to act. The result is, that the gentle master of the single slave, becomes the haughty despot of his little empire.

‘ From the foregoing considerations it is plain, that the policy of overgrown estates and large laboring forces bears with a crushing weight upon the slave. Indeed, a situation can hardly be conceived of, more fraught with suffering than that of a field slave in a numerous gang.

‘ Another feature of the planting policy is to employ overseers, and arm them with every instrument of torture necessary to compel the utmost amount of labour. The planter, as lost to humanity as to honesty, not only denies his slaves just wages, but consigns them to the discretionary management of the vilest monsters that ever wore human form. ‘ Overseer ’ is the name which designates the assemblage of all brutal propensities and fiendish passions in one man. An overseer must be the lowest of all abjects, consenting to be loathed and detested by the master who employs him ; and, at the same time, he must be the most callous of all reprobates, in order to inflict tortures from the sight of which the planter himself sometimes recoils with horror. He must find his supreme delight in human torture ; groans must be his music, and the writhings of agony his realization of bliss.

He must become that unspeakably vile thing, a scullion of avarice, wielding the clotted lash for another's wealth, contented himself to receive a petty stipend as the reward of his execrable vocation.

'Such is the monster to whose unlimited control the planter commits his hundreds of slaves. One injunction only is laid upon him, and that is, to make the largest crops possible. The planter himself generally resides at a distance from his estate, or, if he lives upon it, rarely interferes with the management of affairs. He usually disregards the slaves' complaints of cruelty, since to notice them, and interpose between the parties, would lessen the authority of the overseer, and hazard the reduction of his crops. Consequently, the slaves have, for the most part, no appeal from the outrages of a brutal overseer.

'It is a dreadful reflection, moreover, that the overseer is strongly tempted to cruelty by appeals to his selfishness. His reputation is graduated by the amount of his crops. If they are large, his character is established, and his situation made permanent, with an increase of salary. But to make great crops he *must drive the slaves*. Besides, the wages of overseers are generally either in proportion to the crop which they raise, or a stipulated portion of the crop itself. Thus the overseer's interest conspires with that of the planter to perpetuate a system of hard driving, which is carried out by the incessant application of the lash.'—*Ib.*, pp. 71—77.

There is not a more melancholy section of this volume than that which relates to the slave-breeding states.

'This system bears with extreme severity upon the slave.

'1. It subjects him to a perpetual fear of being sold to the 'soul-driver,' which, to the slave, is the realization of all conceivable woes and horrors, more dreaded than death. An awful apprehension of this fate haunts the poor sufferer by day and by night, from his cradle to his grave. *SUSPENSE* hangs like a thunder-cloud over his head. He knows that there is not a passing hour, whether he wakes or sleeps, which may not be *the last* that he shall spend with his wife and children. Every day or week some acquaintance is snatched from his side, and thus the consciousness of his own danger is kept continually awake. 'Surely my turn will come next,' is his harrowing conviction; for he knows that he was reared for this, as the ox for the yoke, or the sheep for the slaughter. In this aspect, the slave's condition is truly indescribable. *Suspense*, even when it relates to an event of no great moment, and 'endureth but for a night,' how hard to bear! But when it broods over all, absolutely all that is dear, chilling the present with its deep shade, and casting its awful gloom over all the future, it *must* break the heart! Such is the suspense under which every slave in the breeding states lives. It poisons all his little lot of bliss. He cannot go forth to his toil, if a father, without bidding a mental farewell to his wife and children. He cannot return, weary and worn, from the field, with any certainty that he shall not find his home robbed and desolate. Nor can he seek his bed of straw and rags

without the frightful misgiving that his wife may be torn from his arms before morning. Should a white stranger approach his master's mansion, he fears that the *soul-driver* has come, and awaits in terror the overseer's mandate, 'You are sold ; follow that man.' There is no being on earth whom the slaves of the breeding states regard with so much horror as the *trader*. He is to them what the prowling kidnapper is to their less wretched brethren in the wilds of Africa. The master knows this, and that there is no punishment so effectual to secure labor, or deter from misconduct, as the threat of being delivered to the *soul-driver*.*

' 2. Another consequence of this system is the prevalence of licentiousness. This is indeed one of the foul features of slavery everywhere ; but it is especially prevalent and indiscriminate where *slave-breeding* is conducted as a business. It grows directly out of this system, and is inseparable from it. In the planting states licentiousness is a passion, but in the breeding states it is both a passion and a pursuit ; in the former it is fostered by lust, in the latter by lust and cupidity ; there it is a mere irregularity, here it is a branch of a flourishing trade, a trade made more flourishing by *its* prevalence. The pecuniary inducement to general pollution must be very strong, since the larger the slave increase the greater the master's gains, and especially since the mixed blood demands a considerably higher price than the pure black. This is a temptation which often overcomes both the virtue and pride of white men ; *so often*, that it is to be doubted whether, as touching this matter, there be much of either left.

' 3. It might be thought that the breeding system would effectually shield the slaves against bodily cruelty, and, by appeals to the master's interest, secure to them ample food, clothing, shelter, and relief from severe labor, since these things are favorable to rapid increase. But if *interest* would ensure all this, it would equally ensure every other important blessing ; but this is found to be a poor protection to the slave, amid the numberless and overpowering temptations to cruelty. However, if there were any reliance to be placed upon this, it would at best profit only that class of slaves who were in a *breeding or saleable* condition ; though, even in the case of these, great cruelty, toil, and privation might be imposed, without materially impairing their breeding or saleable qualities. But the unsaleable and barren (whether from nature, disease, or age) could find no security in the master's interest. The sufferings of these large classes of slaves in the breeding states must be dreadful. Of little or no value from their labor, where labor is at best unproductive, and entirely valueless in point of increase, where that is the great staple, they must be a burthen upon their 'owners,' and of course miserably provided for and cruelly treated. Where *fruitfulness* is the greatest of virtues, barrenness will be regarded as worse than a misfortune, as a *crime*, and the subjects of it will be exposed to every form of privation and infliction.

* This horribly expressive appellation is in common use among the slaves of the breeding states.

Thus a deficiency wholly beyond the slave's control, becomes the occasion of inconceivable suffering.

' 4. Another result of the breeding system is, that the slaves very frequently *run off*, subjecting themselves to indescribable sufferings in the attempt, and to tortures often worse than death in case they are retaken. The chances of being apprehended may be very moderately estimated at two to one of escape. Those who seek refuge in the woods are almost sure to be retaken. Very frequently they return themselves, not willingly, but driven back by the extremity of cold, hunger, or other sufferings. Those who aim to reach Canada are more likely to escape, though, when it is considered what efforts are made to recover them, we may well wonder that so many succeed. Advertisements are published, containing a minute description of the person, dress, scars, &c. of the fugitive, accompanied with a large reward, varying usually from fifty to two hundred dollars, and these are dispatched by mail to northward towns and villages, where there are sure to be minions enough ready to post them in conspicuous places, and all this, perhaps, before the adventurer has got twenty miles from his master's house. Zeal for the 'patriarchal institution,' and desire for the lusty reward, set the man-hunters on the scent, from the master's door to the borders of Canada.

' But there is a point on which we can speak with painful accuracy—we mean the tortures to which all the retaken are subjected. The master, infuriated with the 'insolent misconduct' of the slave in running away, and enraged by the loss sustained in recovering him, and resolved to make him an example which will effectually deter his other slaves from similar misdeeds, casts about for some unwonted torture. In such cases the furnace of slaveholding vengeance is heated seven times hotter than it is wont to be heated.

' Sometimes, on being closely pursued, the fugitives in their desperation *destroy themselves*, to escape the torments which await them if caught. Instances often occur of their leaping from boats and drowning themselves, of mothers killing their children whom they are carrying with them, and then taking their own lives, and of suicides in every heart-rending form.

' 5. The only remaining feature which we shall notice in the condition of the slaves of the breeding states, is expressively announced by the single word *insurrections*. These are by no means confined to the breeding states, they occur wherever slavery exists. From no quarter, however, have proceeded such piteous complaints about apprehended insurrections as from Virginia, the principal breeding state. It was a Virginia slaveholder * who said, 'every master stands a sentinel at his own door.' It has been, and must be for years to come, the fate of every slave insurrection in this country, to terminate fatally to the slave. It is true, many may be massacred before the insurgents are quelled, but quelled they must be, sooner or later, by overpowering force. They are then doomed to a summary and signal vengeance. The ringleaders

* Hon. John Randolph.

are burned alive, all known to be concerned meet with death, or protracted tortures worse than death, and all *suspected* of having any part in the transaction are severely punished. In short, every form of cruelty and of carnage which murderous rage can inflict is let loose upon the wretches, for the double purpose of wreaking vengeance upon them, and of striking with terror all the slave population. The consequences are no less awful when, as is often the case, a meditated insurrection is detected and crushed.'—*Ib.*, pp. 31—41.

To this harrowing statement we must add another passage, which describes the effect of the slave-breeding system on the master.

'It has been seen that licentiousness is one of the prominent features of this system, and we have had occasion incidentally to show how deeply the slaveholding class is involved in this vice. The appalling affirmation of the Rev. Mr. Paxton, already quoted, that 'the best blood in Virginia flows in the veins of the slaves' (which we believe has never been denied), speaks volumes on the subject. It exposes the vice of the first families of the state. If such is the pollution of the highest circles, what must be the amount of corruption among the lower classes of whites! The licentiousness among slaveholders' sons is probably almost beyond exaggeration. Such are the facilities and temptations to this species of vice, that it may reasonably be doubted whether one in a thousand of the sons of slaveholders escapes pollution.

'But, to pass from this disgusting picture, what must be the demoralizing, the brutalizing influence upon slaveholders, of being habitually engaged in breeding and raising human beings for sale! Compared even with *soul driving*, it exceeds in vileness. While the slave trader only buys and sells, retaining possession no longer than till he can reach the market, the breeder is engaged in the protracted process of *raising human stock*. He selects his 'breeders,' he encourages licentiousness, he rewards amalgamation, he punishes sterility, he coolly calculates upon the profits of fecundity, takes vengeance for miscarriages, and holds mothers accountable for the continued life and health of their offspring. On the head of the new-born child he sets its future price. He trains it in premeditated ignorance, he feeds it for the same purpose for which he feeds his swine—for the shambles. From the day of its birth he contemplates the hour when he shall separate it from the mother who bore it—for that hour of yet keener pangs did its mother pass through the anguish of its birth. When that hour comes, the long-determined deed is done. The master proceeds about it deliberately; no entreaties or tears can surprise him into pity. The mother's frenzied cry, the boy's mute look of despair, move him not. He tears them asunder, handcuffs the victim, and consigns him to the *soul driver*. Who can doubt whether, in all this long and complicated process of villany, there is not more to sear conscience, blunt sensibility, and transform man into a demon, *far more* than can be found in the slave trade itself? Does the trader buy? The master

sells. Does the trader *drive* men and women like cattle? The master *breeds* them like cattle. Does the trader separate families? The master does the same. Does the trader sell in lots to suit purchasers? So does the master: but here the parallel stops, and the transcendent vileness of the master towers alone, for while the trader deals with *strangers*, the master is perpetrating these outrages upon those whom he has reared from their birth, in some cases upon the companions of his own boyhood, in others on the children of the woman, or perchance the woman herself who nursed his infancy, and often, worst of all, on his *own offspring*.

‘Need we ask what must be the effects of such practices, steadily pursued, upon the slaveholder’s heart? And there is his wife, who lives in the midst of all this, connives at it, and co-operates in it—what must she become? And their children, who are the playmates of the little ‘cattle,’ and yet are so accustomed to seeing them torn from their parents and sold as to be unmoved by their cries? What proficients must they become in the execrable villanies of the husband and father!

‘But, if in this aspect the slave breeder is an object of just abhorrence, in another view he strongly excites our pity; for he is himself the victim of fears scarcely less harrowing than those to which he subjects the slave. *His* fears have their origin in the danger of insurrections. ‘A dreadful sound is in his ears,’ which no heroism can hush, which will not be wholly silenced by the uproar of revelry, and which breaks often upon the stillness of the night in tones of thunder.’

—Ib. pp. 41—43.

The internal slave-trade of the United States, to a notice of which these extracts conduct us, is the consummation of the system, both in its wickedness and its agonies. It is computed (*Replies*, p. 12), that eighty thousand slaves are exported annually from the breeding states. The following remarks occur on this part of the subject.

‘It is important to mention here the principal circumstances from which the internal trade has originated, and by which it has been upheld and extended.

‘First among these is, doubtless, the growing poverty of the planters. We have seen how this has operated by overcoming the scruples of conscience, and giving a sort of conventional respectability to a traffic which, otherwise, would have been consigned to the same infamy with the African slave trade. Thus introduced into favor with the ‘highest classes,’ the slave trade, which began in a supposed necessity to avert the rigors of poverty and prevent general bankruptcy, was continued as a source of wealth. This was both inducement and justification enough with a community of slaveholders—never remarkable for over nicety in matters of principle—to reduce the trade to system, and establish it as a regular branch of business. Even in those few cases where moral or religious principle withholds masters from selling, this protection to the slave is almost sure to fail him at the death of his

master ; for, in the distribution and settlement of the estate, the slaves are either sold or divided among the heirs, without regard to the ties of kindred. Mostly, however, they are sold to the highest bidder, who is commonly the 'soul driver.' The most heartrending scenes which attend the slave trade occur in the sale and separation of this class of slaves. Accustomed, from the superior kindness of their deceased masters, to greater immunities than usually fall to the lot of slaves, their family ties are stronger, their personal improvement greater, and of course their susceptibility to the sufferings of separation, and to the brutal violence of the soul driver and southern overseer, much keener. Yet they receive no additional respect, corresponding to their peculiar privileges ; on the contrary, it is well known that they are treated with marked contempt and rigor on that very account, to 'break their Virginia spirit,' as the overseers say. In this cruel treatment we may see the explanation of those tears, which we are often told are shed over the graves of indulgent masters, and which are complacently retailed among the *beauties of slavery*. Well may the poor slaves wail at the prospect of being separated and sold to masters they know not who.

'In many cases, also, the slaves, whose masters would be unwilling to sell, are seized upon and sold at public sale to satisfy the claims of creditors. In the advertisements of such sales or vendues, men, women, and children are indiscriminately huddled in the same category with wagons, barrels, boxes, poultry, crockery, sheep, farming utensils, oxen, house furniture, and the numberless etcetera of live stock and moveables pertaining to a farming establishment. A neighbor gets the children, a distant planter the father, and a soul driver the mother.

'But this suggests one of the prominent features of the internal slave trade, i. e. *the separations of families and kindred*. In this trade the ties of nature are wholly disregarded. This is the *rule*, and the exceptions are exceedingly rare. Sometimes a master refuses to sell, unless the purchaser will consent to take whole families unbroken ; but it is impossible that such cases should be frequent, since the speculator cannot buy on these terms without making a sacrifice himself in the subsequent sale ; for, on whatever principle he buys, he must *sell in lots to suit his purchasers in the south*, and they very seldom wish to buy whole families. Such being the case, it is for the speculator rather than the breeder to fix the terms, and his terms are *separation or no sale*. It is but too certain that, when such an alternative is presented to the master, and the trader's gold glitters in his eyes, he will not long hesitate. Family separations there must be almost as common as the trade itself, since they are essential to its profitable continuance.'—Ib. pp. 44—46.

Heartrending statements follow of the details of this revolting traffic, but we can find room for only the concluding remarks.

'Such is an imperfect view of the American internal slave trade ; a

system fraught with outrages, pollutions, and woes unutterable. The African slave trade itself was never so horrible. Every odious feature of the latter belongs to the American traffic, besides some peculiar to itself of surpassing enormity. This has been acknowledged by one of Virginia's prominent statesmen, himself probably a slave-breeder. Thomas Jefferson Randolph, of Virginia, thus contrasts the American slave trade with the African :

‘ ‘The trader receives the slave a stranger in language, aspect, and manner, from the merchant who has brought him from the interior. The ties of father, mother, husband, and child, have all been rent in twain ; before he receives him his soul has become callous. But here, sir, individuals whom the master has known from infancy, whom he has seen sporting in the innocent gambols of childhood, who have been accustomed to look to him for protection, he tears from the mother's arms, and sells into a strange country, among strange people, subject to cruel taskmasters.’

‘ But what gives to the American slave trade its darkest atrocity is, that it enacts its tragedies on the soil of a republic claiming to be the freest on earth. Its seat is the boasted home of freedom ; its strongholds are the pillars of American liberty ; its throne is the nation's heart ; its minions are republican statesmen ; its victims are native-born Americans. Amidst the galaxy of republican and religious institutions it has its sphere and its name. The ægis of republican law is its shield, and the flag of freedom its shelter. Having its main source at the seat of the national government, it pours thence a stream of blood, widening and deepening by a thousand tributaries from Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, till it rolls in a tide, vast as Mississippi's, over the far south. It seeks no subterranean channels nor sequestered vales for a secret passage, but flows broadly under the sun-light of the nation's favor, laving the wharfs of a hundred cities and the borders of a thousand plantations. Legal enactments lay no arrest upon it ; public opinion rears no dams across it ; popular indignation neither checks its current nor turns it aside ; but onward it flows for ever—America's favorite stream, though from its bosom ascends one ceaseless wail of woe.

‘ Should it be asked what is the character and standing in society of the men who are actively engaged in the slave trade, variously called ‘soul drivers,’ ‘slave traders,’ ‘speculators,’ &c., we would reply that there are two classes of them, who are held in very different estimation by the community generally, though their characters and deserts are intrinsically the same.

‘ One class is composed of the slave merchants, who have large establishments or factories in Washington City, Alexandria, Baltimore, Norfolk, Richmond, Petersburg, &c., and keep slavers constantly plying between these ports and Charleston, or New Orleans. Their slave advertisements are blazoned in the most influential secular papers in the union, and to their service the national and state prisons are most obligingly devoted, when their private jails chance to overflow. These are men of large capital, and conduct the traffic on the broadest scale. They hold an honorable rank among the heavy capi-

talists and extensive merchants of our southern cities, and move in the highest social circles.

‘The other class consists of the agents and pimps of these gentry, who are constantly scouring the breeding states to gather fresh supplies for the slave-prisons and slave-ships; and also of traders of limited capital, who buy up small gangs, and drive their own coffles. The latter class are generally despised even in the slaveholding states, and they are doubtless horribly base wretches of vile origin, and viler lives.’—*Ib.* pp. 66—68.

It must be added, that even this accumulation of crimes and sufferings does not satiate the cupidity of American slaveholders. The authors of the Replies assert (p. 18) that ‘there are frequent ‘importations of slaves into the United States *from Africa.*’

‘The following testimony of the Rev. Horace Moulton, now a member of the Methodist episcopal church in Marlborough, Massachusetts, who resided some years in Georgia, reveals some of the secrets of the slave-smugglers, and the connivance of the Georgia authorities at their doings. It is contained in a letter, dated February 24th, 1839 :

‘ ‘The foreign slave trade was carried on to some considerable extent when I was at the south. Were you to visit all the plantations in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, I think you would be convinced that the horrors of the traffic in human flesh have not yet ceased. I was surprised to find *so many that could not speak English* among the slaves, until the mystery was explained. This was done, when I learned that slave cargoes were landed on the coast of Florida. They could, and can still, in my opinion, be landed as safely on this coast as in any part of this continent. When landed on the coast of Florida, it is an easy matter to distribute them throughout the more southern states. The law which makes it piracy to traffic in the foreign slave trade is a dead letter. I will notice one fact which came under my own observation. It is as follows: A slave ship, which I have reason to believe was employed by southern men, came near the port of Savannah with about *five hundred slaves*, from Guinea and Congo; and the crew ran the ship into a bye place, near the shore, between Tylee Light and Darien. Well, as providence would have it, the revenue cutter, at that time taking a trip along the coast, fell in with this slave ship, took her as a prize, and brought her up into the port of Savannah. The cargo of human chattels was unloaded, and the captives were placed in an old barrack, in the port of Savannah, under the protection of the city authorities, they pretending that they should return them all to their native country again, as soon as a convenient opportunity presented itself. The ship’s crew were arrested, and confined in jail. Now for the sequel of this history. About one-third part of the negroes died in a few weeks after they were landed, *in seasoning*, so called. Those who did not die in seasoning must be hired out a little while to be sure, as the city authorities could not

afford to keep them on expense doing nothing, As it happened, the man in whose employ I was when the cargo of human beings arrived, hired some twenty or thirty of them, and put them under my care. They continued with me until the sickly season drove me off to the north. I soon returned, but could not hear a word about the crew of pirates. They had something like a mock trial, as I should think, for no one, as I ever learned, was condemned, fined, or censured. But where were the poor captives, who were going to be returned to Africa by the city authorities, as soon as they could make it convenient? Oh, forsooth, those of whom I spoke as being under my care were tugging away for the same man; the remainder were scattered about among different planters. When I returned to the north again the next year, the city authorities had not, down to that time, made it 'convenient' to return these poor victims. The fact is, they belonged there; and, in my opinion, they were designed to be landed near by the place where the revenue cutter seized them. Probably those very planters for whom they were originally designed received them; and still there was a pretence kept up that they would be returned to Africa. If all the facts with relation to the African slave trade, now secretly carried on at the south, could be disclosed, the people of the free states would be filled with amazement.'

'It is plain, from the nature of this trade, and the circumstances under which it is carried on, that the number of slaves imported would be likely to be estimated far *below* the truth. There can be little doubt that the estimate of Mr. Wright, of Maryland (fifteen thousand annually), is some thousands too small. But, even according to his estimate, the African slave trade adds *one hundred and fifty thousand* slaves to each United States census.'—*Ib.* pp. 22, 23.

Such is the dark and melancholy portraiture it has been our duty to exhibit. We have for the most part withheld ourselves from the quotation of particular facts (although they excite a deeper immediate interest, and bring a representation more vividly home), because they leave an opening for the allegation that they are merely isolated cases, and that they cannot prove a general rule. Within such limits as ours, we could not compress a sufficient number of facts to avoid altogether the force of such an allegation; we have therefore quoted the general descriptions given in the Replies. We have to add, that they are abundantly sustained by cited cases in the work from which we have quoted, and still more largely so in the second work on our list, *American Slavery as it is*.

One could not but have hoped that the 'pure and undefiled' religion, of which we have often blessed God for preserving so large a portion in the United States, would have demonstrated its power as an antagonist element to the pro-slavery spirit. But 'professors of religion, both in the free and slave states, are deeply implicated in the guilt of slavery,' *Replies*, p. 131. The facts cited in support of this allegation are unutterably painful;

but we cannot extend our quotations. Alas ! religion is no longer in the United States either 'pure' or 'undefiled.' Generally speaking, it has become the ally, the vindicator, the bulwark of the system of slavery itself. There have, indeed, been honorable exceptions throughout, and the number is now rapidly increasing. But it is to our minds a most fearful evidence of the predominance of the pro-slavery spirit, that it should not only have neutralized an element so essentially opposed to itself as Christianity, but have accomplished an amalgamation with it. If there is one hope in this respect dearer or stronger to us than another, it is in the spreading revival of tenderness of conscience among religious professors.

Art. VII. 1. *What ought the Dissenters of Scotland to do in the Present Crisis ?* By JOHN BROWN, D.D. Edinburgh. 1840.

2. *An Humble Attempter to put an End to the Present Division of the Church of Scotland.* By the Rev. LEWIS ROSE, A.M. Glasgow. 1840.

3. *Letter to John Hope, Esq., Dean of Faculty.* By WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM, Minister of Trinity College Parish. Edinburgh. 1840.

ECCLESIASTICALLY considered, Scotland is a cauldron with a very brisk fire underneath ; many hands, lay and clerical, among whom we perceive noble peers, learned judges, and reverend gentlemen in great abundance, gathering fuel, blowing bellows, and stirring potently the mighty mass. In the boiling fluid, ecclesiastical independence and non-intrusion are the precious solids subjected to the action of the heated element, and are seen tumbling about in all fashions. Whether the result of the process shall be 'some dainty dish,' fit to be set before Queen and country,—or whether the old adage shall have its fulfilment, 'too many cooks spoil the broth,'—or whether there shall be no broth at all, the heat, from its intensity, evaporating the fluid, and leaving the impracticable and non-descript solids pretty much as they were before the stir began, remains to be determined. Certain it is that the process is sufficiently critical to keep all the chief agents on the alert, and even to induce curious on-lookers and peaceable passers-by to guard against jeopardy.

For the instruction of our readers we propose to set forth our views of these very remarkable Scottish transactions, involving principles and interests to which no part of the empire ought to be insensible.

What are the Scottish clergy about ? What is meant by

these northern phrases, *ecclesiastical independence and non-intrusion*? What do they want parliament to do, or not to do? What sort of means and expedients are they employing to accomplish these darling objects? What is the state of parties among our northern neighbours? And how do prognostics and prospects look? Our readers will not expect that we should answer these questions in the order in which we have propounded them, or by any separate consideration of the matters classed under each; but we have put ourselves to some pains for the purpose of supplying materials, by which, if our readers choose to avail themselves of them, they may answer these and many queries besides, on the *vexed question* of Scottish ecclesiastical affairs.

The present movements are of very recent origin. The surface of the northern waters was long smooth enough, and it is but lately that these breezes have sprung up, which have subsequently freshened into gales, and lashed the waters into perilous agitation. There had been discussions about patronage, in which many strong things had been said, by none more so than by the late Dr. Thomson—some societies had been formed on the unworkable and hopeless principle of purchasing patronages by voluntary contribution—a slow and expensive, and, withal, not a very Christian mode of arriving at spiritual liberty—and many severe things had been uttered touching patronage and patrons, even by stout and orthodox churchmen. But the two great causes assigned by Dr. Chalmers in his late pamphlet, ‘What ought the Church and People of Scotland to do now?’ were *ab extra*, to use his own phrase on another subject,—namely, the popular ‘movement,’ which produced the change ‘in the political constitution of the country’ in 1830, and the spread of ‘voluntaryism, with her fierce and ‘noisy menaces.’ In such circumstances, it was deemed expedient, or felt to be necessary, by the lords spiritual of the Scottish church, to concede somewhat to ‘the spirit of the age’ and to set about the awkward work of ‘popularizing our ‘ecclesiastical constitution,’ as the Doctor has it.

But how was this to be done? In the first place, the clergy began to meditate on their high position as the only legal instructors of the Scottish nation, with somewhat of the air which our apostolicals assume in England; they awoke as if from a dream, to the touching contrast betwixt their own capabilities, and the overgrown population with which they saw themselves surrounded; they proclaimed, trumpet-tongued, the favorite maxim of ecclesiastics, that the established church must have churches sufficient to accommodate, and clergy in numbers sufficient to instruct, the whole people of the land; and that a church and a clergyman should, on this principle, be provided

for at least every 2000 souls, where the population is dense, and for a much smaller number where it is more scattered. Church extension became the order of the day; the great watch-word of clerical agitation. At least one-third of the accommodation existing in the church, was unoccupied—that was nothing; a large proportion of the population, probably larger than in England, belonged to the Dissenters—that was less than nothing; the whole country was already parcelled out in their parishes, the whole population were their parishioners, *their people* to whom they were bound to furnish ‘religious instruction and pastoral superintendence;’ and accommodation must be made, and endowed clergy obtained, for the benefit of every soul of the entire population. Petitions loaded the tables of parliament; the hard-hearted legislators demurred; and rested on their oars while a commission appointed by them visited Scotland. These commissioners did their work with much pain, and at great expense, and terminated their labors, as is usual in such cases, by laying information in massive folios on the tables of the House. Meanwhile Dr. Chalmers was not idle. To use his own phrase, he took a leaf out of the book of O’Connell, and began the vocation of agitation in right good earnest. How he wheeled his way from city to city, and parish to parish, with *his speech*, refuted and repeated he himself knows not, and no other man knows, how often, is fresh in Scottish recollection. Great sums of money, however, were raised; many new churches were erected; and, by petitions and deputations, loud demands were made for endowments to their ministers from the public purse, which government and parliament, whether from principle or poverty, have hitherto refused.

The popular mind was thus amused; but two important questions remained to be disposed of—what is to be done with patronage? for to ‘popularize the Establishment,’ and to retain patronage as it is, was seen to be impracticable; and how are the ministers of these new churches, and others similarly situated, to be provided for?

As to the first, *patronage*. In Scotland, patronage (advowson) is vested, with two or three exceptions, either with the crown, or with individual proprietors, or with corporations. Induction to a living can take place only in consequence of *presentation* to it, by the patron. On this presentation or nomination by the patron, the candidate, if he has not been previously *ordained* to the ministry, is *taken on trial* by the presbytery; that is, he is examined on his literary and theological knowledge, and delivers discourses on certain prescribed subjects; and if these *trials* are finished with approbation, he is inducted into the charge in the prescribed order.

But this matter of patronage has always been offensive to the Scottish people, particularly to the more intelligent and pious, as tending to corrupt the church, and as virtually superseding popular choice, since it rarely happens that the nominee of the patron, be he who he may, fails to secure his induction. Indeed when the presentation has been obtained, in the estimation of all parties the induction followed as a matter of course. So offensive has patronage been, that it stands branded in the standard books as coming from 'the pope's kirk;' it produced the Secession 110 years ago; and twenty years after, the Relief, a large body of Presbyterian dissenters, followed on the same ground. To modify, if not to remove, patronage, therefore, was thought one of the best things the church could do to repopularize itself. With this view the famous Veto law of 1834 was passed by the Assembly. Our readers will be quite in the dark on the whole Scottish agitation, unless they comprehend this Veto law, and the change in ecclesiastical arrangements which it was intended to accomplish.

According to former practice, after the presentation was received, the parishioners were invited to *call* the candidate, that is, to subscribe a document inviting him to become their minister. As the parishioners knew well enough that the thing was arranged independently of them, few in general subscribed the call, which confessedly had become a sort of mock-form, preserving the appearance of election, when the thing did not exist. For if the presentation was legal, and no objection to the character of the candidate was made, his induction followed, irrespective of the call.

The Veto law was introduced for the purpose of increasing the popular influence. It was urged, that it had always been held as a principle in the church, (however widely that principle had been departed from in practice,) that no one should be intruded into a parish, contrary to the will of the congregation; and to provide for this, it was enacted by the assembly, that, provided the male heads of families, being communicants, should negative the appointment of the patron, should give their Veto against the presentee, even without assigning any reasons whatever for his rejection, the presentation should be set aside, and another candidate should be presented by the patron, in room of the unfortunate man, who had fallen under the Veto of the people.—Subordinate provisions were made by this law; but such is the substance of it.

Our readers will perceive that a considerable change was thus made in the practice of the church of Scotland. It is true, popular rights were not conceded; no parish could choose, or even name a candidate, till the patron chose; free and unfettered election was not thought of, and has been denounced by

the most zealous Veto men; only a small portion of the parishioners, the male heads of families being communicants, were enfranchised by their lordly superiors, who thus took upon them to sit in judgment on the rights of christian brethren, and to grant or withhold, or to dole out their spiritual privileges in such mutilated fragments, as they thought fit; election, in a word, was granted to none, but solely the power of negation to a few. Still this law was a check on patronage which did not exist before; and the check, being new, was expected to please the people; and, being slight, was not expected to give great offence to the patron. Such is *non-intrusion*, let our readers bear in mind. This is *Veto*, let them remember. England scarcely yet knows the sounds, certainly is at little pains to catch their sense; but every ear in Scotland has been deafened, from Berwick-on-Tweed to John o'Groat's house, with the grating sounds, Veto and non-intrusion, for six long years.

The Veto being thus on its legs, what was to be done with the non-parish ministers of the church, was a question of pressing interest. There are about 930 parishes in Scotland; but there are other churches connected with the Establishment. These latter are of four classes:—the old chapels-of-ease, amounting to about 60—the parliamentary churches, chiefly in the Highlands, in number about 40—the new extension churches, approaching to nearly 200—and a few who have gone over to the church recently, from a small party known by the name of the Old Light Burghers. All these had two important peculiarities; none of their pastors had a sitting or voice in any church court—and they had, and still have, no state endowment, (with the exception of the parliamentary churches,) but are supported entirely on the voluntary principle. A great change has been effected in the *status* of all the four classes, by the assembly, who took it upon them, without any legal sanction, first to assign to each, local districts, which they call *parishes quoad sacra*, and next, to introduce them into all church courts, having the same *status* and power with the ministers of the old parishes. By this arrangement various ends are contemplated. They are all, or nearly all, Veto and non-intrusion men, and thus the ascendancy of that party in the courts, especially in the assembly, is secured over their formidable opponents, the Moderates, who formerly prevailed—these newly elevated brethren have a zeal and an influence, which they would not otherwise have possessed—the arrangement pleases a numerous class of 'the laity, and thus the Establishment is still more 'popularized'—and last, and chiefly, a claim is strengthened for legal endowments to those new men, whose *status* is equally lofty in all other respects with those who were endowed before. It is to be remarked, however, that the *legality* of these arrangements

remains to be tried, and probably will be tried soon, in the court of session, by which authority it is nearly certain, the whole arrangement will be set aside, the assembly having stretched its authority *ultra vires*.

Let us now advert to the other, and still more vital question of the *spiritual independence* now claimed by the church. The general assembly passed the Veto law, and made these arrangements respecting new parishes and their ministers. *But had they the power?* The spiritual independence men boldly assert their own inherent supremacy. They affirm that Jesus Christ is the only Head of the church—that they have derived from Him the undoubted right to manage the affairs of the church of Scotland, Veto and all, without any control whatever by the secular powers—that in passing their Veto they acted in the exercise of these powers delegated to them by Jesus Christ—that neither judges, parliament, nor queen, have any right to interfere with them in such matters—and that, rather than surrender this spiritual independence of theirs, they will ‘suffer the loss of all things.’ On the other hand, it was pleaded in the assembly, that they were exceeding their powers—that were they only a christian church, unsupported by the state, they might do what they pleased, but that as an Establishment, they existed by civil statute, and by that statute were ‘bound and astricted’—that to this authority they had themselves submitted, and received their *status* and their emoluments, on the fidelity of their obedience—that patronage is patrimony, civil property, bought and sold, and any part of which, or the value of which, the general assembly have no more right to invade, than to seize the park of a proprietor, and parcel it out amongst the parishioners—that if in this way they altered one part of the compact betwixt them and the state, they might alter others, or the whole—and that by following the path they had marked out for themselves, they exposed themselves to civil pains, and their whole establishment to jeopardy or ruin.

The dispute was not long confined within the walls of the assembly. There were patrons in plenty, who knew their rights, and were resolved to assert them, in spite of these claims of spiritual independence and supremacy on the part of the church. In illustration of this, the two following important cases deserve special notice.

The one is the famous Auchterarder case. The patron of this parish is the Earl of Minnoul, by whom a Mr. Young, a licentiate of the church, was presented to the living. He was proposed to the parishioners in terms of the Veto law, and in the new ecclesiastical jargon of the north, had the misfortune to be *vetoed*. But his lordship disregarded the law of the assembly, and so did Mr. Young, the presentee. His lordship would not

present another, and he and Mr. Young brought the case before the highest Scottish tribunal—the court of session, who after long and patient hearing, found not only that the presentation was valid, but that the Veto law of the church was illegal, inasmuch as it affected the patrimonial rights of patrons, over which the church has no power; and appointed the Presbytery of Auchterarder to take Mr. Young on trial, in order to his induction. The case was brought by appeal to the House of Lords, by whose authority the sentence of the court of session was confirmed. Here was direct collision betwixt the law and the church, the former setting aside as illegal a law of the latter, and appointing the church to act in opposition to its own law. The independents were roused. The Veto law was a law of the church, with which, in *their* creed, the state had no right to interfere—the act of ordination is a spiritual act, with the appointment of which the civil powers have nothing to do—‘we will not ordain Mr. Young,’ they said, ‘let judges and peers do their worst.’ And they have neither ordained him to the ministry, nor taken him on trial, up to this hour; in consequence of which Mr. Young has brought an action of damages against the Presbytery for £10,000, which will be decided by a jury some of these days; and on which Lord Cunningham, one of the judges, has already given an opinion from the bench, in favor of Mr. Young, arguing his case with uncommon clearness and power.

The other case is that of Marnoch, in the Presbytery of Strathbogie, one still more complicated, embarrassing, and stirring. So far back as 1837, a Mr. Edwards was presented to the parish of Marnoch, but was *vetoed* by a majority of the male heads of families. Had the law of the Assembly been obeyed by the patron, the presentee, or the presbytery, Mr. Edwards would have been set aside, and another candidate presented. But these parties were not like-minded with the parishioners, or the Assembly. Mr. Edwards brought his case not before his ecclesiastical superiors, but *their* superiors as well as his, the Court of Session, praying the court to find his presentation valid, and to secure to him its legitimate consequences—induction to the living. The court decided in his favor, and declared that the presbytery, notwithstanding the law of the church, were ‘bound and articted’ by a prior law of the state, to take the candidate on trial in order to his induction. Of the eleven ministers of which the presbytery consists, seven agreed to take Mr. Edwards on trial, thus preferring obedience to the law of the land, to obedience to the law of their church. How does the church act? The General Assembly, our readers may not be aware, meets only once a year; but they appoint a large committee to meet quarterly, which committee is known by the name of ‘The Commission,’ and to which body very ample

powers are delegated by the Assembly. By the authority of this body, the seven ministers composing the majority of the presbytery of Strathbogie, were suspended from all their functions, the minority of four were constituted the presbytery of Strathbogie, and Mr. Edwards was prohibited from acknowledging the majority by appearing before them for trial. The seven ministers, meanwhile, not liking this said suspension, apply to the Court of Session to set it aside by interdict, which the court does ; in consequence of which these suspended-presbyters, setting at nought the authority of the Commission and the Assembly, exercise all their functions as if no sentence of suspension had passed against them, take Mr. Edwards on trial, and declare him duly qualified for induction into the church and parish of Marnoch. This happened early in 1840. Not wishing to be over-hasty in their proceedings, and possibly hoping that some expedient might be devised for healing the breach betwixt them and the Assembly, the seven brethren delayed the induction of Mr. Edwards till after the next meeting of the Assembly. This took place, as usual, in May ; great excitement prevailed ; the seven suspended brethren would yield nothing ; their case was again remitted to the Commission to proceed against them by libel, with a view to their deposition, should they remain contumacious ; and the Commission was also enjoined to libel Mr. Edwards for disobedience to the church. Meanwhile the ministers are continued in their suspended state, and others are appointed to supply their pulpits, as if they were vacant.

What refuge had Mr. Edwards and his seven friends against these ecclesiastical fulminations ? The broad shield of the law. The sentences of the Court of Session have proved an ample protection against the sentences of the General Assembly. From the former authority the seven brethren obtain an interdict, by which the delegates of the Assembly appointed to occupy their pulpits are prohibited from preaching either in their churches, school-houses, or church-yards ; and they continue to preach and to hold meetings of presbytery as before. Still they are in no haste to induct Mr. Edwards ; but he himself does not choose to delay. He again applies to the power that has already protected both him and the suspended seven, praying it to appoint the presbytery to do their duty, otherwise to pay him large pecuniary damages. With all legal form and authority the presbytery are ordered ‘ forthwith to admit and ‘ receive the said Mr. John Edwards as minister of the church ‘ and parish of Marnoch according to law, and to take all the ‘ necessary and competent steps for that purpose.’ Obsequious to the stern law, and disregarding their church, the seven brethren appoint his ordination ; and amidst crowds of on-lookers, much altercation, and not a few missiles from an excited

mob, induct Mr. Edwards into the parish of Marnoch on the 21st day of January last.

What a medley have we here? What direct conflict betwixt the church and the law by which the church as an Establishment exists! What successful defiance of ecclesiastical power by Churchmen, under the sanction of civil law! First, the Church passes a law, which the civil authority annuls. Next the Church adheres to its annulled law in defiance of the civil authority. Then patron, presentee, and presbytery within the Church, defy the law of the Church. The Church rebels against the law of the land, and Churchmen rebel against the law of the Church. The Church suspends rebellious Churchmen; and the law liberates those whom the Church suspends. Ministers suspended from office exercise the office from which their own Church suspends them; and avowedly in obedience to the civil law, set apart to sacred office one prohibited by the Church from entering into that office—an office from which those conferring it are themselves suspended! Where now is the independence of the Church? And where is non-intrusion?

Such is a brief sketch of the present position of the Church of Scotland. Our readers may be disposed to ask with eagerness, what shall be the end of these things? It is not difficult to pronounce what the course ought to be with all consistent friends of independence and non-intrusion on the Scottish Church. They denounce patronage, not as an incumbrance only, *but as a sin*; in itself a violation of the will of the Head of the Church, and leading, as they truly declare, to many other sins. One would imagine, then, that it must be sin to *hold* patronage—to *exercise* patronage—above all, it must be sin, in those specially who entertain such views, to accept the patron's sinful gift, and to live by the fruit of patronage and presentation. It is not only a disreputable, a dishonorable, but a sinful way of living, according to anti-patronage advocates. Is not the answer plain? 'Suffer, then, rather than sin—renounce ' this sinful mode of living—take for your example the confessors and martyrs of other days, should such a lot be assigned to you—or rather, since you are not called to suffer for ' a good conscience to any formidable extent, renounce state pay, ' and live like your brethren of other denominations.' Then in regard to spiritual independence, the demand of duty seems equally urgent; for how can any man with his eyes open fail to perceive the incompatibility of such independence with the position of a Church established by law? Among the many vagaries of Dr. Chalmers in these proceedings, one of his proposals to Lord Aberdeen is the concession by the state to the Church of what he calls '*liberum arbitrium*;' that is, that the state should simply pay the clergy, and grant to them the

liberty of doing what they like ; a proposal as modest and as sane as if the officers of the army and navy should demand from parliament pay without control, a military and naval *liberum arbitrium* to fight with what weapons, with what foes, on what arena they may fancy, either to fight or not to fight, to be the guardians of peace, or the fomentors of discord. Spiritual independence in a state-supported Church ! How can any man, in the Scottish Church particularly, entertain himself with such a vision ? Has not that Church in express words condemned lay-patronage as an evil, and has not the state for two centuries and a half compelled the Church to endure that evil ? Is this independence ? The statute of 1592 is boasted of as ‘ the charter of the Church of Scotland ;’ yet that parliamentary statute contains these remarkable words, ‘ the Church shall be bound and astricted to admit any qualified person whom the patron shall present.’ Is a Church ‘ bound and astricted’ by the state, and to a practice which the Church denounces as sinful, independent ? Indeed, the state has done what it liked with the Church in the matter of patronage. In 1592, it ‘ bound and astricted’ the Church to bear the yoke. During the struggles in the reign of Charles the First, and the Cromwellian interregnum, the Church threw it off for a time. At the restoration it was re-imposed. In 1690, it was modified by the state, being vested in heritors (proprieters) and kirk-sessions. It was restored by statute in 1712; and in spite of remonstrance has been continued by the same statute to this day. Is this independence ? Recently the Church passes her Veto law, without consulting the state, and glories in her independence and liberty ; but the state interposes, declares her Veto illegal, interdicts the measures which the Veto law appoints, suspends the effects of spiritual censures, drags her ministers before civil tribunals for obeying Church laws, and appoints ministers whom the Church has suspended to perform spiritual services which the Church has forbidden. Is all this independence ? But the worst remains to be told. The ministers of the Church have all subscribed her Confession of Faith without reserve or limitation, and that confession contains the following words respecting the power of the civil magistrate : ‘ He hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions or abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed. For the better effecting whereof, he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God.’ Can he consistently call the Church independent over which,

But in these circumstances what remains for those who honestly believe that the Church of Christ ought to be independent of all State control, and that they dare not surrender this independence as they shall be answerable to their Divine Master? Can there be any answer but this one?—quit a position in which their liberty is denied them, and occupy one to which they have direct access, which hundreds of thousands around them happily occupy, and which the Christian church, by apostolic sanction, occupied in the beginning.

But will this be the issue? With Mr. Rose, we suspect not,—at least, with a very few only. We much fear that the old fable of mountains in labor, and producing only a ridiculous mouse, is about to be realized in Scotland. *Few of the ministers of the Scottish Church are, after all this ado, hostile to a modified patronage,—and the State knows this.* Indeed, how can they be, when they all accept the living by the patron's bounty? The whole moderate party, occupying probably a majority of the old parishes, are the declared advocates of patronage. Lord Moncrieff, the lay leader of the other party, and other ministers of the same party, in their parliamentary evidence, have recorded their judgments in its favor. Dr. Chalmers has never disguised his sentiments in favor of patronage, and has held that the Veto law was meant to be conservative of it. The law is abundantly decisive, 'binding and astringing' the former. Probably ninety-ninths of the larger landed proprietors go along with the law. Among the clergy there are excellent persons, who honestly deplore the evil, and desire its entire and final removal; and who, possibly, in spite of all their natural and excusable predilections towards the Church, may, for the sake of a good conscience, put themselves at the head of a new secession. But Mr. Rose knows well the men of whom he speaks, and he augurs nothing very lofty of the most fervent agitators; and right sorrowfully and slightly does this honest man talk of 'the verbal and noisy professions of a regard to the rights of the Christian people, made by many non-intrusionists of the present day.' If such be the men, there must be a great lack of that sturdy — which led the seceders of other days to disregard the church, — to flout one vaunting word, desirous to have Master — and to appoint — himself as right — on; the — it be —

mission to the law—to the people she will talk smoothly, very reverently to the judges and to the State—the rigid law will relax a little (she would have a heart of adamant if she did not, when she sees a chastened sobbing church on her knees at her feet): some medium measure, such as Lord Aberdeen's Bill, with some verbal alterations, will be found to answer the great end of peace; and, with the desertion possibly of a few, and the misgivings of many, things will revert to their old course *for a season*. We are bold enough to hazard this vaticination.

But let us not be mistaken. We are persuaded that this Scottish movement, be its result what it may, will incalculably favor the principles of religious liberty, and of enlightened dissent. The eyes of the country are now open to these facts of vast moment—that among dissenters, and with them alone, spiritual independence and ecclesiastical liberty are enjoyed; and that if Churchmen will have spiritual independence, they must leave the Church, or the Church must bid adieu to the State. With one consent the Moderates ring this in the ears of their opponents in the Assembly. With equal solemnity and sarcasm the judges have pronounced the same sentiments from the bench. With two or three inconsiderable exceptions, the whole periodical press of Scotland declares the same thing. It is in every one's mouth. A further result is, that scriptural liberty is gaining friends by thousands within the Church itself, within whose pale, it delights us to know, there is a growing mass of religious intelligence, piety, moral worth, and Christian zeal and beneficence. And the same effect of the continuance of this agitation is to convince the more reflecting portion of the private members of the Church, that liberty and state connexion cannot co-exist; and that if they would be independent of State control, they must be independent of State pay. The concluding sentence in the *Quarterly* on this subject finds a response all over the land—'while the Church remains an Established Church, her absolute independence of the law is a dream.'

The grand evil to be dreaded from the continuance and enlargement of the existing ecclesiastical establishments, is their pernicious influence on the piety of the country, corrupting and depressing, by secularizing it, and perpetuating while they exist a proud and repulsive sectarianism, with all its concomitant mischiefs. But next in order is their baneful effect on civil and religious liberty. A free State, and an endowed Church, are necessary antagonists. To the latter, excellent persons may belong, many who have little of their spirit. But as corporations, unjust in their very constitution, they inure and reconcile the public mind to practical injustice, while they

vitiate the spirits of their more devoted adherents, especially their clerical adherents, to an extent of which they are themselves unconscious; inspiring them with the bitterest acrimony against those whom they most injure, and against all who call in question their unrighteous monopoly, and rendering them tenacious almost to desperation of exclusive pay and exclusive power. Even Dr. Chalmers regards the new churches as *good stepping-stones* to new endowments; and actually proposes to recall the Veto law, for which he fought so stoutly, because it is now discovered that ‘thereby’ they would ‘*incur the loss of the temporalities* ;’ and, notwithstanding the kindliness of his nature, no man has indulged more than he in ferocity in tone and diction towards voluntaries, declaring, among other things, that they are the friends of anarchy, and would burn up all the synagogues of God in the land. The natural allies of Churchmen are that party in the country who have been the hereditary enemies of liberty, and are once more within reach of power. Let them have it, and endowed prelacy and presbytery will rally around them; the government will strengthen by more largely endowing the friendly churches; and the conciliated ecclesiastics, in thousands, will be government agents, in every parish, in every house to which they have access, and in every contested election, parliamentary and municipal. For such a temporary result, the way is already prepared, under Church and Tory influence, in both parts of the island. The clergy of Canterbury are a specimen of the clergy over all England, and, with honorable exceptions, over all Scotland. Every pulse beats in unison with the heart. The established clergy, form an organized power, universally ramified, and pervaded by one will, in as far as the temporal wealth and power of the corporation are concerned. In Scotland, we understand, its effects in the counties are truly deplorable. In Ayrshire, at the first election after the passing of the Reform Bill, out of about 3,000 voters, 2,400 voted for the Liberal, and 600 for the Tory candidate. At the last election, by the combined influence of the proprietors and the clergy, the Liberal candidate lost by several hundreds. We cannot but declare our apprehension that a period of trial awaits the consistent friends of civil and religious freedom; a season of augmented Church and Tory sway, short, we trust, yet such as may demand some simultaneous and undesirable national effort to displace it for ever.

We can afford space only for a few words respecting the pamphlets, with the titles of which we have headed our article. Dr. Brown’s is marked by his usual intellectual vigour, honest and noble intrepidity, and steadfast adherence to Bible truth, and to the great principles of civil and religious liberty. He justly holds that while dissenters should co-operate in civil mea-

tures with all, of whatever denomination with whom they agree in principle, and should never, without necessity, act as a party, the recent combinations of churchmen have rendered it imperative on dissenters to confederate in their own defence; never indeed to seek any favor for themselves which they do not seek for the whole community, but to resist, with their whole influence, those aggressive movements of churchmen, which are alike opposed to the principles of just and free government, and to the rights of dissenters, with which the former are identified. He demonstrates that dissenters cannot co-operate with churchmen in their present movements for non-intrusion and independence, since churchmen demand these on grounds, and for objects, and in circumstances, with which dissenters can have no sympathy. They petition for the relief of the church by new statutes in her favor; dissenters say, the church should relieve herself, and the state should let her alone. They seek independence for the church of Scotland with exclusive pay and power; dissenters seek independence for all churches, pay and power for none. They seek justice and liberty for themselves; dissenters for the whole community. The following passage on this subject, from the pamphlet of Dr. Brown, will afford our readers an opportunity of judging of the tone and purport of the whole.

‘ It would be irreconcilable alike with sound principle and enlightened policy, for the dissenting churches in their religious capacity, to take any part in political affairs, it being a fundamental principle with all well instructed dissenters, that in their religious capacity, whether as individuals or societies, the governments of this world have nothing to do with them, and they have nothing to do with the governments of this world; but it does seem advisable that dissenters, as a class of citizens, whose civil rights are materially and injudiciously affected by certain existing institutions, in consequence of their exercising their inalienable right of judging for themselves in religion, and acting accordingly, should, as other classes of citizens are apt to do in similar circumstances, *organize themselves into a distinct body*, so as most effectually to protect from invasion such privileges, as, in common with the other subjects of the state, they have already a legal right to, and to make the most of every opportunity which may occur, of securing that, to which as peaceable members of the community they are entitled, but which, while civil establishments of religion exist, they never can expect to possess, ‘ *absolute liberty, just and true liberty, equal and impartial liberty.*’*—pp. 11, 12.

Mr. Rose’s pamphlet is the production of a pious and judicious churchman; a devotee of no party, dreading mischief, and

* Locke.

eager to prevent it ; and propounding his own plans, with little hope of their being listened to, for healing the present sores of the church. With true Celtic veneration he regards the church in which he has been nurtured—with Celtic strength and fervor he clasps her with masculine arms to his honest breast ; but it is plain withal that he finds himself environed with embarrassments, from which escape within the church is all but hopeless ; in a word, he is within a few paces of—his wit's end ; a predicament by no means peculiar to ' The Rev. Lewis Rose, of Duke Street Gaelic Church, Glasgow.'

As for Mr. Cunningham, he is ever like himself—an affirmation which may not be quite transparent to English eyes, but which will be perfectly so to all in the vicinity of Trinity College Church, Edinburgh. In the ecclesiastical flotilla which at present navigates the troubled waters of Scotia, Mr. Cunningham is the Spitfire,—incessantly discharging his innocent miniature guns, now at the Moderates within the church, now at the judges of the land, now at that ghastly, grisly spectre, that haunts him by night and by day—the law, and now at the Voluntaries, especially, in his own vernacular, ' the perjured and apostate seceders.' Verily, the church of Scotland has good reason to pray, ' save me from my friends !'

Brief Notices.

Family Secrets, or Hints to those who would make Home happy. By Mrs. ELLIS, Author of ' The Women of England.' Part I. Fisher and Co.

It would be premature at present to pronounce any opinion on the literary merits of this work, and we shall therefore confine our notice to a simple statement of the object of the author, and the mode of its publication. It is justly remarked by Mrs. Ellis, that ' all who are solicitous for the well-being of society, must rejoice in whatever tends to the increase of domestic comfort, either by removing what is destructive to its existence, or encouraging those habits and dispositions by which it is protected and sustained. Some of these,' she adds, ' with their nature and tendencies, the author has already endeavored to point out to her countrywomen, in the ' Women of England ;' and, encouraged by the favorable regard with which this work has been received, she is induced to turn her attention to a minute description of one particular cause of evil, more fatal than all others, to individual happiness, though less discountenanced by the world, in its commencement and early progress. In the work now announced, the author has endeavored, not only to describe some of the various forms which this

evil assumes, but to lead the attention of the reader to its only remedy, as well as to enforce the truth, that for all moral evils there is no certain cure but in the exercise of Christian principle. The form in which the work is moulded, is that of a domestic novel; and the style, if we may judge from the present number, is at once sober, chaste, and graphic. The work is to appear in monthly parts, price one shilling each, and will be handsomely illustrated by steel engravings.



A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art; comprising the History, Description, and Scientific Principles of every Branch of Human Knowledge; with the Derivation and Definition of all the terms in general use. Illustrated by Engravings on Wood. Edited by W. T. BRANDE, F.R.S., L. and E. Part I. London: Longman and Co.

THE design of this work is most admirable, and its execution promises to be such as will entitle it to the confidence and patronage of the public. It is intended to occupy a medium position between the general encyclopædia and the special dictionary, and will be found to answer all the purposes of a manual or reference book. It 'will contain,' we are informed in the prospectus, 'the definition, derivation, and explanation of the various terms in science, art, and literature, that occur in reading or in conversation. Great pains have been taken to make these definitions and explanations correct, clear, and precise. Short abstracts are also given of the principles of the most popular and important departments of science, literature, and art, with notice of their rise, progress, and present state. No statement is ever made as to any unusual or doubtful matter, without referring to the authority on which it rests; and when subjects of general interest and importance are noticed, the reader is referred to the works relating to them, which embody the best and most authentic information. Not only, therefore, will those who consult this work have a guarantee for its authenticity; but they will learn the sources to which they may resort with the greatest advantage, should they wish to make further inquiries.' The work is printed in a small but neat and readable type, and will be completed in ten or twelve monthly parts of 5s. each.



The Illustrated Commentary on the Old and New Testaments; chiefly explanatory of the Manners and Customs mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures; and also of the History, Geography, Natural History, and Antiquities, &c., being a Republication of the Notes of the Pictorial Bible. Vol. V. London: Charles Knight and Co.

WE have in former numbers of our Journal described the nature of this work, and have expressed our high estimate of its value. Such is our opinion on this point that we deem it almost impossible to speak of it in terms of too high praise. Leaving the doctrinal and experimental exposition of Scripture to other writers, the editor of this work has brought his varied reading and most laborious research to bear on the elucidation of the antiquities, geography, political history, zoology,

botany, and customs of the inspired record. The result, as might have been expected, has been the removal of many difficulties which have long served to perplex the intelligent reader, and the clearing up of some obscurities which had thrown an appearance of inconsistency or of doubtfulness upon the sacred text. The present volume completes the work, which we strongly recommend all parents and guardians of youth to place immediately in the hands of their charge.

Memoir of the Rev. Edward Payson, D.D. By the Rev. ASA CUMMINGS. Reprinted from the Ninth American Edition, 1835. London: Ward and Co.

A CHEAP and beautifully executed reprint of one of the best pieces of American ministerial biography.

'What Cheer ;' or Roger Williams in Banishment. A Poem. By JOB DURFEE, Esq. With a Recommendatory Preface, by the Rev. JOHN EUSTACE GILES. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

SUCH of our readers as will peruse an extended critique on the American edition of this work which appeared in our Journal for July, 1838, will need no further inducement to possess themselves immediately of a copy of this reprint. The character of Roger Williams has suffered much at the hands of an ungrateful posterity. The circumstances of his life have been strangely distorted in order to justify a charge of doctrinal heresy against him, and thus to overshadow the true lustre and dignity of his career. No man has more powerful claims on the gratitude of the Nonconformists of Great Britain, and we therefore rejoice in the appearance of this work, as calculated to secure him tardy justice. 'In the following poem,' says Mr. Giles, 'the magnanimity and patriarchal piety which he displayed, during his solitary wanderings and perilous sojourn amongst the wild inhabitants of the forest,—his heart-thrilling adventures,—his hardships, toils, and wrongs, are so vividly set forth, and mingled with such glowing descriptions of American scenery, Indian customs and manners, and accounts so instructive of their tradition and religion, as to render it one of the most enchanting productions in our language.' Mr. Giles's brief preface, evinces a warm-hearted and generous sympathy with the principles as well as with the sufferings of Williams. There is a manliness and decision of tone throughout it which we should be glad to see more generally evinced by his brethren.

The Biblical Cabinet ; or Hermeneutical, Exegetical, and Philological Library, Vol. XXVIII. Park's Biographical Sketch of Tholuck. Tholuck's Life and Character of St. Paul—Sermons—and Nature and Moral Influence of Heathenism. Edinburgh: Thomas Clark.

THE position occupied by Dr. Tholuck amongst the divines of Germany, attaches considerable interest to his publications, and the pub-

lisher of the Biblical Cabinet has therefore rendered an acceptable service to the British public in presenting them with the contents of this volume. Professor Park's sketch of the life and character of Tholuck, furnishes some interesting information respecting his literary and theological labors, and forms an appropriate introduction to the pieces which follow. We should advise Mr. Clark to be very sparing in the introduction of sermons into the Biblical Cabinet. A few may be tolerated as specimens of the pulpit style of the more distinguished German divines, but the number should be very limited, and the selection carefully made.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Mr. J. E. Ryland's Translation of Neander's History of the Church in the Apostolic Age, announced in a former number as preparing for publication, will contain the alterations made in the third edition of the original work now in the press, which Dr. Neander has kindly engaged to communicate to the translator.

Unfulfilled Prophecy respecting Eastern Nations, especially the Turks, Russians, and the Jews.

A New English Grammar for Schools is announced by Dr. Allen and Mr. Cornwell (Tutor of the Normal British School); in which besides many other improvements, especial attention is given to explaining the formation and derivation of words.

Just Published.

A Critical Examination of the Rendering of the Word βαπτίζω in the Ancient and many of the Modern Versions of the New Testament, with especial reference to Dr. Henderson's Animadversions on Mr. Greenfield's Statement on the Subject. By F. W. Gotch, A.B., Trinity College, Dublin.

The Nature of Chimney Sweeping, the Attempts made to alter its Character, and the final accomplishment of this object by 3rd and 4th Victoria cap. 85.

The Illustrated Commentary on the Old and New Testaments. Vol. V.

Popular Errors Explained and Illustrated. By John Timbs. Part V.

Handbook to the Oral Exercises. By Rev. J. Edwards, M.A., and William Cross.

Letter to Sir John C. Hobhouse on the Connexion of the East India Company with the Idolatry of that Country. By J. M. Strachan.

Le Keux's Memorials of Cambridge. Part XI.

The T'Hakoorine, a Tale of Maandoo. By Captain James Abbott.

Poetical Gleanings. By the Compiler of Maxims, Morals, and Golden Rules.

Abraham, the Father of the Faithful.

An Historical Discourse on the Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode Island. By John Callender, M.A., with Memoir, Annotations, and Illustrative Documents. By Romeo Elton, M.A., F.S.U.S.

Henric Clifford and Margaret Percy, a Poem in the Ballad Style.

The Family Reader of the New Testament. By Rev. J. E. Riddle, M.A. Part I.

The Gift of Prayer. By Thomas Mann. Third Edition.

A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art. Edited by W. T. Brande, F.R.S.L. and E. Part I.

Notes on the Epistle to the Corinthians. By Albert Barnes. (Ward's Library.)

The Rise and Progress of Dissent in Bristol, chiefly in relation to Broadmead Church. By J. G. Fuller.

The Centurion, or Scripture Portraits of Roman Officers.

Letters to an Aged Mother. By a Clergyman.

A Visit to the Indians on the Frontiers of Chili. By Captain A. F. Gardiner, R.N.

The Life and Times of Rev. Robert Housman, of Leicester. By R. F. Housman.

Egypt and Mohammed Ali. By R. R. Madden, M.D.

Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare. Measure for Measure.

The Reconciler, or an Attempt to Exhibit in a new light the Harmony and Glory of the Divine Government and the Divine Sovereignty. By a Quadragenarian in the Ministry.

An Address on laying the Foundation Stone of the Lancashire Independent College. By George Hadfield.

Vivia Perpetua, a Dramatic Poem in Five Acts. By Sarah Flower Adams.

Family Secrets. Part I. By Mrs. Ellis.

The Scottish Congregational Magazine. New Series.

Reflections on the Fiftieth Anniversary of his Ordination, delivered at Argyle Chapel, Bath. By Rev. William Jay.

The Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, Esq., including a Narrative of his Voyage to Tangier. 2 vols.

Pulpit Recollections, or Miscellaneous Sermons Preached in the Parish Church of Stoke-upon-Trent. By the Rev. Sir William Dunbar.

Memoir of C. T. E. Rhenius, with Extracts from his Journal and Correspondence, with detail of Missionary proceedings in South India. By his Son.

Anti-Popery, or Popery Unreasonable, Unscriptural, and Novel. By John Rogers.

The Work of the Holy Spirit in Conversion. By John Howard Hinton, A.M. Third Edition.

Individual Effort and the Active Christian. By J. H. Hinton, A.M. New Edition.

A Cry from the Tombs, or Facts and Observations on the Impropriety of burying the Dead among the Living. By James Peggs.

The Wine Question Settled. By Rev. B. Parsons.

Philosophic Nuts. By E. Johnson, Esq. Part II.

The Present State of East Indian Slavery. By James Peggs, late Missionary in Orissa.

Difficulties of Elementary Geometry. By Francis W. Newman, formerly Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford.

Biblical Cabinet. No. 30. Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul to the Galatians and Ephesians. By John Calvin. Translated from the original by the Rev. William Pringle, Auchterarder.

Fox's Book of Martyrs. Part I. Edited by Rev. John Cumming, M.A.

The Works of Josephus. Translated by W. Whiston, A.M. Part 9.

The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland, Illustrated from Drawings by W. H. Bartlett. The literary department by N. P. Willis, Esq. Part I.

Canadian Scenery Illustrated, from Drawings by W. H. Bartlett. The literary department by N. P. Willis, Esq. Part 10.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

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Art. I. *Church Principles Considered in their Results.* By W. E. GLADSTONE, Esq., late Student of Christchurch and M.P. for Newark. London: Murray. 1840.

THIS is a curious book. It is an attempt to establish and illustrate the most prominent and dangerous of the high Church doctrines maintained by the Oxford Tract writers, not so much by historic evidence, the only evidence in favor of such extravagancies that would be worth a farthing, but principally by—what does the reader think? — *their antecedent probability!* their adaptation to the nature and the necessities of man and their harmony with the principles of the divine government! So that, as Bishop Butler's celebrated work was entitled 'The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and the Course of Nature,' Mr. Gladstone's ambitious volume might be entitled 'The Analogy of the Oxford Tract Doctrines of Church Authority, the Apostolical Succession, Sacramental Efficacy, &c., to the Constitution and the Course of Human Nature and of Divine Providence.' But alas! here all resemblance ceases. Wide, indeed, is the difference between the speculative and argumentative powers of the Bishop of Gloucester and those of the member for Newark; a difference as wide as that between the sublime truths established by the one and the miserably contracted and uncharitable doctrines propounded by the other.

Of all the publications of the Pusey school which have come under our notice, this is one of the weakest, and yet, strange to say, may be (to a certain class of readers) one of the most dangerous:

we mean to those who are not accustomed to think for themselves, or to ask the proper and sufficient evidence of whatever propositions are submitted to them. And this assuredly is no small class in a school which professedly defers rather to authority than reason, which makes many of its most peculiar and improbable mysteries dependent in no wise on logic, but simply on faith; and which, generally, errs rather on the side of believing too much than of believing too little.

To such men as those above adverted to, the present work will be dangerous on several grounds; first and chiefly, because it abounds in that well-known fallacy, humorously described by Whately, of stating something which is true, but which is really nothing to the purpose, as if it were decisive of the controversy; of stating with much pomp certain general principles which every body admits, leaving the incautious reader to take for granted that the particular point under discussion is involved in them, and to infer that because there is very little to which he objects, that therefore the author has proved his proposition. To illustrate by a single example. In a long, and in many parts affectingly metaphysical chapter, at the commencement of the work, entitled 'Rationalism,' there is really very little, till quite towards the close, to which any reader who admits the Scriptures to be true will take the slightest objection. It abounds with such truisms as these:—that there is a tendency in the human mind to reject mysteries which transcend the human understanding—that this reluctance is no sufficient reason for their rejection—that there is need of preternatural influences to correct the bias of our depraved affections—that the understanding alone will not suffice for this task—that the exhibition of doctrine, however true, is equally insufficient for it—and so forth; all which we suppose few persons would be disposed to deny. But the question still returns, even when we have admitted that there is a reluctance in the human understanding to receive mysteries which are above its comprehension,—what is the proper evidence, notwithstanding intrinsic difficulty or apparent incomprehensibility, on which any particular mystery is worthy of being received in spite of the acknowledged tendency of human nature to reject it? When we argue with the Socinian, for example, we admit that the doctrine of the Trinity is indeed a most profound and incomprehensible mystery; but we receive it upon what we deem the sufficient evidence of revelation,—upon revelation based upon appropriate and sufficient proofs. We should never think it much to the purpose to adduce in support of the doctrine of the Trinity, the general reluctance to receive mysteries, except to remove a very faint presumption against it. After the general principle has been established, that it does not become us to

reject mysteries as such, the question as to what particular mysteries are worthy of belief is to be decided on entirely other grounds. To a reader of moderate sagacity, therefore, Mr. Gladstone's elaborately argued truisms will just go for nothing, until the principles on behalf of which they are adduced are established by appropriate evidence. Yet all such evidence Mr. Gladstone modestly disclaims all intention of adducing. He tells us 'the first, the most appropriate, and the highest mode of discussing the subject is the scientific process whereby these principles are deduced and proved from holy Scripture; * * * but let no one suppose in opening this volume that it pretends to repeat the process of demonstration upon these topics; for it, the reader must refer to other and easily accessible sources.' We must acknowledge that 'the process of demonstration,' as he calls it, and 'the scientific process by which these principles are deduced and proved from holy Scripture,' have never, in our opinion, been so satisfactorily performed as to exempt an advocate from the attempt to perform them with better success; and in particular we should much wish that Mr. Gladstone had tried his hand at the task, if only for the sake of neutralizing those dangerous plausibilities by which we fear unwary readers are liable to be misled; imagining, easy men! that they are put into possession of solid arguments for the particular doctrines contended for, while in fact they are merely put in possession of specious generalities which no one ever thought of denying. Thus there is many a weak man who, upon its being proved to him that it is no sufficient argument for the rejection of a mystery that it transcends the powers of the human understanding, would immediately suppose that there was no reason why he should not believe the mystery of the apostolical succession; and as many more who, upon its being shown that there was a need of preternatural influences to effect the great work of man's renovation, would straightway conclude that they had got hold of a very excellent reason why they should admit the terrible delusion of baptismal regeneration. Mr. Gladstone must know very well that amongst those who are willing to receive *such* a mystery as the Trinity, the grand objection to the doctrines of apostolical succession and baptismal regeneration, is not that they are *mysteries*, but that the proper and independent evidence of them is demanded, and is not forthcoming. As 'to the other and easily accessible sources,' to which Mr. Gladstone refers us, all we can say is, that we do not know where they are to be found; but we readily acknowledge that the method which Mr. Gladstone has adopted does great credit to his discretion; it is far more easy and far more plausible.

Secondly; we fear that with many readers of the Pusey

school (with whom a thing's being a mystery often seems to be not merely no objection, but a singular recommendation, and an antecedent ground of probability), the very appearance of metaphysical profundity and superfluous subtlety, which our author knows so well how to put on, will seem very imposing and conclusive. If they cannot understand, they can take for granted, and will be ready to believe that where there is so much smoke, there must be a great deal of fire; that such sentences as the following (and they will find whole pages of them), however unintelligible, involve some mystery or other—which though in reality very innocent, and as little connected with 'Church Principles' as with good writing, it behoves them devoutly to believe. 'This power of confidence, ' then, has a ground in the several departments of the mind: ' and the question, in which of the two it operates with the ' greater force, depends upon a larger one—that, namely, ' whether in general, or in the given case, or in both, the affec- ' tions supply the subject matter and the movements of the ' individual character in a greater or less degree than the other ' faculties of his nature, his passions, his particular propensions, ' his lower desires. It is enough here to have shown that the ' work is a joint one; that confidence is operative on practice ' by substitution; and operative alike through the single action ' of mind, and through the double action of mind and heart: ' we might perhaps add, that third case, in which the heart ' prompts instinctive action without the perceptible intervention ' of the understanding in its instrumental capacity.' Surely the spirit of Plato's Protagoras must have transmigrated into the honorable member for Newark, or he must be inspired by those divinities in Aristophanes;

' Who pour down on us gifts of fluent speech,
Sense most sententious, wonderful for fine effect,
And how to talk about it and about it.'

Without pretending to give an analysis of the whole contents of Mr. Gladstone's book, with a great part of which, indeed, being perfectly true and nothing to the purpose, we have no manner of quarrel, we shall proceed to specify a few of the instances of his remarkable logic when he ventures to apply his indeterminate generalities to the establishment of his peculiar Church principles. The first shall be from that chapter on 'Rationalism' on which we have already made some remarks. He has rightly argued in that chapter for the necessity of some spiritual influence above and beyond human nature to secure the renovation of man. Now there is an obvious sense in which every Christian would be perfectly willing to subscribe to this

doctrine; but then we affirm that the transcendent influence thus exerted acts immediately upon the understanding and the affections in concurrence with all the powers of our nature, and in perfect harmony with all the laws of our moral constitution; that it is not a grace conveyed by inevitable necessity, on account of a rite performed by a certain individual; conveyed without the slightest consciousness on the part of him who is subjected to it, and without the slightest proof to the bystanders that it has been conveyed; an influence which leaves behind no appreciable trace, an influence, in fact, which influences nothing, and a cause which produces no effect. Yet it is such a sort of influence for which Mr. Gladstone earnestly contends; it is the supposed influence implied in *baptismal regeneration or in the administration of the Lord's Supper at the hands of an episcopally ordained minister*. And how does the reader imagine Mr. Gladstone proceeds to show the inconsistency of our denying *this* species of influence, because we contend that the preternatural influence we admit is exerted only in harmony with the laws of our moral nature—that it implies the active concurrence of our minds and the spontaneous admission of our hearts? Let us hear him.

‘But we may call, and call loudly, upon those who have accustomed themselves to regard orthodoxy (in the sense specified) as the highest characteristic and surest guarantee of the Christian life, if they value either the truth of religion or the force and consistency of their own arguments, to join with us against rationalism in all its forms, and especially against that its subtlest form which teaches or assumes that spiritual life can only be initiated through an intellectual process. They denounce, and justly denounce, the idea of converting men by merely preceptive teaching: the truth of moral maxims and their intrinsic beauty, say they, may be unquestionable, but you present them to a being whose perceptive faculties are corrupt, and who requires an antecedent spiritual influence to enable him to appreciate them. So far they are right; but are they not incorrect in imagining that the presentation of doctrine to the understanding (for to the understanding in the first instance it presents itself) is the sole and sufficient guarantee divinely appointed for the realization of that spiritual influence? If truth of a less immediately practical nature may convey it,—i. e. truth of doctrine, why may not the more immediately practical—i. e. the preceptive truth, convey it also? Why may not the precept carry with it the power of its own accomplishment, as well as the doctrine carry with it the disposition for its own reception and likewise the power of accomplishing the precept?’

‘If they establish a title as against Sacramental influences, which some may deride as mystical, they cannot establish one in sound argument against moral teaching, which they suspect as rationalistic; for such a title must be grounded on the general prerogatives of truth;

and on its affinity to the understanding, as subject matter to an instrument appointed for working on it. Such a title will evidently include moral teaching as a positive channel of grace; they cannot find any distinction which shall shut it out. Then will arise the danger which I have striven to exhibit; in the active and robust play of the intellect, the more delicate conception of divine influence will be lost. Why will they not use the security, which God in his wisdom has provided for them, by constructing separate vehicles of an influence quite distinct from the understanding, and therefore permanent witnesses of its independent essence?'—pp. 77, 78.

So, because we contend that the exhibition of the *peculiar doctrines* of the gospel is the necessary condition of realizing the *effects* of the gospel, we are incorrect, it seems, in denying that merely *preceptive* teaching, or the inculcation of matters, which, however true, *exclude by supposition* all the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, will not realize the same effects; which is as much as saying, that because we contend that a system of truth *must* be exhibited to produce the *effects* of that system, we are incorrect in denying that the same effect may be produced if all that is peculiar to that system be excluded! What shall we say to such a reasoner as this?—and yet into such fallacies as this Mr. Gladstone is continually falling.

Mr. Gladstone's third chapter, which is one of the longest in the book, is on the 'Church.' It is made up, for the most part, of the elaborate commonplace which nobody would think of disputing, sometimes expressed with needless prolixity, and something very like an affectation of metaphysical obscurity. But it is commonplace which has no power whatever to determine the controversies on this subject, as it may for the most part be adopted by all of every party who admit the social character of Christianity,—that it presupposes natural sympathy and joint action; in a word, it may be admitted with equal propriety by all who contend that there is a visible church in *any sense* or under any modifications. That 'every inward principle of our nature struggles for an outward development' as our author affectedly expresses it; that it seeks for this not only for its own consummation, but also that it may be expansive and communicative, to use again his own language; that Christianity very naturally and reasonably avails itself of this tendency; that all other religions, whether true or false, have ever been embodied in an outward development of rites and of social institutions; that in the case of Christianity it seems especially necessary, considering the obstacles with which this has to contend, and which can be overcome only by a firm and general resistance; that the religion of the individual is apt to decline if he be secluded from his fellows; that adoption into a body

tends to depress and absorb the idea of *self*; that sympathy is a principle which for the most part gives increased energy to action, and so on, all which propositions Mr. Gladstone proceeds to illustrate with as much pomp and tediousness as if they were now revealed to the world for the first time, will be admitted with equal readiness by the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, or the Congregationalist, or by a Christian of any denomination whatsoever who admits that there is such a thing as a church of Christ or such things as churches of Christ at all. It is difficult to tell which to feel most strongly; contempt for the understanding which can imagine that such generalities really have any decisive bearing upon the controversy, or indignation at the unfairness which would leave it to be inferred that they have. We apprehend, however, that the latter would be the more reasonable emotion, for it is difficult to give Mr. Gladstone credit for so much obtuseness as not to know that all these plausible generalities may be admitted by the warmest opponents of his peculiar church principles. But he well knows that there are multitudes who will suppose that these are really arguments on his side of the question; that they are arguments which his opponents would not admit; and who would wonder to find how very reasonable all appears on the one side and how strangely unreasonable on the other; especially as he takes care to assume all the way through that the 'voluntary combinations which we perceive in sects around us,' as he expresses it, 'are simply so many *aftergrowths*, intended to supply the place of the primitive and legitimate idea of the church.' He also takes care to talk as if these voluntary combinations may be formed and dissolved at pleasure; whereas he ought to know and must know, that the Congregationalist, for example, while he contends that all combinations of Christians *must* be voluntary, in the sense that every member of it must be a *willing* member, yet as firmly believes that the combinations which Mr. Gladstone is pleased to call 'imperfect aftergrowths,' are truly churches of Christ, and that it is his duty to incorporate himself with them, as Mr. Gladstone believes in his figment of the one visible church. Whatever advantages, therefore, from sympathy, association, &c., attach to the one, also attach to the other; and hence, as we assert, the utter irrelevancy of Mr. Gladstone's pompous declamation on the above specified commonplace topics. His duty clearly was to prove his peculiar notion of the church to be the true one, or if he would insist only on the *a priori* probability that that idea was the true one, he should have abstained from appropriating arguments which are just as conclusive in behalf of any form of the church whatever. We have really no alternative but that of believing Mr. Gladstone to be either one of the most obtuse or one of the most

unfair of all reasoners. But let us proceed to investigate Mr. Gladstone's views of the 'Church.'

His notion is not merely that there is an *invisible* church of Christ to which all Christians in all ages belong, but that there is a *visible* church which is also strictly one, or which, as he expresses it, 'is called to unity.' Now all we have to ask is, which is that visible church? But here Mr. Gladstone at once deserts us.

'It is now time to pass onwards to another portion of this inquiry—to the endeavor, namely, to meet such objections to the foregoing principle as may probably be anticipated. First, let us obviate a misconception that is most likely to arise. There is no claim here made or implied for any particular local portion of the Church as such, to possess the high distinction of being invested in all minds with those plenary ideas of privilege and authority which belong in full only to the Church universal; the full measure of regard and deference to her as a parent and guide, as qualified to be regarded like parents with affection, like guides with confidence, is only due to the body which fulfils the idea of the catholic church of Christ. We need not now inquire what are the essential conditions of membership in that church, or what is necessary to constitute her unity—these are properly subsequent considerations. It may be that she has lost that virgin beauty and harmony of her form which adorned her youth, and that, so far, the affections she once riveted upon herself are now baffled and without a home; but we must not allow ourselves to be hindered in receiving the truth of Scripture by the anticipation of posterior difficulties, which, if they have arisen at all, will have arisen only out of our own misdeeds: the object here urged is, to aim at grasping and embodying in the first instance by effort (under divine grace), and then confirming by mental habit, an effectual conception of the church as a body within which we are comprehended, as that to which we belong rather than that she belongs to us; as a living admitted proof of the love of Christ to us, and as having the stewardship of his word and the ordinances of his grace. And by an effectual conception is here meant that which is not only allowed by the understanding and then dismissed and laid aside, but that which vitally pervades the whole mind and heart, which imbues the affections, which is ever at hand to mould even the first forms of thought as it is born, and to impress its character upon it more and more, as it assumes a more definite shape, and finds vent outwardly in word or act.'—pp. 145, 146.

Mr. Gladstone is mighty cautious in the application of his own principles; he still with great prudence clings to his darling generalities, full of unmeaning sophistry. And no wonder; for if he attempted to put his theory into plain language, it would at once be seen that his 'one visible church' is an utter non-entity, and that those parts or portions of the visible church, as he is pleased plausibly to call them, are much more distinct

churches than the separate churches of our own religious denominations. These last have at least similarity of laws and unity of spirit; the parts or portions of Mr. Gladstone's 'one visible church' have neither the one nor the other. If there be 'one visible church,' it must have, according to Mr. Gladstone's own reasonings, unity of government, possible intercommunion of its members, one code of laws, universality of jurisdiction. We need not ask if there be anything at all like this; whether the *two principal* parts of this one visible church have not excommunicated one another; whether the Church of England does not act with as complete independence as the church of Rome, and the church of Rome as the Greek church,—the three truly kindred bodies to which Mr. Gladstone is pleased to restrict all claim to being called a church of Christ,—or whether all are not far more truly divided than any of the churches of the Congregationalists. That they embrace a larger number of individuals has nothing at all to do with the matter.

Here we may make another obvious remark. If these, not merely independent, but actually hostile communities can be said to constitute 'one visible church,' or parts or portions of it, there is certainly no reason whatever why the separate communities of all other denominations of Christians may not be considered as being substantially one, and possessing visible unity. The simple fact is, however, that Mr. Gladstone's 'one visible church' is a pure fiction of his own fancy; and it is most amusing to find him admitting, in the preceding paragraph, that 'it *may be* that she has lost that virgin beauty and 'harmony of her form which adorned her youth, and that, so far, the affections she once riveted upon herself are now baffled and without a home.' A fine admission for one who maintains that, according to the whole theory of Scripture, God *designed* that His church should be 'visibly *one*.' If this 'one visible church,' therefore, cannot be pointed out, the declared purpose of God, by fair inference from Mr. Gladstone's reasonings, has been frustrated! If it *can* be pointed out, we ask which is it? not 'parts or portions' of it, so unlike and so hostile as the churches of Rome and England, for in this way, as already observed, we may prove *any* communities of Christians to be parts of 'one visible church;' but 'one visible church' which fulfils Mr. Gladstone's own conditions of such an institution; having vital connexion and fellowship through all its parts, one government and one jurisdiction. He never can consistently realize his views till he becomes a Romanist, and in spirit and principle he is more than half one already.

We have already quoted one specimen of the cautious vagueness with which Mr. Gladstone is pleased to express his mystical

views on this subject, and the circumspection with which he refrains from fairly stating which is his 'one visible church.' We find the same curious mixture of confident presumption that there is one visible church, with the same total uncertainty as to which or where it is, even in the chapter in which he comes to apply his principles to the Church of England, where of course his object is to show that, whatever be the upshot, the Church of England is a particularly bright exhibition of primitive Christianity, and an undoubted *branch* of the 'one true apostolic church.' But we again ask, what has this one visible church to do with such *perfectly independent branches*? and if it be connected with others, where and what are they? in other words, which is *the* 'one visible church?' Mr. Gladstone of course takes upon him to inform us 'that the Church established by law in this land has a right to be considered *within its borders*, as having the stewardship of the covenant, and the care in a religious sense of the souls of the people, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear.' Without stopping to expose the rampant and most gratuitous claims to the *jus divinum* involved in all such expressions, we beg to ask what is meant by any particular *branch* of the 'one visible church,' so secluding itself within its own borders as in effect to cut itself off from all other branches of it? If there are other branches subordinated, like itself, to some common government, and acknowledging one common jurisdiction with it, what are they? We repeat, it inevitably follows from Mr. Gladstone's own reasonings, either that the Church of England is itself the sole representative of the 'one visible church,' a doctrine no doubt very pleasant to the modern Oxford school, or that there is no such thing in existence. The perplexities which beset Mr. Gladstone in his laborious search after his 'one visible church,' are well indicated in the following passage. The closing sentence would seem in fact formally to surrender the point, if it were not expressed with as much disregard to grammar as our author generally manifests to logic; so that it is really difficult to ascertain what is his meaning, or indeed whether he can be said to have had any.

'The modern temper, it will be found, leads us to act directly in the teeth of apostolic diction and practice. Those holy men ever speak of *the* faith, of *the* church: we, on the other hand, as if there were faiths many, and churches many. I am not yet inquiring which is the true faith and the true church; nor yet hastening to decide that in no more than one body can the grand results of the Christian covenant be found to have been in certain degrees accomplished; but in remarking simply that the notion of a number of bodies not observing the laws of church communion, and a number of forms of religious

profession differing in material particulars, without any preferable claim on the part of one or another, belong, if to any gospel at all, not to that gospel which was preached by the blessed twelve. And this I trust is clear: negatively, because the apostles nowhere intimate the lawfulness of such a state of things; positively, because they inculcate in distinct terms the doctrines of 'one faith,' 'one body, and one spirit.' Which faith is right it may be difficult to find—difficult to know that we are right; at present it is rather to be feared that, letting slip the idea of the unity of the faith, forgetting that, whichever it be, it is in its essence one, and slumbering in easy indifference respecting all unity, we ought to know, that we are therefore necessarily wrong; which is the first, and 'a laborious and painful step, towards becoming right.'—pp. 284, 285.

Mr. Gladstone of course invests the 'Church' with all those high prerogatives which suit his high Church principles; she is something between the Saviour and the soul, and she is charged with the office of the interpretation of the Scripture. Our author, with that peculiarly happy knack which he possesses, of just taking for granted what ought to be proved, and of proving with great pomp and formality what nobody denies, simply contents himself with affirming that 'God has established 'in the church an office of interpretation. Not that there has 'been infallibility or impeccability in its discharge. But there 'can be no doubt of its existence, nor any question that it 'attaches peculiarly to the *accredited* ministry of the Church.' How many knotty questions may in a few lines be happily disposed of in this pleasant way of simple affirmation! One is quite at a loss to imagine how our author could have thought it necessary to write so bulky a volume, with such a very convenient and concise method of logic in his possession. Half a dozen pages would amply suffice for the satisfactory decision of half the questions which have tormented theology. At the close of this chapter Mr. Gladstone takes an opportunity of canvassing some, though by no means all, nor the most important, of the objections which he not unnaturally surmises may be taken to his lofty views of 'church authority,' and amongst the rest that derived from their incompatibility with the liberty of private judgment. His ingenious method of extricating the unhappy man who finds the conclusions of individual conscience in opposition to the authority of the Church, is so well worthy both of his logic and his principles, that we shall crave leave to cite the passage.

'And lastly, persons are in great alarm for their liberty of private judgment. The true doctrine of private judgment is, as has been shown by many writers, most important and most sacred: it has the direct sanction of Scripture. It teaches the duty, and as correlative

to the duty, the right of a man to assent freely and rationally to the truth. It is commonly called a right to inquire; but it is to inquire for the purpose of assenting: for he has no right (that is, none as before God) to reject the truth after his inquiry. It is a right to assent to truth, to inquire into alleged truth. Now all that the true idea of the church proposes to him is a probable and authorized guide. This is wholly distinct from the Romish infallibility. The Church of England holds individual freedom in things spiritual to be an essential attribute of man's true nature, and an essential condition of the right reception of the gospel; and testifies to that sentiment in the most emphatic mode, by encouraging the fullest communication of Scripture to the people. Yet is it perfectly possible that the best use of such a freedom may often be thus exemplified: when a man, having prayed for light from God, and having striven to live in the spirit of his prayer, and yet finding his own opinion upon a point of doctrine opposite to that of the universal undivided church, recognizes the answer to his prayer and the guide to his mind in the declarations of the creeds rather than in his own single and perhaps recent impressions upon the subject, not thus surrendering his own liberty of judgment, but using it in order to weigh and compare the probabilities of his or the church's correctness respectively, and acting faithfully on the result.'—pp. 155, 156.

It is no doubt very kind of Mr. Gladstone to have provided this convenient contrivance for those who find themselves in the awkward predicament hinted at above; who, in a word, find their *conscientious* individual convictions at variance with those of the 'undivided' church. The question, it seems, which such a man is to consider and decide, in order to determine his belief in the points on which he doubts, is not whether such and such doctrines are false and unscriptural or not; but whether he thinks the whole of the 'undivided' church is likely to be right rather than he! And if he thinks so, he may say that he believes such and such things to be true, though in fact he believes them false, because he believes that the church is more likely to be right than he! Upon this principle, no doubt, a man in the early church, who thought he ought not to eat of meat offered to idols, might have safely done so, and given up his scruples, because he might certainly think it more probable that an inspired apostle, who declares it indifferent, was more likely to be in the right than he; yet Paul cruelly declares that such a scrupulous person is 'condemned if he eat,' because he does it with an uneasy conscience! Again; who does not see that the assent of such a man is not to the doctrines to which his assent is demanded, but to quite a different matter, namely, that he thinks it more probable that others are in the right than he? We will not stop to inquire what is that 'undivided' church which the scrupulous man is to take as the guide in preference

to his own convictions. A Christian may well say, 'I do not know where it is; all Christians, indeed, who receive the *whole* canon of Scripture, admit that there are certain doctrines essential to Christianity, but then I do not find that I deny any of these—and for those disputed matters which Mr. Gladstone is peculiarly anxious to recommend, I do not find any 'undivided' church to which I can refer my scruples.' Oh! yes, says Mr. Gladstone, there are those who profess to receive the Scriptures, who deny many of the *essential* doctrines of Christianity, thereby showing that the favorite plea of the sufficiency of the Scriptures is a fallacious one;—as the Socinians, for example. Mr. Gladstone is very fond of urging this argument; and yet he *must* know that this is a false statement. The Socinians do *not* receive the *whole canon* of Scripture; they are compelled to reject some portions and to garble others to give even a semblance of plausibility to their system. We repeat, that amongst those who receive the whole canon of Scripture, we know of none who deny any of those doctrines which constitute the essence of Christianity, and as to those disputed points which are *not* essential, we know of no 'undivided' church to which the scrupulous conscience could submit, even if any such implicit deference were justifiable. So much for the uncertainty of this absurd rule.—But it is the *rule itself* to which we chiefly object. It is an outrage on all the sacred claims of conscience; nor do we believe that a more lax and dangerous maxim has often issued even from the school of Ignatius Loyola. In reading this passage, we have been strongly reminded of one of the many inimitable passages in the Provincial Letters, in which Pascal sarcastically exposes the iniquities of that most flagitious and pernicious fraternity. 'Verily,' said I, 'this must be a dream! Do I really hear religious people talk in this manner? Tell me, father, are you absolutely and conscientiously of this opinion?' 'No, certainly.' 'Why then speak against your conscience?' 'Not at all: I did not speak according to *my* conscience, but in conformity to Pontius and Father Bauny, and you may follow them with safety, for they are skilful polemics.'

Our author's fourth chapter is on the Sacraments, in which, with the same cautious abstinence from all close logic, and the same superabundance of affected philosophy and real mysticism, Mr. Gladstone defends the usual high Church views upon this subject; 'the grand delusion of baptismal regeneration, and the 'semi-popish view of the Eucharist,' the solemn words employed in the institution of which 'are not adequately, that is, scripturally, represented by any explanation which resolves them into figure, and that there is a real though not a carnal truth in the words 'This is my body.'

Of these views Mr. Gladstone is pleased to write as follows. 'Such is the substantial ground-work of religion,' laid 'by the inspired writers in the doctrine of the Sacraments. Thus viewed, it does not dwell in fancy, in speculation, or even in argument' [this last assertion we devoutly believe]; 'but is exhibited,' he proceeds, in a choice mystical vein, 'as dependent upon an actual food, received like the manna from God, and supplying, after the type of manna, nutriment in forms and elements too subtle, too inward, for human sense or intellect to reach. Can we fail to recognize the beauty of such a doctrine, and its adequacy to our need? In the body as well as in the mind, we are fallen creatures: in the body as well as under mental conditions of a human kind, came our Lord and Saviour; and now, accordingly, He applies His medicine, even the participation of Himself, to the whole of that nature, which in all its parts alike requires and responds to His effectually renovating power; 'My soul hath a desire' 'and a longing to enter into the courts of the Lord; my heart' 'and my *flesh* rejoice in the living God.'

With respect to the 'baptismal regeneration' of infants our author says, 'I have read with sorrow, in the popular work of an excellent man,* some taunt to this effect: how can the heart of a child be changed by throwing a little water on his face? The pious writer, when he penned that sentence, did not reflect upon it, or he would have perceived that it contained the seed of all infidelity. For if a man is to judge according to his own imaginations of the competency of divine means, and to deny and renounce effects by anticipation, wherever he conceives that the assigned causes are inadequate to their office, not a shred of Christianity, nor indeed of physical truth, will remain to us.' Mr. Gladstone ought to know, and cannot but know, that we deny baptismal regeneration not according to our own 'imagination of the competency of divine means, nor because we are disposed to deny and renounce effects by anticipation wherever we conceive that the assigned causes are inadequate to their office,' but simply because we cannot perceive that there are any perceptible effects *at all*, and that we know not what sort of causes they are which produce no effects. We look at the myriads who are said thus to be baptismally regenerated, and we do not perceive the slightest effect on them; we compare them with those who have not been subjected to this mysterious influence, and we can see no difference in the two cases whatever; if we could see that infants were regenerated in the scriptural, or indeed in any

* Village Dialogues, by the Rev. Rowland Hill.

intelligible sense of the term whatsoever, it is not the mystery of the thing that would at all shock our belief. We merely refuse to give the high-sounding name of regeneration to nothing, or to represent mighty causes in constant and irresistible operation—only in order to produce a nonentity. We cannot understand the doctrine that there are causes which produce no effects.

The following is an affecting specimen of Mr. Gladstone's high Church divinity, and directly tends to encourage that blind and delusive attachment to mere rites, that *opus operatum* of the sacraments, which is so fearfully prevalent among the members of the Establishment.

‘The sacraments are the peculiar and distinctive instruments, whereby men receive those essential elements which constitute their unity in Christ. They are appointed to be the universal medium of communion with Him. They are distinguished in some such especial respects from every other means of grace, that they are properly regarded as occupying a distinct place: not, be it observed, as first instruments of conversion, but as instruments of sanctification to the converted in the cases of adults, while only in the case of infants, who need no conversion from acquired guilt, is a sacrament appointed as the specific means of initiating holiness. If we compare them with other appointed means, their distinctive character, which they claim to bear as means of communion with Christ, and with one another in Christ, will be made more evident.

‘If we compare them, firstly, with public worship, we see at once that attendance on public worship does not pointedly demand or exact from the individual any such direct and substantive participation as is required by the holy communion. If we compare them with the preaching of the word, the blessing which belongs thereto is, as a general rule, both inferior and more indeterminate: for the word so preached is mingled with human imperfections; whereas, that which is received in the sacrament is wholly divine; and the reasonable assumption that the blessing is realized, is more nearly positive in the act of communicating than in hearing, which is almost entirely passive. If we look to the private acts of prayer and reading of the word, these have no witness but ourselves, and belong to us individually alone, and therefore in a subordinate capacity: for it is in our collective capacity as members of the Church that we are members and, by consequence, organs of Christ; and the purely individual functions of religion, essential as they are, are yet important chiefly as means to effectuate and establish us in our highest capacity as living portions of His body. Observe, lastly, that a heathen may attend Christian worship, may hear the word, may read, may pray—and yet may remain a heathen: but he cannot, as a heathen, have part in the sacraments.’

—pp. 170—172.

But we must not pause any longer upon the absurdities and melancholy delusions of this chapter.

In chapter the fifth, Mr. Gladstone enters upon his favorite theme of the apostolical succession. If the other high Church principles he has undertaken to defend on the grounds of *à priori* probability and of natural adaptation to the purposes of the gospel, have given him some trouble, it may naturally be expected that he has had more than ordinary difficulty in dealing with this intractable piece of high Church folly. By dint, however, of sedulous and consistent use of all those artifices of controversy which he has so copiously employed in the previous parts of the work, he has given the matter perhaps as plausible an aspect as it is susceptible of, and has thrown as much of an air of intelligence into the face of that stupid and wooden idol as could fairly be expected. In the first place, as usual, he indulges in a great deal of pompous commonplace to which every one is sure to assent, and which may safely be admitted upon any theory whatsoever. See particularly pages 254—256. In the next place, in tracing the ‘beautiful adaptations,’ as he calls them, ‘of this doctrine to our state and necessities, and to the ‘ends of the gospel,’ he has taken care to keep out of sight, as usual, the gigantic and most pernicious evils to which it has always given rise, and to which, as we maintain, it must inevitably give rise. He has done just the same in treating of the doctrine of the sacraments. While enlarging on the fancied inestimable value of baptismal regeneration, he has quite forgotten to touch upon the terrible delusions which it is so calculated to promote and perpetuate; the blind and stupid notion that the sacraments are as such mysteriously efficacious, apart from the exercise of the understanding and the moral condition of the affections and the heart. In like manner when treating of the apostolical succession, he has quite forgotten to point out the terrible facilities which it opens to priestcraft, the superstitious ideas which it has ever tended to cherish on the subject of official sanctity, no matter what the moral character and ministerial qualifications of the priest. Where this is made the *sine quâ non* of a valid ministry, it is sure to assume a prime importance, and becomes in fact *the* distinctive mark of a true minister of Christ, to the neglect and disparagement of those moral qualifications and real aptitudes for the office which are the subjects on which Scripture chiefly insists. Indeed it cannot be otherwise; for he who *does* possess episcopal ordination, according to the theory of Mr. Gladstone’s school, is assuredly a true minister of Jesus Christ even though he be no true Christian, and can regenerate by baptism and absolve from sins, even though himself the disgrace of his order.

In the next place, Mr. Gladstone takes care, of course, always to assume the very points which have been in such constant litigation, and to speak with the most edifying confidence

and presumption of the certainty of propositions which have scarcely a particle of probability to sustain them. As to any direct historical evidence on behalf of this preposterous doctrine, evidence which alone could satisfy any reasonable inquirer, and without which all his *à priori* plausibilities go for nothing, the very plan of his work enables him to decline it, or at best to treat it with a truly wise and discreet superficiality. 'I do not profess to treat of these things fully;' this is the sort of answer which is ever ready when any real perplexity presents itself, and our author is thus sure to secure the advantage of keeping out of sight all the weaker parts of his argument. Now it is full, clear, scriptural warrant for the arrogant and outrageous assumptions involved in the doctrine of the apostolical succession for which we ask, and without which it is impossible we could ever be satisfied. So far from our expecting compliance with this reasonable demand, the more we examine the subject the more we are persuaded that the whole theory rests not upon one, but upon a number of gratuitous assumptions, each utterly destitute of intrinsic probability and of historic evidence. Where is the proof that it was ever intended that there should be successors to the office of the apostles, exercising the same supreme authority, without the inspiration and miraculous powers which alone could qualify men for its exercise? Where is the proof that if any were designed to take that office, it is bishops in the modern sense of that word, seeing that bishops and presbyters are used interchangeably throughout Scripture to designate the same office, and that a very different and inferior one? Where is the proof that ordination at the hands of such men is anything more than a simple designation to an office, an impressive rite of recognition, and nothing more? Where is the proof that it transmits that mysterious and awful 'gift' expressed in the ordination service? Where is the proof that it has been transmitted entire and intact, in periods of universal heresy and ignorance, through the hands of heretical, infidel, grossly ignorant, debauched, and profligate prelates? Do not the best of the early fathers acknowledge that the 'succession' to which alone *they* attach any value, is one which involves uncorruptedness of faith and purity of life, as well as lineal descent, and that if the former be wanting, the latter must go for nothing, and the orders thus conveyed become invalidated? Where is the proof, that even supposing scarcely any moral causes *can* invalidate the succession (for it would not be convenient to its advocates to admit that many such causes could do so, with the corruptions of the middle ages full in their view), where is the proof that there has been no accidental flaw in the long lineage? Who will undertake to make out a complete catalogue up to any one of the apostles,

or satisfactorily settle any one of the endless disputes upon that subject? and, lastly, what is conveyed after all, what transmitted, when it is acknowledged that this mysterious 'gift' conveyed in ordination from hand to hand, involves no miraculous powers, no accession of intellect, no increase of purity, but leaves the bishop or the priest who was wicked or stupid before ordination, as wicked and stupid after it? Yes,—there is one thing gained; a notion is encouraged that the external marks of being a minister of Christ are the primary things, to which the moral qualifications for the office are subordinate; for if the bishop be properly consecrated, and the priest be episcopally ordained,—in other words, if he be in the line of the succession, he bears the character of a true minister of Christ, and can truly perform the functions of the office; and no destitution of intellectual or moral aptitudes can divest him of the one, or unfit him for the other.

We repeat, then, that the whole doctrine of the apostolical succession rests not upon one, but upon a number of gratuitous assumptions, utterly destitute either of historical evidence or of intrinsic probability; and yet Mr. Gladstone, good easy man! believes it all, nay thinks it so very clear, that he affirms that both to the minister and to his charge, it must be a consoling and sustaining evidence of authority co-ordinate in value and importance with that which arises from the possession of 'all the requisites 'of Christian character and virtue,' from unimpeachable rectitude and transparent consistency, as well as from the self-recommended sublimity and efficacy of the truths thus inculcated and enforced by all the persuasive influence of an upright and a holy example. We can hardly help laughing while we make the statement. Mr. Gladstone seems to think, for example, that the doctrine of the apostolical succession is so *very* clear, that if such men as Howe, or Baxter, or Robert Hall, had happened to possess that unspeakable privilege of episcopal ordination, it would have really added to the weight of the truths they uttered, and the efficacy of the consolations they offered as they sat by the bedside of the sick and the dying: that they would have spoken with greater weight, could the object of their solicitude but have known that they had received their commission through a long line of ignorant, heretical, or impure ecclesiastics. We fear that if the legitimate claims of these great men (we mean legitimate according to the gospel, which gives as the sole criterion of who are true ministers and who are not,—'By their fruits shall 'ye know them,' not according to Mr. Gladstone's criterion of historical derivation) could not enforce the truths they uttered, their case would be beyond the help of the doctrine of 'apostolical succession.'

But we must remind Mr. Gladstone that his statement involves something more, from the assertion of which, if he be a

consistent man, he will not flinch. If the doctrine of the apostolical succession be supposed to be true, it will not only *add* weight to him who has all the moral requisites of a Christian minister, but *give* weight to him who has not; in other words, it leads us to the pleasant conclusion that he who is no true Christian, may nevertheless be a true minister of Christ; a doctrine which the successionists do not scruple generally to avow. If historical derivation of the office through the legitimate channels be made *the* criterion, it cannot be otherwise; he who has been episcopally ordained has authority to teach and to preach, whatever else he may be; he who has not, has no authority to do the one or the other. It must, no doubt, be an unspeakable consolation to the dying man to know that his ghostly adviser, who sits by his bedside, though profligate, or frivolous, or infidel at heart, and giving the lie in his whole life and conduct to all the solemn truths he is uttering, has yet received his commission through all the impurities of the middle ages! Query; what ought to be the strength of historical testimony to a doctrine which will make the teaching of such a man authoritative and efficacious? in other words, what amount of historical testimony would suffice to convince us of a truth which our senses contradict, as, for example, that arsenic is wholesome, and that darkness is light? The obvious answer is, None. If the doctrine of the apostolical succession, therefore, were as clear as it is dubious, it could not reconcile us to any of those enormities in which it involves us: but to suppose it capable, endlessly disputed as it has been even amongst the learned, of affording consolation to the unlearned, except by misleading them into a grossly superstitious and dangerous view of official sanctity, is the very height of absurdity. Our Lord's rule is plain and simple, like every other rule he gave us, 'By their fruits ye shall know them;' the apostolical succession, on the other hand, seems to say, by their fruits ye shall *not* know them; but by this—have they been episcopally ordained or not? Mr. Gladstone's statement is so very amusing that we shall here cite it.

'Now let us suppose such a mind tempted, for example, with rationalizing doubts, questioning whether there really be anything of spiritual grace in the gospel, and seeking advice and counsel from a minister of God, it may be upon the bed of agony or in the very grasp of death. Grant that the consulted party may have the requisites of Christian character and virtue, as well as competent abilities; grant that he may appear to speak so as we, in our human frailty, should judge suitable to the dispensations of our heavenly Father—still, when the moral being is rocked from its foundations, and a part of the incumbent trial is to satisfy the disquieted and turbulent questioner within that the matter spoken is such as befits the high origin it

claims, then, I ask, is it nothing that the tempest-tossed understanding is not left merely to abstract speculation founded upon its own antecedent perceptions of the rules and laws of truth, but that he who has come to supply its need is able to say, in addition to the ostensible goodness and comfort of his assurances, 'that which I say is said under an awful responsibility: I who speak, have been commissioned to carry a message from God to man, the message of the gospel of Christ. His commission came to me by no mere fancy or conclusion of my own, but from the hands of those to whom He in the flesh, seen by their eyes, heard by their ears, handled by their hands, intrusted it, to be delivered down in perpetual descent: so not the wit or will of man, but He, the Holy One, has given me the power and the charge to minister to your soul, at the most awful peril of my own.' I ask, are there no more elements of probability in such an historical commission than in a supposed inward message, of which there is no example in Scripture, and to which it is not in the nature of things that any test adequate to prove its genuineness should be applied?'
—pp. 271, 272.

On this we remark, first, that Mr. Gladstone has as usual ingeniously evaded the case of the minister who has the supposed criterion of the apostolical succession, but who has *not* the moral requisites, and, secondly, he must very well know that the criterion of those he opposes is not that of a 'supposed inward message;' but is furnished by the simple application of the already oft-quoted words of our Lord, 'By their fruits ye shall know them; do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?'

Mr. Gladstone, like many other writers on the same subject, finds a difficulty in replying to the objection, that the title of the bishops as successors to the apostles, and of the doctrine of episcopacy generally, as understood by writers of his stamp, are so little sanctioned (*we* should say, are so utterly *unsanctioned*), by scriptural authority. His mode of getting over it is not a little amusing.

'Nothing, I may add, can be more contrary to reason than to complain because Scripture does not convey to us a full account of the establishment of the order of bishops. And this not simply because the notices which it does furnish are entirely analogous to the general character of the New Testament in its historical bearings, which is *not* systematic, but occasional; but further and more especially, because to expect from Scripture a full account of the establishment of an order, *whose function it was to replace the apostles*, is to anticipate what is absolutely precluded by the nature of the case, inasmuch as Scripture only records what took place during the lifetime of the apostles, mentioning the death of one alone, and in no other case carrying down the account of their proceedings to the conclusion of their ministry or life.'—p. 240.

And so it appears that it is unreasonable to expect the apostles plainly to tell us that they *intended* the bishops should be their successors, inasmuch as during their lifetime they themselves were discharging the functions of bishops! Now though it would undoubtedly be very unreasonable to expect that dead men should speak, yet it is not altogether unprecedented, we believe, for persons to give utterance to their intentions before they die. The above reasoning of Mr. Gladstone is about as good as would be that of a man who should lay claim to a certain estate, and upon being told by the lawyers that there was no will, document, or scrap of paper left behind by the owner which devised it to him, should reply, 'How can you be so unreasonable? while he was alive, it was his own, but it could not be expected that he should put me in possession before his death!' Whether this reasoning would be likely to be satisfactory in a court of justice we leave our readers to say. If so, it would be a very cheap and easy way of becoming rich men, and of obtaining good estates.

Not less amusing is Mr. Gladstone's reply to the argument that we cannot be *certain* of the apostolical transmission of ministerial power, inasmuch as we cannot be certain that there has not been a flaw somewhere in the long chain. Some ordinations of bishops may have been for some cause or other invalid, and though such ordinations may have been very rare, yet as no one knows *which* they are, it is impossible to say in what lines the succession may have been incorruptibly transmitted, and in what vitiated. It must fill the soul of a presbyter with horror to think that he may possibly have been ordained by a bishop who had not been himself properly consecrated, or who had been consecrated by those who had no right to consecrate him. Unless this argument can be fairly refuted, no individual presbyter is absolutely certain that he has the mysterious gifts conferred by ordination; that he has the inestimable benefits of apostolical succession. The superficial thinker, indeed, might be ready to suppose that possessions could not be so very inestimable of which a man is not certain whether he has them or not; which if he has them not, he never misses so long as he supposes he has them, and which if they could be taken from him, he would be absolutely ignorant when, how, or by whom, they were filched away. Not so, however, with Mr. Gladstone and his party; and our author has accordingly brushed up his arithmetic to meet the difficulty. By working several interesting sums in the rule of three, he endeavors to show that even on the least favorable computation, the chances against the validity of the ordination of any one bishop are as eight thousand to one. And truly, if the general notions of the successionists be admitted, that there is scarcely *anything* that can

invalidate orders, except some trumpery irregularities in the rite of ordination itself (and those who attach weight to such doctrines are always more solicitous about what is circumstantial than what is essential); if it be true, we say, that a man may be a very sufficient bishop but a very bad man, we think it very likely that Mr. Gladstone's computations may not be very far from the truth. But if we are to adopt the doctrine of common sense, that true Christian character is essential to the validity of ministerial claims, that purity of doctrine and purity of life may be justly demanded, there are not a few ages of the church in which the difficulty would be to find an ordination that *was* valid, and when, so far from the probabilities in favor of the validity of any one ordination being eight thousand to one, they would rather be as one to eight thousand.

Mr. Gladstone's seventh chapter is devoted to the discussion of the 'Practical Relations' of 'Church Principles.' He here considers the various objections which may not unreasonably be brought against them. The first he touches is their alleged tendency to Romanism. But though there are some particularly amusing things in this section, we must not pause to notice them, as the space which this article has already occupied admonishes us that we must speedily draw to a conclusion. We cannot so easily persuade ourselves to pass over the second section, in which he vainly endeavors to combat the objection grounded on the tendency of these principles to 'unchurch' all communities of Christians not possessing episcopal ordination. That they not only have this tendency, but necessarily deprive the ministers of such communities of all authority, and the sacraments they administer of all efficacy, is indisputable, and it is not a little edifying to see the sophistical nonsense by which our author endeavors to defend his principles against such outrages on all charity. He argues the case on a variety of grounds, most of which we have no room to notice; amongst others, that if there be any uncharitableness in church principles as professed by episcopalians, it is equally shared by those who make similar claims to the 'succession,' only in the line of the 'presbyterate.' To this we have merely to reply, 'Honi soit qui mal y pense;' 'let the galled jade wince.' It is no argument to us, who do not allow the arrogant claims of 'succession,' whether made by Episcopalians or Presbyterians. In the meantime it *does* discredit the claims of 'succession' to perceive that such very different parties are at endless strife as to which has the rightful title to make them.

Another argument of like force is, that these church principles admit far more than they exclude. According to them, the church of Rome immediately becomes a great body of

Christians, a glorious portion of the 'visible church;' while they exclude *only* Presbyterians, the Lutheran churches, Independents, Baptists, Wesleyan Methodists, and a few other bodies. Now, argues our author, these latter bodies, who deny the said 'church principles,' would deny the title of the Romish church to be considered a part of the true church of Christ. We are sorry to spoil the triumph of Mr. Gladstone's argument, or to hint that he has argued here with his usual unfairness or his usual obtuseness. He must know very well that it is not the denial of what *he* calls church principles which would make the Independent or the Baptist withhold the title of church of Christ from the church of Rome. She might hold the doctrine of apostolical succession and welcome, like the Church of England, or like the Episcopal church of America, without any danger of being denied to be a church, if this were the only thing objected to. It is purely on account of other *more enormous and vital corruptions*, that we deny her the title, and as long as she holds those corruptions, we must deny it to her. The denial of 'church principles,' therefore, does not 'unchurch' a single community of Christians; the only, but the all-important difference on this point between Mr. Gladstone and us is, that the assertion of these principles is not sufficient *per se* to constitute a church of Christ. This he must surely believe, for if the mere possession of these principles amidst all the gross superstitions and corruptions of Romanism be sufficient to justify its title of a true church of Christ we are really ignorant that anything could annul it, where these all-saving principles are but retained. But Mr. Gladstone will probably glory in this theory; he certainly speaks in very different terms of Romanism (purely because she retains his 'church principles') from those which would have been employed by the reformers. Like many others of the Oxford school, he has well learnt the charitable lesson inculcated by its poetical forerunner:

'Speak gently of our sister's fall!'

But to return to the argument. We have shown that the denial of Mr. Gladstone's church principles 'unchurches' *none*; their assertion unchurches many. Other arguments, therefore, must be sought besides those of recrimination; and Mr. Gladstone has plenty, though the quality of them is by no means proportioned to the quantity. And to make short work of the matter, he boldly denies that his church principles imply any outrage upon the privileges of a single Christian! The following passages contain his curious explication of this point.

‘ But now, with respect to those who confessedly have no right apostolical succession (whether the episcopal succession only, or the presbyterial also be entitled to that appellation), I repeat my fourth proposition, namely, that church principles do not logically deprive them of anything substantial which they themselves claim to possess ; that they go to exclude no true lover of Christ from the true church of Christ ; and therefore *à fortiori*, no such person who, according to the criteria established by his own professed opinions, belongs to it ; that they do not represent persons of piety in any communion as debarred from membership in the church, in any sense in which they themselves lay claim to it. I have varied the verbal forms of the proposition only with a view to explain and to impress the meaning.

‘ The question whether the name of ‘ church ’ be predicable of this or that religious society or communion, is one whose importance wholly depends upon the answer which is given to a preliminary inquiry ; namely, to this, what is signified by the term ‘ church.’ If we reply to that inquiry, the church is a body visible, permanent, authoritative, bound to unity of faith and of communion, and empowered to administer sacramental ordinances, in which spiritual graces and gifts inhere ; the disciple of Protestantism as it is represented in many of our dissenting bodies, will reply : ‘ I know of no such church : I disclaim the idea, and deny the existence, of any such church, in which the invisible is tied down to the visible. I believe in an invisible church, whose members on earth have no association of a palpable and external kind, but only that of unseen bodiless communion of love, and charity, and Christian graces, held in common, at least, if not positively interchanged. And I believe in many visible churches, making up, if you please to call it so, one visible church ; which are spontaneous associations formed by the will of man, without anything more than God’s general command to form them ; or any restriction to particular modes ; or any corporeal conditions, like succession in the ministry, on which their essence is dependent. They are in their nature external. The ordinances they administer have no grace abiding in them, though they become occasions of grace to those receivers whose minds they stir up to the energetic emotions and acts of faith, love, and prayer. A man may be a true church member without being in them : a man may be in them, and yet not a member, in any sense, of the spiritual church.’

—pp. 410—412.

‘ If such and such only were the nature of the visible church, and of visible churches, of Christ, I do not see that the name given or the name withheld, could be, upon its intrinsic merits, worth the labors, the pains of a contest, and the hazard of that bitterness which all differences upon matters of presumed concern are so apt to engender. The character of societies thus constituted, whether it be in itself a thing good or bad, or indifferent, is at least something quite apart from the Christian church as represented in the records of ecclesiastical antiquity, and in the documents and institutions of the Church of England, which ascribes visibility and authority to the church ; requires episcopal succession for the assumption of the ministry, and teaches that the sacraments have in themselves, and are actually made

up and composed of, two parts, one of which is an inward spiritual grace.'—p. 414.

Here is a curious discovery. 'Church principles' do no wrong to the Presbyterian, though they deny his church to be a church and his ministers to be true ministers of Christ; and that because he himself would not wish that *his* church should be called a church in the sense of the Church of England, or his ministers, ministers after the order episcopal. He would reply, 'why truly I do not complain that you represent my church as *not* like yours, for I should be very sorry if there were any close resemblance; or my ministers as *not* like yours, for I hope they never will be; but it happens that these words 'church and ministers' are terms employed in the New Testament, and do designate *something* (whatever it be) *important to the* interests of every Christian; the grand dispute between us is as to which of us puts the right interpretation upon the words, or whether we need either of us include in our definitions of them anything which should absolutely exclude the rights of the church and ministry of the other. Now by boldly assuming that *yours* is the *right* and the *only right* interpretation, you deny *my* church the title to be called a church in the New Testament sense of that word, and my ministers to be called ministers in the like sense; all which I *affirm*; so that your principles do deprive me (though I quite agree with you that they do not do it 'logically') of something I claim to possess. I am quite ready to acknowledge that my church is *not* the Church of England, and in denying it to be so, you 'deprive me of 'nothing I claim to possess;' but I do affirm, that it is, though not exclusively (God forbid!), a true church of Christ,—and you in denying it to be so, deprive me of something I claim to possess.' So much for this rotten argument.

But in his eagerness to defend his cherished principles from the charge of uncharitableness, Mr. Gladstone goes further, and concedes so much that, as he himself says, it may seem to many that 'under the explanations suggested the essence of 'church principles is allowed to escape.' Truly it would seem so to us if it were not that Mr. Gladstone himself appears to be in very great doubt how far or how much he shall concede; he is mighty coy and reluctant to come to the point; and appears continually struggling between the opposite claims of a little remaining charity and a great deal of remaining bigotry. 'It does not appear,' he afterwards says, when defending himself from the charge of having 'allowed the essence of church principles to escape,' 'it does not appear that we can either categorically assert, or absolutely and without qualification deny' (Mr. Gladstone is almost as formal and wordy as Sir Robert

Hazlewood, of Hazlewood, himself) 'true church essence of a 'religious society not chargeable with heresy in doctrine, simply 'because it has not the apostolical succession.' A truly cautious conclusion. But he is not so sparing of his 'categorical 'assertions' on the other side. 'It *does* appear,' he says, 'that 'the assertion may be absolutely made where the apostolical 'succession is found.'

But we must not leave the last citation without reminding the reader that Mr. Gladstone, in the eagerness of his unusual fit of charity, once and again concedes principles which are absolutely fatal to his theory of the 'one visible church.' If this visible unity can be predicated of the various bodies he mentions—of the different parts of Christendom, for instance, during the great schism of the middle age—of the communities who have mutually excommunicated one another; of England and Rome, who have done the same; it might fairly be asserted that it may be predicated of the various communities who hold the fundamental principles of Christianity. It is now convenient to Mr. Gladstone to find that 'union in the church by 'no means requires as one of its essential conditions the 'consciousness' [we know not what to make of the word here, but Mr. Gladstone often seems to choose his words by lot,] 'and 'actual or *possible* communication of the persons *united*.' It must be a curious union—that of two rival parties who hated each other far worse than they hated sin; a curious *communion* that of the *mutually excommunicated*! But, in truth, the word 'church' is taken just as Mr. Gladstone wishes it—it is now of larger, now of more restricted signification; a mere nose of wax, which may be moulded just as he pleases.

But we cannot afford space to pursue the eccentric reasonings of our author any further. The remainder of his book is equally amusing with those parts on which we have commented. We cannot, however, withhold one or two short characteristic extracts more. Our author *protests* against his high Church principles being called *opinions*. No—they are far too sacred for *that*. What are they, then? it may be asked: matters of *demonstration*? Not exactly, says Mr. Gladstone, they are 'matters of *belief*.' 'Aye,' says the objector, 'matters of belief 'to those who believe them; to me, who do not believe them, 'they are matters of no belief at all, but of opinion only.' Let us hear our author himself.

'I think that justice would entitle, nay, perhaps that principle may require those, who are considered by some men peculiar, because they receive the doctrines of visibility and authority in the church, of grace in the sacraments, of succession in the ministry, of the anti-rationistic handling of Christian truths at large, to protest altogether and in *li-*

mise against applying to these religious principles the hazardous and seductive name of opinion. 'Opinion,' properly designates something partaking of what is merely human and arbitrary in its formation, something which seems to testify of itself that it is not clearly revealed, that its reception is a matter of indifference, that it has a subjective existence alone, and therefore has no claim to reception except where it is actually received. Every sound Christian (for example) would be shocked at saying, it is my opinion that Jesus Christ is the Redeemer of the world: would feel that there is a real though not always a palpable distinction between matters of opinion and of belief, as well as between matters of opinion and of demonstration: a distinction bearing in the first case mainly upon a moral, in the second principally upon an intellectual difference, in the relation between the thing perceived and the percipient mind. He would confess, that a real dishonour is done to matters of belief when they are treated as matters of opinion. Belief seems to be something of which the law and standard are external to ourselves: opinion, something depending on what is within us for its form and colour, and therefore essentially far more liable to be affected in its formation by the unchecked irregularities of the single mind.'—pp. 17. 18.

This is a fine specimen of Mr. Gladstone's usual art of obfuscation. His laboured account of opinion, that it properly designates 'a something partaking, &c.' and 'a something which seems to testify of itself that it is not clearly revealed, &c.' is most entertaining. The import of the whole of it seems to be simply this, that what we fully believe we do not usually call matter of opinion, inasmuch as that word would imply some uncertainty as to whether we are right, which by the very supposition is excluded; but unless we pretend to be infallible we must surely allow that it is matter of opinion to others who do *not* believe it. Now if the advocates of 'high church principles' merely contended that such principles were no matters of opinion *to them*, it would be all very reasonable. They believe them as devoutly as they believe the Bible, of which indeed they believe that the said principles constitute a part. But this is not enough for them. Mr. Gladstone protests against the application of the word 'opinions' to them at all, and by the example which he has so discreetly chosen would seem modestly to suggest the idea that these principles stand on the same footing with regard to certainty with the proposition that Jesus Christ is the Redeemer of the world. Mr. Gladstone may depend upon it, that however high church principles may be matters of devout belief with him and with those who think with him, they will never be to the rest of the world anything better than opinions, and very erroneous opinions too.

It is in the same spirit of assumption, which as we have already said, characterizes Mr. Gladstone all the way through, that our author tells us it 'seems an injustice that the Church of

‘England should ever be counted merely as one of a number of competing sects; and yet it must be admitted that, considering the mental habits of the day, there is an appearance, though an appearance alone, both of arrogance and of paradox, in the claim that another and a higher footing should be assigned her.’ Truly we are of the same opinion, and though our author endeavours to show the contrary by very long and laboured arguments, we cannot help thinking that he has left the matter just where he found it.

We have now done. We have spoken our opinion of Mr. Gladstone pretty plainly, as we were in duty bound to do. While we thank him for the calm and even tone which he has generally maintained, we are not the less disgusted with the very cool way in which he continually assumes the very points in dispute between him and those who oppose him; though not dictated, we believe, by a spirit of arrogance, it is scarcely less offensive. To his general talents and acquirements we would wish to do justice, though we must confess that a more illogical reasoner it has seldom, if ever, been our lot to deal with.

One more remark and we conclude. It is lamentable to find a layman, one belonging to a class generally considered the great bulwark against the encroachments of priestcraft, servilely following wherever the clergy lead, and acting as the champion of their most pernicious assumptions. Mr. Gladstone indeed seems to think that the fact of his being a laic will serve to recommend the principles he teaches; we heartily hope it will but excite wonder and contempt. He says,

‘In this labour there is less that bears a strictly professional character: it is conversant with theology indeed, but in the philosophical aspect of the science, upon the side and at the points where it comes into contact with man: and any results of the investigation may possibly be liable to less suspicion, when they have been wrought out by persons who came to their task under no official obligations or prepossessions, and who viewed their subject from a position occupied by them in common with every member of the church, who has in any degree given his mind to moral speculations.’—pp. 31, 32.

We will tell him, on the other hand, what a highly intelligent clergyman remarked, after the perusal of his book, to an acquaintance of ours. ‘That the clergy,’ said he, ‘with all their prepossessions and prejudices, partly of education, partly of self-interest, should favour doctrine however monstrous, which so palpably make for their own nothing surprising. But that an intelligent layman should attribute his talents and acquirements to his defence is able.’

Art. II. *Letters illustrative of the Reign of William III., from 1696 to 1708, addressed to the Duke of Shrewsbury, by James Vernon, Esq., Secretary of State. Now first published from the Originals.* Edited by G. P. R. JAMES, Esq. 3 vols. 8vo. London: Henry Colburn.

ON the eighteenth of February, in the year 1688, the Marquis of Halifax, as speaker of the Lords, presented to the Prince of Orange, from the two houses of the English parliament, their memorable Declaration of Rights. That instrument set forth the arbitrary and illegal proceedings of the late king, and the consequent vote by which the parliament had declared the throne abdicated. Having further described the proceedings enumerated as contrary to law, it provided that the throne, which had thus become vacant, should be filled by the Prince and Princess of Orange, according to certain limitations aforesaid. More especially this document declared, that the pretended power to suspend the execution of laws by regal authority without consent of parliament, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal:—that the commission for creating the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious:—that it is the right of the subject to petition the king, and that all commitments or prosecutions for such petitioning, are illegal:—that the raising or keeping within the kingdom a standing army in time of peace, unless by consent of parliament, is illegal:—that the subjects of the crown who are Protestants, may have arms for their defence, suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law:—that election of members of parliament ought to be free:—that freedom of speech and proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any place or court out of parliament:—that excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted:—that juries ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and that jurors in all cases of high treason ought to be freeholders:—that all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons, before conviction, are illegal and void:—and that for the redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving the laws, parliaments ought to be convened frequently.

In other words, the forms of security and liberty, for which the patriotic men of England have been contending, from the day when the throne of these realms was ascended by the first of the Stuart princes, to that in which it was abdicated by the last of them, was this day required to be recognized as good—not as so much of novelty introduced, but as so much ancient statute

reclaimed, so much constitutional right restored ! The Bill of Rights, passed a few months later, was a noble response to these noble demands. The point aimed at with so much steadiness and vigor in the Petition of Right, in the early days of Charles I., was to be secured by the Bill of Rights, on the accession of William III.

When we reach this issue of the struggle between law and prerogative, liberty and oppression, and call to mind how much some men had generously endured, and how much others had as bravely dared, with a view to such a consummation, we are disposed to look toward the statesmen of 1688 with feelings of admiration and envy. It was their happy distinction to survive where many had fallen. To them it was permitted to see that victory at their feet, which some of the noblest spirits in their departing moments could only descry obscurely in the distance. The hope so long deferred to others, gave place to fruition with them. Surely, we are ready to say, *their* worship at the shrine of liberty must have been pure and impassioned, contending as in the sight of such examples, and realizing such rare felicity and honor in its cause ! But, for the most part, it was not so. Speaking generally of the statesmen of 1688, it may be said, that they gathered where they had not straved, and reaped where better—far better men had sown. We have all the feeling of a humiliating and painful transition, when we pass from the contemplation of the many great principles which acquired a new stability in our constitutional history from the revolution of 1688, to observe the character of the men by whose agency Providence wrought this great work in our behalf. We wonder, in the main, what such men had to do with such principles at all, and much more that these should have been the parties to give to them a new ascendancy and power in our history. No doubt we owe these persons a measure of praise, but the more potent causes of the course of events will be found in the extreme folly of the enemies of liberty, and in that real, though often latent sympathy with it, which had long since pervaded, if not the majority, certainly the more intelligent and influential portion of the English people. The popular feeling on this subject had betrayed only too many signs of feebleness, being driven to and fro much too easily by the changing winds that fell upon it. But during the reign of James II., this feeling took the better course, and the men of the revolution moved on upon this wave, and were strong in its strength. The issue, however, toward which it pointed, was hardly realized when the old tendency to reaction became visible.

The Jacobite faction may be said to have commenced with the return of James after his first flight from the capital. The

fallen greatness of kings must always be a dangerous spectacle to pass before the eyes of any people. In this case it disturbed the better exercise of reason, disposed men to look with less sternness to their principles, and afforded the slaves of the doctrine of legitimacy an opportunity to awaken and augment a feeling of disaffection to the new order of things. In the mean time all the late advocates of the doctrine of passive obedience, especially among the clergy, began to feel the inconvenience of their new position, in having to yield allegiance to a king who had become such in clear violation of that doctrine; and while not a few of the Tories, when the flush of feeling in favour of liberalism, which recent events had served to excite, had subsided, relapsed into their old notions, it was found enough to cause jealousy and dissension among the Whigs, that their unreasonable expectations were not always to be accomplished, and that William endeavored to conciliate the Tories by bestowing some of his favors upon them. The cause of good government made progress during the whole reign of William III., but the struggles of faction soon regained their old ascendancy, and with them came the usual amount of violence, intrigue, and corruption, extending alike to the government, the court, and the nation. In short, into so bad a mood did this nation contrive to work itself, that William III., though more eminently entitled to the admiration and gratitude of the English people than any one of our sovereigns since the days of Alfred, is nevertheless a prince who has his place among the least popular of our monarchs. The abuse heaped upon him, and upon his pious and amiable consort, by the Jacobite and extreme Tory factions, was just of that mendacious, malignant, and cowardly complexion, which, judging from what we still find about us, would seem to be the inalienable heritage of Toryism.

Of the reign thus characterized, the 'Letters' of Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, now first published, afford much and valuable illustration. Vernon was a person of respectable family, who obtained, at an early period, an appointment in the office of secretary of state. His subsequent history is briefly given in the following passage from Mr. James's introduction.

'He proceeded slowly, and apparently without acquiring any great distinction, till after the famous revolution of 1688. His perfect knowledge of business and active habits, however, had made themselves conspicuous by that time: and it would appear that he had attracted the attention of the king and the Earl of Shrewsbury. But those were days of doubt and suspicion, and the enemies—perhaps the rivals—of Vernon, took care to insinuate that he was not to be trusted. When Shrewsbury, in the autumn of 1689, showed a desire to resign his post, on account of ill health (as he himself declared), it would seem that Portland was directed by the king to confer with him regarding

the nomination of some person to relieve him from a part of the toils of office, either as under-secretary of state, or in some similar capacity. Vernon was then spoken of, but objected to by the king, in whose reasons for excluding him we find Shrewsbury coinciding in the following strong terms:—‘ Upon discourse with my Lord Portland,’ he says, in his letter to William, of the date 11th of September, 1689, ‘ I find what your Majesty had already hinted to me concerning Mr. Vernon, to be thought by many, only with this aggravation, that whereas people have an ill opinion of Dr. Wynn, as suspecting his disaffection only to this government, they have a prejudice to the other’s morals in general, and think this was not observed when he was under Mr. Fenton. But he can be faithful to none now, it seems.’ Not long after this letter was written Shrewsbury found additional motives for urging the king to accept his resignation, and finally sent the seals to William, by the Earl of Portland, on the 2nd June, 1690. He was prevailed upon with the greatest difficulty to return to office, in the spring of 1694, and I am not aware that in this interval Vernon received any promotion. The opinion of the Duke of Shrewsbury, however, must have greatly changed since he wrote the letter above cited, as very shortly after, having again accepted the seals as Secretary of State, that minister engaged Mr. Vernon as his private secretary. After this he was employed in various important affairs, but still, as is too often the case, his merits and his claims, apparently undervalued by others, so that, in the year 1697, even after he had conducted, with the greatest skill and wisdom, the unfortunate affair of Sir John Fenwick to a close, we find him likely to be left utterly unprovided for, having lost a place in the Prize Office by the peace, and having no longer a post in the Secretary of State’s office. Thus, at the close of that year, though Vernon was an able and useful member of the House of Commons, Shrewsbury himself, on the eve of retiring from office for ever, was only bold enough to ask the king for a small colonial appointment, for a man who had served him so faithfully. He thus writes to William, who was then in Holland, on the 6th October, o.s., 1697: ‘ Having a very great compassion for Mr. Vernon’s circumstances, who has a numerous family and has lost his place in the Prize Office by the peace, and will now be out of employment in Secretary of State’s office, I have writ to him upon it, and find his modesty is such as he would be satisfied with Blancard’s place in Jamaica, which I hope your majesty will please to grant him, for I am sure you have not a more faithful, and not many more capable servants in the kingdom.’

‘ Yet, strange to say, the complicated state of political intrigue existing at that moment, was likely to elevate the very object of the duke’s compassion to the high office he was going to resign; and by some of Vernon’s own letters, it is made evident that that Lord Sunderland, the chamberlain, if not the king himself, had determined, should Shrewsbury persist in resigning suddenly, to place Vernon at once in the office, rather than allow the more zealous Whigs to seize upon it for the benefit of Wharton, who was personally obnoxious to the king. Such was probably the result, had not the sud-

den and unexpected resignation of Sir William Trumbull left another office of equal importance vacant. It is evident that the resignation of Trumbull, who had been long on ill terms with the rest of the ministers, was urged on by the intrigues of some of the Whig leaders, in order to thrust Lord Wharton into the office thus left free; though if such were the case it is to be supposed from his letters that the lord keeper Somers was not aware of the manœuvre. No sooner however was the resignation of the secretary of state known, than his successor was determined upon by the king and the Earl of Sunderland. In order not to offend Lord Wharton or Lord Tankerville, who were both put forward as aspirants to office, the reason assigned for the king's decision in favour of Vernon was the service he might render the state in the House of Commons, of which he was a member of some distinction; and on the 2nd of December, A. D. 1697, Mr. Vernon was appointed secretary of state. He showed considerable diffidence in accepting the office, but the course of his life after this period, at which time he was about the age of fifty-four, as well as the minute particulars of almost all the great events occurring in England during the subsequent ten years, are to be found recorded in the letters that follow, and therefore they do not require to be enlarged on in this place.'—pp. iv.—ix.

In the letters of such a man, our readers will not expect to find any marked indications of genius or profound thought. As they are letters also to a superior, and from one who is never for a moment unmindful of that fact, they have little of the free and lighter qualities of composition, which often give so much charm to productions of this nature, touching upon all sorts of occurrences as they arose. In short, Vernon's letters are uniformly the grave communications of the assiduous, discreet man of business, omitting mention of nothing affecting the state of parties or of the government at the time, but touching upon them all with a modesty and brevity which the reader may sometimes wish had been a little dispensed with. The 'Correspondence' of the Duke of Shrewsbury was published some time since. The letters of Vernon should have their place with that publication, and should be consulted carefully by every reader who would possess more than a superficial acquaintance with the reign of William III. A few extracts will serve, perhaps, better than any description we may give, to convey a just idea of these papers. The following account of a Westminster election, will show that things were done in that quarter in 1701, much as we know them to have been done a century later.

'I have not seen the king since, being engaged to a Westminster election, which happily ended in a much shorter time than it used to do. The poll only lasted three days, by reason it was taken in Covent Garden church porch, and many desks were employed, so that six or

seven could poll at a time, and every body that came was presently dispatched.

‘ Sir John Leveson Gower was set up against me, upon a very plausible pretence. He having brought in the bill that takes away the privilege of parliament in cases of debt, which several tradesmen have found a benefit by, and great use was made of it to recommend him to all the rest. In probability the argument would have prevailed more if he had not been liable to exceptions by his warm behaviour in the House upon other points, which made the Whigs in general great sticklers against him, and engaged them for Sir Harry Colt.

‘ I was over persuaded by some, whom I thought leading men, to join with Cross, who served for Westminster in the last parliament. When I did it, I did not know that Sir Harry was such a favorite, the turn being made of a sudden ; nor could I imagine that Cross was so obnoxious as I found afterwards. I am still ignorant how he voted last session, but the cry ran that he herded among the Tories. However, having given him my word, I would not be persuaded to separate from him ; I thought that too mean and infamous.

‘ The event has justified it, since I maintained my integrity without losing the election. I only lost my solicitations on his behalf, people being obstinately averse to him, which I was so just as to tell him as soon as I perceived it.

At the conclusion of our poll the votes stood thus : for

| | | | |
|----------------------|------|------------------------|------|
| Sir Harry Colt . . . | 3013 | Mr. Cross | 1649 |
| The Secretary . . . | 2997 | Sir John Leveson Gower | 1633 |

‘ Lord Somers, Lord Orford, and Lord Halifax, espoused Sir Harry's interest very warmly, when they declared for him, which was not till four or five days after the dissolution ; and when they saw Sir John Leveson Gower resolved to stand there, which kept them two from joining, they sent me word they did not intend me any prejudice by it. I do not know how many votes they made me, but I think they took none from me.

‘ I have since been with my Lord Halifax, and made my compliments, so that all matters seem to be pretty well forgot, and perhaps there was no need of their having been remembered so long.

‘ I wish the people all over England would choose with the same spirit they have done in Westminster, London, and Southwark, where they have shown a great aversion to Jacobitism, and a French faction, notwithstanding the powerful endeavors to support it.

‘ My Lord Chamberlain sent to his tradesmen in behalf of Sir John Leveson Gower, as he writ to Cambridge for Mr. Hammond. My lord keeper's steward polled here for Sir John only, and two of his chaplains took a journey to Cambridge to do the like for Mr. Hammond.

‘ The Duke of Bedford was drawn in by some ladies to send about to his tenants and militia officers, that they should not fail to poll for Sir John ; on the other side the Duke of Somerset recommended Sir Harry only.

‘ I believe your grace has the lists sent you of the new choice, which contains many of the old members, and some of the hottest, only Hammond and Davenant happen to be dropped.’

—vol. iii., p. 159—162.

But this was moderation, compared with the scene exhibited by the partisans of Vernon and this Sir Harry, about four years previously.

‘ Your grace can hardly imagine what fatigue there is in an election at Westminster, and especially when one has to do with so obstinate a creature as Sir Harry Colt.

‘ We had a mighty appearance against him in the field, both of horse and foot, who run down his men at a strange rate, and cudgelled them into ditches full of water, and yet we say they were the aggressors.

‘ Notwithstanding this, Sir Harry demanded the poll, and I believe he was glad his fellows were banged, that he might have a pretence to petition the house. We went immediately to the poll, which lasted till seven at night. I must say, that for Sir Harry, there was never more industry, nor more artifices used to carry his point ; and I know not what would have been the event if he had either been beloved or esteemed, or kept up any reputation among the civilized part of mankind. He has his rabble under such discipline that almost every one of them polls for him singly, and his sparks being on foot, had the advantage of being first at the place where the poll was taken, while the horsemen were all obliged to go home, and thought no more of it for that day ; by these means he thought he had got a great victory. When the poll was cast up that night—

| | |
|----------------------------|-----|
| For Sir Harry | 222 |
| For Mr. Montague | 189 |
| And for myself | 171 |

‘ But he has received a check to-day ; the poll, when we adjourned at dinner-time, running—

| | |
|------------------------------|-----|
| ‘ For Mr. Montague | 501 |
| ‘ For me | 487 |
| ‘ For Sir Harry | 292 |

‘ The poll since dinner was—

| | |
|------------------------------|-----|
| ‘ For Mr. Montague | 242 |
| ‘ For myself | 239 |
| ‘ For Sir Harry | 186 |

‘ So that, as it now stands, Mr. Montague is about thirty-five before me, and I have only 197 voices more than Sir Harry ; and if night had not come on, the inequality would have been greater. To say the truth, he has such a mob that any one but he would be ashamed to be chosen by them. He has not one gentleman in his list, but has

picked up the very scum of the town,—victuallers, porters, and chairmen. Patch, your grace's footman, is as one of his voters, and stated himself gentleman. He has collected all the papists; two of them, being notorious ones, were caught, and the oaths tendered them, as the asseveration act directs, which they refusing, were hissed off.'

—vol. ii., pp. 135—137.

The following passages are instructive, as bearing upon the character and circumstances of the Nonconformists in that age.

'I have another matter to acquaint your grace with by my lord chancellor's direction. It has been taken notice of for some time, that the independent congregations have formed themselves into a fraternity, begun at first for the management of their own societies; and they have since enlarged themselves by the addition of some others, who have associated with them under the pretence of a reformation of manners. They have appointed a general meeting, and there are beside several private cabals, and many discontented persons of all persuasions are endeavoring to herd among them.

'My lord archbishop apprehends their design may be to undermine the church, and my lord chancellor thinks they rather aim at discrediting the administration, which they represent as atheistical, and designing to drive Christianity out of the world.

'The king being acquainted of this growing sect, thinks it is of great consequence to have all their proceedings observed. My lord chancellor is for finding out all ways of getting into their secret, and in the same clandestine manner to work against them, that if it were possible they might be defeated without noise. Among other instruments proper for this purpose, he thinks good use might be made of Mr. Griffith, the Independent minister, both as your grace has a good influence over him, and as he is looked upon to be a man of probity, who, however he may be zealous in his way, would not knowingly admit of a mixture that under specious pretences should be laboring to subvert the government.

'His lordship thinks your grace might engage him to be watchful in this matter, and to communicate to my lord chancellor, or to me, if he thinks that would be the least taken notice of, what he observes of these designs. He need not be shy of opening himself as to the innocent part of it, which concerns their own congregations only; for that giving no jealousy to the government, will not be made use of to create them any disturbance; but the thing we would know is, what discontented churchmen or discarded statesmen mean by insinuating themselves into their familiarities. My lord chancellor believes he would choose rather to see me. Some other ways will likewise be taken to come at the bottom of this machination.'

—vol. ii., pp. 128—130.

About a week later we find the following:—

'I have been talking with Mr. Owen, whom your grace knows to be considerable among the dissenters, and inquired of him at a dis-

tance, if there were any societies formed for the reformation of manners? He told me there was one which had subsisted these seven or eight years, but had met with discouragement from the late commissioners of the great seal.

‘I suppose the meaning of that must be, that these zealots applied to them, that some, whom they thought loose in their morals, and not fitted to carry on the work of reformation, might be put out of the commission of the peace. But the commissioners did not think fit to affront men, for what they called a want of grace.

‘He says these gentlemen have still their meetings, and that there are about fifty or sixty of them. I would not show so great prying as to ask their names, and he did not tell me any of them; but I perceive the business he is driving at, at present, is the more easy conviction of those who are guilty of swearing. He would have a justice of peace levy a fine in that case, without sending for the party accused, or letting him know who is the informer, which he says would only be to expose that sort of men to be knocked at the head.

‘He doubts whether this will be allowed to be according to the received rules of law, which provides that no man shall be condemned unheard, and that the party may expect to have his accuser face to face; but he thinks it justifiable by the prerogative of the king of heaven, whose honor ought to be vindicated by extraordinary methods. He seems resolved to make the trial of it, and so go on until he finds it disapproved by the courts at Westminster.

‘Your grace will easily imagine that such an inquisition will not be borne in this kingdom, let the pretence be what it will. He thinks there are not above three or four justices that would join with him, and the rest are remiss and dissolute, and perhaps fitter to be removed than continued.

‘I find these reformers are people of all persuasions, as well churchmen as dissenters, so that it is not the interest of any particular sect they would promote, but the general good of mankind, by introducing a conformity of manners, and a primitive purity. This is a pretty temper to be worked upon, if designing persons get amongst them, and if they grow to any strength. I know not what models they may have for establishing saintships. I am inclined to be of opinion that this may be a way to set up hypocrisy, but will not much advance real honesty or virtue.’—vol. ii., pp. 133, 134.

About a month later great alarm was taken, because a body of nonconformists had met as a sort of synod or association at Newbury, of which the very circumspect Mr. Griffith expressed his grave disapproval.

‘This passion of theirs,’ says Vernon, ‘has appeared more barefaced in Ireland, where they have had such an assembly at Antrim, and published the sermon preached upon the occasion, maintaining it was their right and duty to meet, with or without the allowance of the laws, or the consent of the supreme magistrate. The episcopal clergy intend to remonstrate to the government against this liberty. I know not

how soon we may expect the like to be done in England, and if it break into an open contest about church discipline, the moderate man will have a fine time of it.'—vol. ii., pp. 156, 157.

The following passage is a fair specimen of the greedy temper of the times. The Harry Griffith mentioned, is the son of Griffith, the Independent minister, for whose services, as somewhat too much like a spy upon his brethren, it was deemed expedient to do something in the way of reward.

'The next post may tell us what his Majesty says to the disposal of the auditor's place. If it were consistent with the first commissioner's, his friends would rather he should have it so, and perhaps his enemies too, if there might be more to cavil at on that side. I have spoken to him about Harry Griffith: he is well disposed in his favor. But there is nothing vacant, *and when it happens, pretenders are infinite.*

'A prebend of Worcester fell lately void. I spoke to the archbishop and went to the bishop of Salisbury, in behalf of Mr. Vernon; but the bishop of Worcester is like to carry it away for his son. *God help this poor man, if the rich and the young are all to be preferred before him!*'—vol. ii., pp. 173, 174.

In conclusion, we commend these volumes, as not without considerable interest to the general reader, and as highly valuable to the historian.

Art. III. Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba, recently liberated; Translated from the Spanish, by R. R. MADDEN, M.D., with the History of the early Life of the Negro Poet written by himself. To which are prefixed two Pieces descriptive of Cuban Slavery and the Slave Traffic. By R. R. M. London: Ward and Co.

THIS is a volume of more than ordinary interest, whether regarded in a literary or in a moral point of view. It contains the autobiography and poems of an African slave in the island of Cuba, and satisfactorily disposes of the theory long prevalent amongst us of the essential inferiority of the African intellect. Our philosophers, in descanting on the origin and history of the human family, have strangely overlooked some of the most important facts bearing on the case which they have undertaken so dogmatically to decide. The color of the skin or the conformation of the skull has been deemed sufficient evidence of an essential variety in the human species, whilst the

uncultivated and barbarous habits prevalent amongst some races have been adduced as proofs of a necessary and hopeless inferiority. The haste with which such conclusions have been drawn awakens the suspicion that the mind of the reasoner has not been wholly free from sinister influences,—that some unacknowledged element has been admitted into his mental process, which has served to destroy its simplicity, and to conduct it to an unwarranted and prejudiced conclusion. Nor would it be difficult for the most part to discover what this influence has been. European pride contemptuously spurns the brotherhood of an enslaved and brutalized race, or an ill-suppressed infidelity seeks to undermine the authority of revelation by invalidating its account of the origin and history of man. Facts which are easily resolvable into causes of daily operation, are made the basis of a theory friendly to human pride or conducive to the ends of an unscrupulous and irrational scepticism. Let the history of the European and the African families have been reversed, let the former have been subjected for centuries to the degradation and cruelty which have befallen the latter, and the latter have been blessed with the culture and moral training which the former have possessed, and the relative position of the two parties at the present day would be the very opposite of what it is. Science, and good government, and religious hope would be the heritage of the now degraded children of Africa, whilst the efforts of philanthropists and the interpositions of civilized governments would have been needed to rescue Europeans from the depths of their degradation and wretchedness. There is nothing in the nature of the case which should lead us to doubt that the African intellect would have borne fruit as liberally as that of Europe, had it been cultivated with equal generosity and skill. We have been so long accustomed to regard the negroes as a degraded and brutalized race that many of our countrymen will probably regard with extreme incredulity the genuineness of these poems. The following is Dr. Madden's statement on this point, and it will be perfectly satisfactory to those who have the honor of that gentleman's acquaintance.

‘A collection of poems written by a slave recently liberated in the Island of Cuba, was presented to me in the year 1838, by a gentleman at Havana, a Creole, highly distinguished, not only in Cuba, but in Spain, for his literary attainments. Some of these pieces had fortunately found their way to the Havana, and attracted the attention of the literary people there, while the poor author was in slavery in the neighborhood of Matanzas. The gentleman to whom I have alluded, with the assistance of a few friends, of pursuits similar to his own—(for literature, even at the Havana, has its humanizing influence), redeemed this poor fellow from slavery, and enabled him to publish

such of his poems as were of a publishable kind in a country like Cuba, where slavery is under the especial protection, and knowledge under the ban of the censors of the press.

‘A few of those pieces which were unpublished or unpublishable in Cuba, I have endeavored to put into English verse; and to the best of my ability, have tried to render, so as to give the sense of the writer (sometimes purposely obscured in the original) as plainly as the spirit of the latter, and the circumstances under which these pieces were written, would admit of. I am sensible I have not done justice to these poems, but I trust I have done enough to vindicate in some degree the character of negro intellect, at least the attempt affords me an opportunity of recording my conviction, that the blessings of education and good government are only wanting to make the natives of Africa, intellectually and morally, equal to the people of any nation on the surface of the globe.’—Pref., pp. i., ii.

The volume contains an interesting account of the early life of the poet written by himself. It was drawn up in two parts, but the second part having fallen into the hands of persons connected with his former master, is not likely, Dr. Madden says, to be recovered. A literal translation is given of the first part, which contains in the judgment of the editor ‘the most perfect picture of Cuban slavery that ever has been given to the world.’ It is a fearful and revolting spectacle which this touching piece of autobiography discloses to our view. It exhibits the evils usually attendant on irresponsible power even when the subjects of that power are placed in the most favorable circumstances of which their fortune admits, and may well serve to awaken our gratitude to the supreme Disposer of events for the triumphant issue of our own abolition struggle. A few brief extracts from the narrative will do more to inform our readers of the true nature of Spanish slavery than anything we can say. It is merely necessary to remark that the writer was a domestic slave employed in attendance on persons of respectability and rank.

‘I had already at the age of twelve years composed some verses in memory, because my godfather did not wish me to learn to write; but I dictated my verses by stealth to a young mulatto girl, of the name of Serafina, which verses were of an amatory character. From this age, I passed on without many changes in my lot to my fourteenth year; but the important part of my history began when I was about eighteen, when fortune’s bitterest enmity was turned on me.

‘For the slightest crime of boyhood it was the custom to shut me up in a place for charcoal, for four and twenty hours at a time. I was timid in the extreme; and my prison, which still may be seen, was so obscure, that at mid-day no object could be distinguished in it without a candle. Here, after being flogged, I was placed, with orders to the slaves, under threats of the greatest punishment, to abstain from giving

me a drop of water. What I suffered from hunger and thirst, tormented with fear, in a place so dismal and distant from the house, and almost suffocated with the vapors arising from the common sink, that was close to my dungeon, and constantly terrified by the rats that passed over me and about me, may be easily imagined. My head was filled with frightful fancies, with all the monstrous tales I had ever heard of ghosts, and apparitions, and sorcery ; and often when a troop of rats would arouse me with their noise, I would imagine I was surrounded by evil spirits, and I would roar aloud, and pray for mercy ; and then I would be taken out and almost flayed alive, again shut up, and the key taken away, and kept in the room of my mistress, the Senora herself. On two occasions, the Senor Don Nicholas and his brother showed me compassion, introducing through an aperture in the door a morsel of bread and some water, with the aid of a coffee-pot with a long spout. This kind of punishment was so frequent that there was not a week that I did not suffer it twice or thrice, and in the country on the estate I suffered a like martyrdom. I attribute the smallness of my stature and the debility of my constitution to the life of suffering I led, from my thirteenth or fourteenth year.

‘ My ordinary crimes were—not to hear the first time I was called ; or if at the time of getting a buffet, I uttered a word of complaint ; and I led a life of so much misery, daily receiving blows on my face, that often made the blood spout from both my nostrils ; no sooner would I hear myself called than I would begin to shiver, so that I could hardly keep on my legs, but supposing this to be only shamming on my part, frequently would I receive from a stout negro lashes in abundance.....

‘ Some attacks of the ague, which nearly ended my days, prevented me from accompanying my mistress to Havana. When I recovered, no one could enjoy himself in two years as I did in four months.

‘ When I recovered sufficiently, my first destiny was to be a page, as well in Havana as in Matanzas ; already I was used to sit up from my earliest years the greatest part of the night, in the city, either at the theatre, or at parties, or in the house of the Marquis M——— H——— and the senoras C. If during the tertullia I fell asleep, or when behind the volante (chariot), if the lanthorn went out by accident, even as soon as we arrived, the mayoral, or administrator, was called up, and I was put for the night in the stocks, and at day-break I was called to an account, not as a boy : and so much power has sleep over a man, four or five nights seldom passed that I did not fall into the same faults. My poor mother and brothers more than twice sat up waiting for me while I was in confinement, waiting a sorrowful morning.

‘ Three times I remember the repetition of this scene ; at other times I used to meet my mother seeking me—once above all, a memorable time to me—when the event which follows happened :—We were returning from the town late one night, when the volante was going very fast, and I was seated, as usual, with one hand holding the bar, and having the lanthorn in the other, I fell asleep, and it fell out of my hand ; on awaking, I missed the lanthorn, and jumped down

to get it ; but such was my terror, that I was unable to come up with the volante. I followed, well knowing what was to come, but when I came close to the house, I was seized by Don Sylvester, the young mayoral. Leading me to the stocks, we met my mother, who giving way to the impulses of her heart, came up to complete my misfortunes. On seeing me, she attempted to inquire what I had done, but the mayoral ordered her to be silent, and treated her as one raising a disturbance. Without regard to her entreaties, and being irritated at being called up at that hour, he raised his hand, and struck my mother with the whip. I felt the blow in my own heart ! To utter a loud cry, and from a downcast boy, with the timidity of one as meek as a lamb, to become all at once like a raging lion, was a thing of a moment—with all my strength I fell on him with teeth and hands, and it may be imagined how many cuffs, kicks, and blows were given in the struggle that ensued.

‘ My mother and myself were carried off and shut up in the same place ; the two twin children were brought to her, while Florence and Fernando were left weeping alone in the hut. Scarcely it dawned, when the mayoral, with two negroes acting under him, took hold of me and my mother, and led us as victims to the place of sacrifice. I suffered more punishment than was ordered, in consequence of my attack on the mayoral. But who can describe the powers of the laws of nature on mothers ? the fault of my mother was, that seeing they were going to kill me, as she thought, she inquired what I had done, and this was sufficient to receive a blow and to be further chastised. At beholding my mother in this situation, for the first time in her life (she being exempted from work), stripped by the negroes and thrown down to be scourged, overwhelmed with grief and trembling, I asked them to have pity on her for God’s sake ; but at the sound of the first lash, infuriated like a tiger, I flew at the mayoral, and was near losing my life in his hands ; but let us throw a veil over the rest of this doleful scene.

‘ I served the breakfast, and when I was going to take the first morsel (taking advantage of the moment to eat something), my mistress ordered me to go to the mayoral’s house, and tell him—I do not remember what. With sad forebodings, and an oppressed heart, being accustomed to deliver myself up on such occasions, away I went trembling. When I arrived at the door, I saw the mayoral of the Molino, and the mayoral of the Ingenio, together. I delivered my message to the first, who said, ‘ Come in, man ;’ I obeyed, and was going to repeat it again, when Senor Dominguez, the mayoral of the Ingenio, took hold of my arm, saying, ‘ It is to me to whom you are sent ;’ took out of his pocket a thin rope, tied my hands behind me as a criminal, mounted his horse, and commanded me to run quick before him, to avoid either my mother or my brothers seeing me. Scarcely had I run a mile before the horse, stumbling at every step, when two dogs that were following us, fell upon me ; one taking hold of the left side of my face pierced it through, and the other lacerated my left thigh and leg in a shocking manner, which wounds are open yet, notwithstanding it happened twenty-four years ago. The mayoral alighted on the moment,

and separated me from their grasp, but my blood flowed profusely, particularly from my leg—he then pulled me by the rope, making use, at the same time, of the most disgusting language; this pull partly dislocated my right arm, which at times pains me yet. Getting up, I walked as well as I could, till we arrived at the Ingenio. They put a rope round my neck, bound up my wounds, and put me in the stocks. At night, all the people of the estate were assembled together, and arranged in a line. I was put in the middle of them, the mayoral and six negroes surrounded me, and at the word ‘Upon him,’ they threw me down; two of them held my hands, two my legs, and the other sat upon my back. They then asked me about the missing capon, and I did not know what to say. Twenty-five lashes were laid on me. They then asked me again to tell the truth, I was perplexed; at last, thinking to escape further punishment, I said ‘I stole it.’ ‘What have you done with the money?’ was the next question, and this was another trying point. ‘I bought a hat.’ ‘Where is it?’ ‘I bought a pair of shoes.’ ‘No such thing,’ and I said so many things to escape punishment, but all to no purpose. Nine successive nights the same scene was repeated, and every night I told a thousand lies. After the whipping, I was sent to look after the cattle and work in the fields. Every morning my mistress was informed of what I said the previous night. At the end of ten days, the cause of my punishment being known, Dionisio Copandonga, who was the carrier who brought the fowls, went to the mayoral, and said that the missed capon was eaten by the steward Don Manuel Pipa, and which capon was left behind in a mistake; the cook Simona was examined, and confirmed the account. I do not know whether my mistress was made acquainted with this transaction; but certain it is, that since that moment my punishment ceased, my fetters were taken off, and my work eased, and a coarse linen dress was put on me. I was presented to my mistress, who for the first time received me with kindness. But my heart was so oppressed, that neither her kindness, nor eating, nor drinking could comfort me; I had no comfort except in weeping; my mistress observing it, and to prevent me crying so much, and the same time being so very drowsy, ordered me to move about, and clean all the furniture, tables, chairs, drawers, &c. All my liveliness disappeared, and as my brother was greatly attached to me, he became melancholy himself; he tried, however, to cheer me up, but always finished our conversations in tears: for this reason, also, my mistress would not let me wait upon her, nor ride in the volante to town; and at last appointed me to the service of young Master Pancho; they bought me a hat and a pair of shoes—a new thing for me—and my master allowed me to bathe, to take a walk in the afternoon, and to go fishing and hunting with Senor.’

The two longest poems, entitled *The Slave Trade Merchant* and *The Sugar Estate*, are Dr. Madden’s own productions, and would afford matter for interesting extract if the claims of his protégé were not paramount. We have selected the following, not as the best specimens, but as most suited to our limits.

' TO CALUMNY.

' Silence, audacious wickedness which aims
At honor's breast, or strikes with driftless breath
The lightest word that's spoken thus defames,
And where it falls, inflicts a moral death.

' If with malign, deliberate intent,
The shaft is sped, the bow that vibrates yet,
One day will hurt the hand by which 'tis bent,
And leave a wound its malice justly met.

' For once the winged arrow is sent forth,
Who then may tell where, when, or how 'twill fall ?
Or, who may pluck its barb from wounded worth,
And send it back, and swiftly too withal.'—p. 97.

' THIRTY YEARS.

' When I think on the course I have run,
From my childhood itself to this day,
I tremble, and fain would I shun,
The remembrance its terrors array.

' I marvel at struggles endured,
With a destiny frightful as mine,
At the strength for such efforts :—assured,
Tho' I am, 'tis in vain to repine.

' I have known this sad life thirty years,
And to me, thirty years it has been
Of suffering, of sorrow, and tears,
Ev'ry day of its bondage I've seen.

' But 'tis nothing the past—or the pains,
Hitherto I have struggled to bear,
When I think, oh, my God ! on the chains,
That I know I'm yet destined to wear.'—p. 101.

' THE CLOCK THAT GAINS.

' The clock's too fast they say ;
But what matter, how it gains !
Time will not pass away
Any faster for its pains.

' The tiny hands may race
Round the circle, they may range,
The sun has but one pace,
And his course he cannot change.

‘ The beams that daily shine
On the dial, err not so,
For they’re ruled by laws divine,
And they vary not, we know.

‘ But tho’ the clock is fast,
Yet the moments I must say,
More slowly never passed,
Than they seemed to pass to-day.’—p. 105.

The remaining contents of the volume throw considerable light on the social and religious state of the slaves in Cuba, and on the fearful extent to which the slave trade is still carried on in that island. It is justly remarked by Dr. Madden, that ‘the portraiture of a battle affects us less than that of a single captive such as Sterne depicted.’ Let our readers peruse the following, and then say what should be the extent of our efforts to rescue the African race from their unutterable misery.

‘ Let me present to the imagination a real captive—one that has recently fallen under my own observation, and, I may add, under my own charge—one into whose soul the iron of affliction had verily and indeed entered—a single sufferer, a negress, taken out of a captured slaver, a wan, emaciated, listless, silent woman, a sullen savage, in the phraseology of Cuba, in cases of anguish and despair—a person who neither spoke nor moved from the spot where she sat rocking her naked body to and fro all day long. There was a calm settled look of deep, unspeakable wretchedness in her regard, which made me dissatisfied with the explanation I received of the strangeness of her conduct, that she was a sulky negress, and showed no thankfulness for anything that was done for her, like the other women. The others were dressed in the new apparel which had been just given them, enjoying the good fare now provided for them, and celebrating with songs and dances the happy change in their lot. I thought she must have great reason for such dejection; the poor thing left the food untouched that was brought to her at each meal; her new clothing lay folded up beside her; when she was asked through the interpreter to tell what ailed her, she gave no reply; day after day she was questioned, and deep sighs were the only answers that could be got from her.

‘ Negroes are said by planters to be insensible to kindness; they, no doubt, have so many benefits to be grateful for, that any thanklessness, on their parts, is too glaring a defect to pass unnoticed. The kindness that was shown to this poor creature was apparently thrown away, but apparently only, for by little and little it subdued the sternness of her grief; and what grief could surpass her afflictions—for her’s was that of a mother robbed of her infant child? One day I stooped down to speak to her, and endeavored to ascertain the cause of her trouble, while I was offering her some beads, such as I had given to some of her companions, she burst out crying. It seemed at last as if

she had found ease, in giving vent to one loud outbreak of sobs and sighs. She wept bitterly, put her hands to her breast, then stretched out her arms, started up on her feet, and, looking wildly over the side of the vessel, cried out for her child—and over and over again she repeated the words—in fact this was her cry the live-long day. Ask her what you would, ‘the cry of the heart,’ continually was—‘for her child.’ It was long before this tempest of sorrow was assuaged sufficiently to obtain from her any collected account of the loss of her infant. It appeared that when the slaver was chased by our cruiser, fifty of the negroes were thrown overboard (twenty-four of whom were picked up by the cruiser’s boats), with the view of detaining the latter vessel, and of thus eluding the pursuit; and this part of the story was confirmed by the account of the humane and resolute captor himself, by the account given to me by Captain Hollond, of the whole affair, off the Isle of Pines. And during this commotion on board the slaver, and the mortal terror at seeing their comrades flung overboard, this unfortunate woman lost her infant, but how, or at what period it was taken from her, she could not tell. No creature could seem more sensible of the sympathy that was felt for her than this poor woman. But how often have I been told these people are savages—they have no natural affections—the separation of families is nothing to them—the sundering of the ties that bind mothers to children, and children to parents, is nothing to negroes! They do admit that even the she-bear will pine after her lost cubs; but the grief of a negro mother for her child is only a gust of passion that proceeds, not from any emotions of the heart, but from the violence of the irascible temper of negro women. Oh! how often have I heard this language, and how often have I known these sentiments adopted by men—aye, even by ministers of religion, who tell you, in Cuba, as well as in America, they see no hardships in slavery—that the slaves are kindly treated, are well fed, and decently clad, and have nothing to complain of! What do these gentlemen know of slavery? They eat and drink, no doubt, at the houses of the opulent planters in the towns, and they reason on the strength of the goodness of their entertainments, that the slaves of their hosts are treated like their guests.’—pp. 158—160.

Dr. Madden is entitled to the thanks of every humane man for the publication of this volume, which we strongly recommend to the immediate and attentive perusal of our readers.

Art. IV. *Notes on the Pentateuch ; Selected from the Exegetical Parts of Rosenmüller's Scholia and of Dathe's Notes to his Latin Version ; also from Schrank, Michaelis, Le Clerc, Ainsworth, Poole, and other authors.* By T. BRIGHTWELL. 1 Vol. 12mo. London : Ball and Co.

THE greatest perils to the cause of sacred truth have generally arisen among the learned. The most pestilent and prevailing heresy of the present day has its fountain and its seat in one of our learned universities, and numbers among its advocates men of undoubted eminence both for erudition and talent. Were we to sketch the history of the various errors which have corrupted the church in successive ages, we might trace them all, or nearly all, to men of high reputation as scholars and divines, who appeared either as their originators or their patrons and defenders.

The main question agitated at the present moment relates to the interpretation of the Scriptures. Certain theological sages of Oxford have assumed, plainly and without guise, the dogma of the papacy, as set forth in the writings of Bellarmine and the decrees of the Council of Trent, that the church is the authoritative or final interpreter of Scripture, and that the living church is bound by the dead church, and must ascertain the truth by an appeal to tradition, as this flows down to us from the fathers of the fourth and fifth century. Within the Established Church this opinion has recently advanced with incredible rapidity, and has, we fear, left the genuine Protestant doctrines in a minority, the proportion of which to the numbers who advocate the favorite doctrine, we dare not trust ourselves to conjecture. It is not, however, our intention at present to descant upon these deplorable facts, and the consequences into which they are ripening. We allude to them for the purpose of placing them in contrast with other facts.

We are now threatened with the re-establishment of the first principles of popery, and, at no distant day, if the seed takes root and flourishes, as the spiritual husbandmen no doubt anticipate, we shall see it blossoming with all those precious fruits which appear upon the parent stock. But how diverse and capricious are the speculations of learned men ! Little more than a century ago they were travelling in the opposite direction. Then, there was the most imminent danger lest reason and philosophy should usurp to themselves the exclusive right of interpreting Scripture, and banish from the creed of the Church everything that did not square itself by their rule, and submit to their light. In some respects the danger then was greater and more threatening than it is at present from the

popish dogmas, because the dissenting denominations as well as the Church of England were infested with rationalism : whereas at present, the plague is confined to the stipendiaries of the state ; and from its very nature it must remain so. It is not a disease to which the dissenting bodies are at all liable, or with which they can ever be affected. Their very existence depends upon the vigor of the great Protestant principle, ' The Bible, ' the Bible only.' This is the life-blood of the dissenting denominations. It produces them, and they have ever been, and ever will be, its bulwarks. They are united as the heart of one man in its support. We will venture to predict that they will remain so ; and that nothing will ever shake their confidence in the stability of their position. The aspect which they assume at the present moment, free from heterodoxy, harmonious, united, and devoted to their great work of evangelizing the masses at home and abroad, sufficiently and satisfactorily shows, that they are no strangers to the nature and bearing of those novelties which are startling and perverting their fellow Christians of the Establishment, and that they are not to be moved from their foundations by those dogmas which were long since tried and found wanting both by the fathers of the Protestant reformation, and the fathers of nonconformity. It has been alleged that the dissenting denominations have not yet come forward, in the defence of their protestantism and refutation of the Oxford Tractists, with that promptitude and ability which might have been expected. Yet it should be observed, in explanation, that the controversy properly pertains not to them—it is not within their borders : something, therefore, is to be attributed to their sense of propriety in leaving it, at least in the first instance, to those whom it more immediately concerns, and within whose precincts it exists. If dissenters have hitherto been in a great measure lookers on, it is attributable to the expectation that some champions for the truth would arise from among the treacherous hosts, who would, like Moses, have stood in the gate of the camp, saying, ' Who is on ' the Lord's side ? let him come unto me.' Neither should it be unobserved that the three ablest and most argumentative books which have yet appeared in defence of the Protestant doctrine, have proceeded from authors pertaining rather to the dissenting bodies than to the Church. And if, after all, it should be conceded, that they are not generally prepared to follow the restorers of traditionary religion into the sandy and pathless desert of the fathers, there are ample reasons to justify their want of preparation for such unprofitable excursions. They have been ambitious of better studies, and are more familiar with apostles and evangelists. They understand a much shorter way of coming at the truth ; and though it may be very desirable to meet the traditionists on their own arena,

and defeat them with their own weapons, as the author of 'Ancient Christianity' has so adroitly done, yet the victory must, after all, be achieved by weapons drawn from the armoury of Scripture itself: and in the use of these the dissenting ministry never have been behind their opponents, and we are confident that in the present controversy, they will not be found wanting. They are laborious and studious men, but their labors and studies have been directed more to the spread of gospel truth, than to the examination of Greek fathers, and the adjustment of controversies which they have deemed long since worn out, at least among Protestants. It ought in justice to be further observed, that the dissenting denominations enjoy no comfortable sinecures, nor rich prebendal stalls, no lucrative fellowships, no endowments of any kind that do not exact a full and regular measure of duty. Every man of talent and learning has his hands full—and unless he be a prodigy of labor and industry, he cannot be expected to walk side by side with men who have passed the life of learned recluses in cloisters and colleges, enjoying the *otium cum dignitate* of a rich establishment. And yet it would not surprise us to find, that men may yet appear among them, whose knowledge of Christian antiquity, and discrimination in subtle controversies, would not be disadvantageously matched against the doctors of Oxford. In debate with Catholics, Unitarians, and infidels they have uniformly sustained their part with honor and success, and had they deemed themselves bound to appear prominently in the present controversy, we have no doubt they could have furnished champions fully adequate to the occasion.

We have digressed, however, from the observation with which we started, that the greatest dangers to the cause of revealed truth have always proceeded from the learned, and from the learned of the church. It was not our intention, as may well be conjectured, to add to this any inference to the discredit of learned men, or the disparagement of their learning; because, in our view, it would not hence follow, that the church had been in a better condition if it had never produced such learned men, or been convulsed and endangered by their speculations. That would be a very unfair and unphilosophical argument which should hence conclude unfavorably to the cause of learning in general: not only because such an argument would be merely taken from the abuse of a thing really good in itself, but because it would rest altogether upon the disservice which learning had occasionally and incidently caused, without balancing against it the invaluable services which had proceeded from the same source. If learning, or at least learned men, have originated the heresies, learned men have also furnished the antidote to those heresies. If one class of the

learned have run into one extreme, and another class into another extreme, the result of both has been, like that of two equal and opposite motions, to neutralize each other. Those who more than a hundred years ago were writing up rationalism in England, as the rule of Scripture interpretation, and those who more recently, and much more elaborately, have essayed the same process in Germany, have done their uttermost in one direction to 'make the faith of God of none effect;' and those who are now endeavoring in another direction, to sustain the cause of a falling Establishment by re-introducing tradition and the authority of the priesthood, in place of the authority of Scripture, are doing their utmost to overbear the testimony of inspiration, and devolve the work of the Spirit into the hands of the bishop and his presbyters. But as, in the one case, the truth of God vindicated itself from the daring presumption of reason and philosophy, and came forth in the efforts of the early and despised Methodists to bless and enlighten the land, so, we can have no doubt, this new extravagance, this re-swallowing of the Church in the bands of its feeble and sickly infancy, will be accompanied or succeeded, either by some glorious development of manly strength within the Church itself, which shall issue in the disgrace and abjection of those ecclesiastical nurses; or in such a rousing and invigoration of the evangelical sects, as shall bear the masses with them, and accomplish the regeneration of the land; while the scarlet lady and her restored daughter shall be left to perish in the abyss prepared for them, and for which they are evidently preparing. We pretend not to foresee the issues which wait upon the counsels of the Eternal One, nor to divine the nature of those coming events, which are said to cast their shadows before them; but no mind that looks abroad over the present aspect of the church of Christ in its several sections, can fail to perceive, that the age of repose and inactivity is past—the time of action, of energy, and of conflict is come. The issues may not be what we expect; the general dissolution of effete forms, and reproduction of efficient agencies for the conquest of the world to Christ, may not be so near as we may hope; but surely the note of preparation and of warning has sounded; incipient measures have been taken; the faithful of all parties are in an attitude of expectation; hope beats in every bosom; even the threatening attitude of foes themselves tells us, that a momentous crisis is approaching, and that great events are laboring in the womb of providence, which ere long shall crown our hopes and conspicuously show us that 'the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.'

The question of interpreting Scripture has seduced us into these observations, which we would readily continue, but that we design to take up the subject shortly in connexion with

another recent publication, which will afford us an opportunity of entering more appropriately and fully upon the *vexata questio* of the Oxford Churchmen.

The received doctrine of all Protestant churches has long been, that Scripture is its own interpreter, supposing that it is perfectly intelligible upon all matters of faith and practice essential to salvation, and that no other interpreter is required but an humble and teachable mind, aided by that divine influence which each is directed to seek, and assured he shall receive, if he seek aright through Christ Jesus. Beyond this, however, it may be justly said, there are many things, not indeed necessary to the efficiency of faith, or the integrity of practice, which are hard to be understood, but which we may lawfully endeavor to elucidate by the aid of such knowledge or criticism as we can bring to bear upon the letter of Scripture; observing at the same time, that, as the word of God was intended for the use of all men, so it is written according to the common usages of language, and is to be interpreted according to them; and not according to the fanciful notions of mystical recluses, the systems of speculators and theorizers, or the decisions of selfish and interested ecclesiastics. There is one misrepresentation of the great Protestant doctrine of the right of private interpretation, which we observe is now commonly employed by the advocates of ecclesiastical authority both as a scare-crow to frighten the timid from the use of their understandings, and as a falcon to lure the quarry to their net. They endeavor to fasten upon the Protestant doctrine the hideous notion, that every man has a right to put his own sense upon Scripture language, or the sense that he finds most agreeable and convenient; and then they expatiate upon the impiety of sanctioning such a principle, and the dreadful consequences of allowing every man this liberty. Endless errors and schisms, destructive to the church's unity, and equally so of every man's soul, are attributed to this monstrous doctrine. But it is a man of straw. This is not the pure Protestant doctrine—so far from it, we affirm this representation to be the very reverse of the Protestant principle; which is, that no man, no combination of men, has any right, natural or otherwise, to put any sense upon Scripture but that which Scripture itself conveys. Every man is bound by his fear of God, and his responsibility at the judgment seat of Christ, to *hear the word of the Lord*. If every man would hear it, as it addresses him, every man would form the same conceptions of all its principal truths—he would hear enough, and plainly enough, to secure his salvation; and if upon other matters he mistook the word, through any imperfection of his own, wilful or casual, culpable or excusable, he would yet enjoy acceptance of his divine Master. If he will not suffer the word to teach

him, but proceeds to force his own sense upon it, then indeed he incurs the same condemnation with those who 'make the 'word of God of none effect by their tradition.' This may be the case with some who are guided by reason, and not by faith. Yet even this consequence—a consequence which the Scripture itself foretells, is infinitely preferable to the disastrous results of that doctrine, which teaches all the faithful to remove their faith from God's own word, which it assures them they cannot understand, and cannot even attempt to understand without peril to their soul, and to place it implicitly in the decisions of the church, which hereby erects itself above the Scriptures, claiming attributes of truth, certainty, and infallibility, which they insinuate or imply are not to be found by the private student in the Scriptures themselves, however devoutly and humbly he complies with his Saviour's injunction—'Search 'the Scriptures.'

The principle which distinguishes true Protestantism has long been acted upon, and has proved eminently useful in the elucidation of the sacred text. Even Catholic scholars themselves have contributed of their private stores, and submitted their criticisms and explanations to private judgments. We will not say with what propriety they can engage in such a work. But assuredly if they patronize criticism upon parts of the sacred text, they cannot consistently deny to others the right to examine other parts, or even to extend their best judgment to the whole matter of divine revelation. 'Let him that readeth 'understand' *for himself*, what the will of the Lord is, and then his 'faith will stand, not in the wisdom of men, but in the power 'of God.'

The little work before us contains a judicious selection of notes upon numerous passages of the Pentateuch, from critics and commentators of the highest celebrity. Many of great value are taken from Rosenmüller and Dathe. The student who cannot avail himself of the treasures contained in those voluminous works, will here find a useful selection of their most important and valuable annotations. They are mostly of a critical and explanatory character, and serve to clear up many dark and otherwise inexplicable passages. The work is wholly unsuitable for extract, and we must, therefore, content ourselves with a general recommendation, which we most cordially give to it. We are confident that it will prove a valuable boon to many a poor minister and student who have heard of Rosenmüller and Dathe, but never enjoyed an opportunity of consulting them.

Art. V. *Recherches Administratives, Statistiques, et Morales sur les Enfants Trouvés, les Enfants Naturels, et les Orphelins en France et dans plusieurs autres pays de l'Europe.* Par l'abbé A. H. GAILLARD. Paris et Poitiers. 1839.

2. *Histoire Statistique et Morale des Enfants Trouvés, suivi de cent Tableaux.* Par J. F. TERME et J. B. MONFALCON. Paris et Lyon. 1836.

3. *Des Hospices d'Enfants Trouvés en Europe et principalement en France.* Par B. B. REMACLE. Paris et Strasburgh. 1839.

THERE can be no doubt that the more prominent points of national peculiarity, so characteristic in former ages of the distinct origin of the nations of Europe, have, in a great measure, been polished off in the progress of civilization; yet we cannot agree with those philanthropists who discover in this fact the immediate symptoms of universal peace and general fraternity, nor can we even concur in the opinion of those more sobered philosophers who anticipate from this source a speedy equalization and complete uniformity among the social and political institutions of Europe generally.

It is not our intention in the present article to inquire whether such an uniformity would prove beneficial either to the world at large or to the several nations individually. We are not quite sure that the complete intermixture and blending of the heterogeneous parts would really tend to expand the acquired or inherent faculties of a people, or whether, on the other hand, the exact correspondence of all which must result, would not rather contract the moral and intellectual powers, by narrowing too much the sphere of their operation, and by destroying the opportunities of comparison between one set of national institutions and another. Such questions, though interesting to the speculative philosopher, are destitute of all practical importance; there being, in our opinion, not the slightest chance or possibility of such expectations being realized. As yet the approach of this anticipated resemblance neither strikes the casual observer, nor is detected by the investigations of the close inquirer. On the contrary, the more we contemplate the national institutions of Europe in their various forms and systems, the more do we discover in them views and principles totally different from, if not indeed altogether opposed to, each other. We can only hint at the vast difference that exists in France, England, and Germany with regard to the education of the two sexes, their social and political position, the relations of the nobility, &c.—differences which no one will deny not only originate in the discrepancy of national character, and in the mode of thinking peculiar to the several nations, but which prove likewise the

need, when it is fully ascertained that the parents or nearest relatives are not in a condition to discharge them adequately? And, again, supposing their system to be correct in principle, may it not, on the other hand, be attended by so many evil consequences when reduced to practice as to justify its rejection?

Human law, in asserting that we are bound to take care of our own offspring, does but echo the conclusion at which reason must arrive, and which the concurrent testimony of nature and of revelation proclaims to be correct; and we cannot but feel that society, even in cases of urgency, is more moved by a species of innate compassion for the helpless innocence of childhood than by any sympathy for the erring parents who, in one class of instances, indulge their own heartless sensuality unmindful of the ties of natural affection, or in another class are thoughtless enough to contract a matrimonial alliance without any obvious prospect of supporting the probable issue of the connexion. Of whom, then, may we ask, does that society consist which is so ready to burden itself with the children of these individuals? Does it not mainly consist of those members of the community who have to support families of their own? And how many of these under the Roman Catholic system actually may be under the necessity of denying themselves and their own children a portion of their hardly-earned sustenance, not merely to contribute towards the maintenance of the offspring of those still poorer than themselves, but even to assist in supporting the illegitimate or the deserted progeny of the rich profligate—a privation to which they must quietly submit or choose the more painful and humiliating alternative of breaking up the most tender ties of the household and the house, and flinging their own little ones upon the fatherhood and the protection of the public. The most worthy are those who are made to suffer—as if, indeed, a premium were held out for the destruction of domestic affection. The honest poor man is forced to assist in the support of those whose shameless and heartless parents have *not* been driven to abandon them by the pressure of penury and distress. Furthermore, among those members of society who have no families of their own to provide for, how many individuals, though moving in respectable spheres, yet hesitate to establish a domestic hearth for themselves, and forego the endearments for which they sigh, simply because they dread to incur the attendant responsibility whilst they are not fully assured that they can command the means required to bring up a family properly; yet these, too, are at the same time compelled to contribute their share towards the support of the children of others less worthy and less considerate than themselves. Thus, then, the scheme is unjust in its

operation; nor does the state evince much consistency in principle in acting upon the Roman Catholic system. Millions of money from the public treasury are here spent with a lavish hand in the mere application of unknown individuals without the least previous investigation as to the justice and necessity of the demand, whilst in all other cases of distress the most scrupulous economy and precaution is observed before a single shilling is granted. The system, moreover, however laudable in design, tends in a great measure to encourage depravity of morals and of manners, and to increase illicit intercourse between the sexes, the state showing itself ready to meet the evil consequences, to palliate the crime, to remove the attendant difficulties, and to conceal the names and the disgrace of the delinquents,—thus taking away those very circumstances which, if not counteracted, are in themselves the principal checks to licentious indulgence, especially on the part of females.

But, exclaim the advocates of the Roman Catholic system, the German system, however correct in theory and principle, is so replete in practice with fatal results, as to render its adoption altogether impossible, the evil consequences resulting by far outbalancing the benefits to be derived from it. That system, they say, is calculated to drive many a wretched mother to the desperate act of infanticide, either to conceal from the public gaze the fruit of her sin, or to rid herself of the burden of maternal duties. Nor are there wanting, they add, *facts* which sufficiently confirm the alleged inference.

This objection to the German system appears, indeed, at first sight, well founded, as it is hardly possible, with our present habits of feeling and thinking, to suppose that even the most callous mother could divest herself of all natural yearnings after the fruit of her womb; or, if she could do so, that she would be able to set aside the fear of capital punishment in case of discovery, and become the murderess of her own infant, if she knew that she might so readily find the means of removing the causes by which she might otherwise be prompted to the atrocious act. The question here, however, is not one of theoretical probability, but one of real effects. The accounts of those frequent cases of infanticide which have occurred in remote, perhaps barbarous, countries, or in past ages, we shall not take into account as going to prove the fallacy or the correctness of the system, as far different causes than shame, disgrace, and misery, may be assigned as the motives which have led to the perpetration of the crime. Brutal ferocity, frantic hatred against the faithless father, or even a mistaken notion of compassion towards the illegitimate child, and a desire to rescue it from the painful and disgraceful position it must subsequently occupy in society, may, in many instances,

have given rise to infanticide. Religious fanaticism, too, has more than once stained the hand of the parent in the blood of the child; nor is history deficient in instances where whole castes or sects have attempted to exterminate their progeny from a false notion of honor, or the deep-rooted prejudices of national superstition. In order to form a correct judgment as to the expediency and respective merits of the two systems, it is necessary to prove by figures and numerical tables that the number of infanticides in a certain period of time is greater in those civilized countries where the Protestant system prevails than in those where the Roman Catholic system is introduced, although these countries share in every other respect the *same* moral and physical conditions. Such a comparison is, we believe, the only satisfactory method of arriving at the truth in the matter in question, and we shall therefore try to elicit it from the published official criminal statistics in various states.

According to the 'Documens Statistiques sur la France, publiés par le Ministre du Commerce,' the population of France amounted in 1831 to 32,569,223 souls, and the cases of infanticide occurring during the period between 1826 and 1835 inclusive of these years, amounted to 984, or about 98 annually. Now, taking the medium number of the population during that period to have been thirty-two millions, the proportion of infanticide to the whole population would thus be as 1 to 326,530.

Again, in Catholic Ireland, where Foundling Hospitals of a somewhat similar character exist in the larger towns, the number of infanticides from 1826 to 1832 inclusive, was 175, or 25 yearly. Taking the average number of the population during that period to have amounted to 7,500,000 (in 1830 it was 7,767,000), the proportion of infanticides to the entire population would thus be as 1 to 300,000.

In England, on the other hand, where the German system is now acted upon, there occurred in the twenty-four years from 1810 to 1833, no more than 339 cases of infanticide, or rather more than fourteen annually; and as the average population of England and Wales, according to the censuses of 1810, 1820, and 1830, may be estimated during that period at 12,012,275, the proportion of infanticides to the population was therefore as 1 to 856,581. It must not, however, be concealed that in Ireland there was scarcely any secured provision for the destitute poor, whilst in England the parish relief and the workhouse were available for almost all, and that whether their distress arose from sickness or misfortune, or from their own misconduct and idleness. Whilst, therefore, in England the offspring of the really necessitous were in some degree provided for, together with their parents, in Ireland the Foundling Hospital afforded the sole wretched asylum for the miserable children only, and

the mother might deem it better that her little one should be at once destroyed than for it to be sacrificed to lingering and pining sickness, and to the cold charity of strangers. The facts are, nevertheless, sufficient to show that though the doors of the hospital are open to all, yet the Catholic system does not satisfactorily accomplish the object proposed.

In Würtemberg, by the accounts in *Memminger's Annals*, the number of cases of infanticide varies on rather a disproportionate scale. From 1834 to 1836 inclusive, there occurred but four cases, whilst in the preceding eighteen months there were twenty. The fluctuation is the more striking as there were, apparently, not the slightest alterations in progress either in the laws or in the political or commercial situation of the country. It requires therefore more time and experience before any standard proportion can be properly and fairly deduced. At present Würtemberg exhibits a proportion of 1 to 400,000.

In Bade five or six instances occurred from 1830 to 1834 inclusive, presenting a proportion of 1 to 230,000.

The above proportions, though deduced from occurrences neither numerous enough in facts nor sufficiently comprehensive in time to point out with absolute certainty the proportion between the population and the cases of infanticide in the various countries,—yet nevertheless are adequate to show clearly that the absence of Foundling Hospitals does not by any means increase the instances of child-murder. The result to which our inquiry thus far brings us gains additional confirmation from the evidence of the two following most remarkable facts. When in the years 1834—5, twenty-four departments in France had, by way of economy and experiment, very materially reduced the number of those hospitals, the consequence was that the number of infanticides was found *decreased* in thirteen departments; *stationary* in one; and *increased* only in ten, at the same time that the proportion had risen considerably in the other fifty-four departments, where no correspondent reduction of these establishments had taken place—for though the proportion had undergone, during that period, a diminution of 18.5 per cent. in 25 of the latter departments, it had nevertheless increased by 40.5 per cent. in the remaining 29. Our second fact relates to Belgium, where the five provinces which possess Foundling Hospitals exhibited, in the period from the commencement of 1826 to the end of 1829, a proportion of infanticides to the population, in the ratio of 1 to 109,942, while in the other four provinces, where no such institutions exist, the proportion during that period was only 1 to 136,662.

The apprehended increase of infanticides, which the advocates of the Catholic system advance as their principal objection to the plan of the Germans, appears evidently to rest upon

hollow ground in point of experience, and nothing can indeed be more preposterous than the supposition that the thousands of foundlings who are received in the hospitals would, but for this timely means of escape, have suffered a violent death at the hands of their mothers. Even the advocates of the Catholic system themselves, such as Terme and Monfalcon, so far from maintaining that the Protestant countries present more cases of infanticide than the Catholic, appear even to assert that the very reverse is the fact, and that, indeed, more infanticides occur in the latter than in the former. This too ample concession, however, we can scarcely admit, as it is not assuredly fully borne out by the statistical tables. Perhaps we shall be more accurately conveying the real feeling and opinion of our authors, though not exactly so expressed, if we say that the *tendency* to infanticide is greater in Catholic than in Protestant countries, as indeed it may well be when the unnatural disposition has been so long and so systematically fostered.

The increase of desertion or exposure of children by their parents, another evil which the advocates of the Catholic system apprehend may result from the opposite arrangements, cannot be at all better substantiated or, indeed, supported by any facts whatever. Such occurrences, on the contrary, hardly ever take place in Germany, and very rarely in England; and the great noise and excitement it creates whenever a child is discovered to have been deserted in either of these countries plainly show the strangeness of the phenomenon. The example of *Mayence* is another striking refutation of that argument. From the year 1799 to 1811, a period of twelve years, when that place was the centre of the military operations of agitated Europe, and consequently the seat of seduction, debauchery, and moral depravity, only thirty children had been deserted by their parents, while from the 7th of November, 1811, till March 1815, a period of only three years and four months (during which interval a foundling hospital was supported), more than 516 children had been deposited at the institution. Now taking the same average proportion of desertions as that which prevailed before the establishment of the institutions, there would in this period, have been only about eight children forsaken; 508 extra children therefore were thus caused to be deprived of parental care, and to be exposed to all the evil influences, both moral and physical, which necessarily attend such institutions—the remedy being certainly the less preferable than the malady. In taking the above as a fair average proportion, we are probably, moreover, exceeding the truth; for Mayence was then no longer the seat of military operations, and the absence of the majority of the troops much more than compensates for the trifling increase which the standing population would undergo.

This hospital was then suppressed by the Grand Duke of Hesse Darmstadt, and in the *ten* succeeding years only seven cases of desertion took place.

Similar results attended first the foundation and then the abolition of a like institution in Geneva.

Thus, then, statistical inquiries satisfactorily demonstrate that Foundling Hospitals neither diminish the number of infanticides nor prove a check to desertion. Common sense, too, and a little knowledge of human nature, tell us that parents will hardly ever think of deserting their children in countries where government so rigorously enforces their support and education; whereas in countries where the state so readily relieves parents from the real or imaginary cares which children entail, this very facility is the means of stifling in their bosom the last lingering spark of sympathy and anxiety for their progeny. Accustom people ultimately to look forward to the provisions of such institutions as a matter of course and necessity, and the few formalities attendant on a regular application will soon come to be regarded as a sort of inconvenience which might as well be dispensed with by desertion altogether. A watchful police, and a strict magistracy joined to institutions for the relief of only the really destitute, and for the education of their children, must prove a stronger barrier against desertion than the thousands of hospitals which are now in existence throughout the Roman Catholic countries.

Let us now return to our immediate question.

Few facts are better established or more universally admitted than the dreadful extent of mortality in the Foundling Hospitals, despite the various improvements which modern times have effected. The proportion of deaths among the children in the first year amounted in the hospitals at Madrid to sixty-seven per cent.; at Naples the proportion was about the same; at Vienna it reached ninety-two; at Brussels it amounted to fifty-six; at Paris to seventy-two; and in all the other places in France collectively to sixty per cent. Of 19,420 children which had been received in the course of twenty years in the hospitals of Dublin, only 2000 remained alive; at Moscow only 7000 out of 37,600; while at St. Petersburg, out of 25,624 foundlings which had been received from 1832 to 1835 inclusive, 12,290 died in the first year.

Considering that the average mortality of children in their first year, according to the most recent and authentic accounts of Drs. Casper, Quetelet, and others, does not exceed in large towns twenty-five per cent., and in the country and small provincial towns hardly twenty per cent., the enormous mortality in the hospitals appears to be beyond all proportion and parallel, and shows but too plainly the fallacy of the opinion

that the hospitals tend to preserve the lives of the helpless children. The mortality among children fed by the hand is certainly under all circumstances much greater than among those fed naturally from the breast of the mother, but in the hospitals this proportion is far exceeded. The mere removal of a newly-born infant, perhaps, in many cases a distance of several miles,—its exposure to the weather, probably inadequately clothed—the want of a private nurse—and the spread of infectious or contagious diseases among the inmates, may all assist in increasing the mortality. The extraordinary and frightful mortality in the hospital at Vienna occasioned it to be constituted, in 1813, a mere place for the reception of the foundlings till they could be given out to nurses in different parts of the country. By this modification of the system the proportion of deaths had diminished in a few years from one to two, to about one to four or five; yet with all the improvement a mother's nursing and suckling her own child is, unless the mother be herself diseased, the best security for the physical well-doing of the infant.

It is far more difficult to prove by positive numbers that the morals of children are more apt to become corrupted in the hospital than under the parental roof, however humble and wretched. But general reasons, if not contradicted by stubborn facts, may with equal force establish the necessity of a position, and more especially if some confirmatory evidence, albeit slight, can be brought forward in support of that position, as in the case before us. We have in the first instance only to enter fully into the situation of a foundling to see that of all the relations of human life none is less apt to restrain vice and to fortify the will with moral principles than the career to which he is destined and the associations he is compelled to form. If here and there some foundlings are found to flourish in their moral growth, it is in spite of circumstances. They are entrusted from earliest infancy to the care of hired nurses and guardians, who, performing their duties without sympathy for the future welfare of their charge, naturally seize upon every opportunity of reconciling neglect with the prescribed rules of the institution, and of freeing themselves from those higher moral and physical cares which the tender and feeling heart of a parent is alone capable of conceiving and anxious to act upon. If not retained together in one large institution, those with whom the foundling is lodged and boarded are frequently among the least fitted to bring up even their own children as useful members of society;—how much less exertion, then, must we not expect from them in behalf of children whom they keep for the sake of pecuniary emolument alone. They are often the very needy themselves, and in this class the parental affections are too

commonly deadened; their own offspring would naturally claim their first and best attention, and the stranger child must submit to be worse treated than even those neglected ones, as well to be the object of their jealousy, and often the victim of their young oppression. Nor are there wanting facts to confirm our position. *Parent Duchatelet* in his *Researches on Prostitution*, has ascertained that most of the female children reared in the foundling hospitals were afterwards found on the *pavé* amongst the most common prostitutes; nor is it less notorious that the gangs of professional thieves and vagrants in France and other Catholic countries contain a great proportion of foundlings. Of 16,878 criminals confined in the central prison of Belgium, 594 belonged to the class of foundlings. Such a result might almost have been foretold, for he who in infancy has never felt the influences of *home*, starts forth into life without the best and most sacred tie that ever by its calm influence tended to keep the feelings on the side of virtue, and without the most powerful check to vicious conduct. These never having formed any family habits, are readily enough led to adopt the same method of bringing up their children which was resorted to for themselves. The children of foundlings are placed in the same position as were their parents, and a despised and vicious race threatens to form itself in the very midst of civilization and improvement, as distinct and separate from the rest of the community as is the colored population from the white denizens of America.

Having thus far refuted the objections to the German system, we shall now more fully point out the evil consequences, both moral and financial, as affecting others than the foundlings themselves, resulting from the Catholic system. These evils have grown to such a magnitude as to have opened at length the eyes of the Catholic public itself to the inexpediency of the system. The moral evils have, however, been greatly exaggerated by the opponents of the hospitals, in like manner as the charge of infanticide has been magnified by the assailants of the plan acted upon in the Protestant communities. It is argued, as we have said, by the advocates of the latter system, that nothing can be more calculated to encourage seduction and concubinage than a system by which the state manages to obviate in a great measure the consequences arising from illicit intercourse, the fear of which might otherwise prove a salutary check upon its indulgence. But what is seemingly true is not therefore necessarily true. A close inspection of the statistical accounts show that the number of illegitimate children in the Catholic countries does not by any means exceed that in the Protestant countries; and that while the natural children present annually a proportion to the aggregate number

of all the infants born in France as 7.5 to 100, in Portugal as 10 to 100, and in Naples and Sicily as 4.4 to 100, it is in Prussia as 7.4 to 100, in Hanover as 8.4 to 100, in Sweden as 7.4 to 100, in Würtemberg and Saxony as 13 to 100, in the Grand Duchy of Hesse as 17.5 to 100, and in Bavaria as much as 20 to 100. Even in France itself, the departments where most of hospitals (*tours*) are situated are by no means the most abounding in illegitimate births. We do not mean to deny altogether the injurious effects of the hospitals on the morals of a people as regards the intercourse between the sexes; all we wish to intimate is, that there may be far more efficient causes in operation affecting those sexual relations in the nation than the mere existence of foundling hospitals, which at best occupy but a subordinate rank among the causes. The prospect of the cares of a rising family may often prove a bar to marriage, yet passion gets the victory over prudence, and an illegitimate birth is the result. These cases may not seldom put on a different aspect in Catholic countries: the passion is equally gratified, but under the sanction of marriage, and the offspring, instead of being bastardized, is destined to become an inmate of the foundling hospital.

The charge which is levelled against the moral evil arising from the hospitals with regard to family connexions is certainly far better founded. It was always supposed, and the late statistical investigations have but confirmed the fact, that among the foundlings a considerable number of legitimate children was included. According to the calculations made by the Administration of the Parisian hospitals, the average number of legitimate children delivered into those establishments from 1804 to 1833, presented a proportion to all the foundlings collectively as 8 to 100; in 1832, the proportion had even increased to 14 per cent. In Poitiers the average proportion from 1806 to 1836 was 11 to 100; in Parthenay from 1830 to 1835 as 5 to 100; and in two other places as much as 9 and 12 per cent. The parents of most of these legitimate children, as nearly as could be ascertained, were, by all accounts, far from belonging to the destitute class, and yet they never thought of reclaiming them afterwards. If only those who were in distress had deposited their legitimate children, and if all these were reclaimed when the pressure of circumstances rendered their public support no longer necessary, or if, indeed, any considerable proportion was reclaimed, it would almost entirely obviate the objection; but in the whole of France the number of reclaimed foundlings amounted in the years 1824—1833 to only the tenth part of the whole. At Paris, however, the proportion is calculated at only the one hundredth part; and in Belgium it is about a twenty-eighth of the entire number. Now bearing in mind that amongst

those reclaimed were also included *illegitimate* foundlings, the number of legitimate children restored will be seen to amount to almost nothing.

The circumstance that of all the foundlings in France only the hundredth part is of legitimate origin, can by no means justify the existence of the hospitals, as the toleration of a palpable state-disorder cannot be excused by the consideration that it only affects a small portion of the community. The annual levy for military service in Germany is only as 1 to 1500 of the whole population; nevertheless were it not for the especial care taken by the authorities amply to provide for the physical and moral wants of the military, the people would be far from indifferent to the loss of even this small proportion of its members. The fundamental principle on which the Catholic system is based, precludes in the very outset all notion of inquiry into the circumstances which might induce parents to rid themselves of their children, and the evils arising from that system to the innocent inmates of the hospitals—evils to which they would hardly otherwise have been exposed—are sufficient to brand it as fatal and immoral, and the effect of the system upon the parents lends a confirmatory echo to the testimony.

Nor are the evils in a financial point of view of a less grievous character, the number of foundlings having already increased to such an extent that the burden of expenditure must sooner or later, if a proportional increase continue, accumulate so as to render the national resources inadequate to the demand. Indeed, the clamors and complaints of the bulk of the Catholic nations have of late become so loud as to induce governments to propose and attempt some reforms. Such is the actual state of affairs in all the Catholic kingdoms, and more especially in France, where the necessity of a radical reform of the system is especially felt; as is evident from the petitions and resolutions of several of the departmental authorities, and from the prize-essays originated by many of the provincial colleges; those of Bourg, Macon, and Nismes, for example, and by the Society of Benevolent Institutions at Paris.

We shall enter a little more into detail respecting some of the projected reforms, as they furnish us with many important facts by which we may arrive at a due appreciation of the merits and demerits of the system. We gather from the various statements now before us, that the foundlings throughout France, which in 1784 did not exceed 40,000 in number, had increased in 1798 to 51,000; in 1818 to 98,100; and in 1833 to 119,930. The same, if not a still greater ratio of increase is presented by the accounts of some single hospitals. In the hospitals of Paris there were received in 1670 only 312 foundlings; while in 1680 the number had increased to 890; in 1730 to 2,401; in 1790

to 5,700; in 1829 to 7,850; and in 1833 to at least 8,136. In the hospitals at Lyons the number of foundlings in 1700 was not more than 582, while in 1760 it had increased to 863; in 1800 to 1,535; in 1820 to 1,681; and in 1836 to 1,865. In the last two specified cases it will be seen that there was a fluctuation in the ratio, and more especially in the period of the first revolution, when even a diminution is perceptible, owing no doubt to the disordered state of the public institutions generally. From that time, however, the ratio has been uninterruptedly on the increase on such a scale as to render it pretty certain that, without efficient reform, or the intervention of some unforeseen impeding circumstances, the number of foundlings in France twenty-five years hence will be no less than 250,000. That the increase is the exclusive and absolute result of the system itself, and not the effect of some local and national causes, is evident from the example of Belgium, where the average number of foundlings from 1815 to 1822, had likewise steadily increased from 10,953 to 12,700. The advocates of the Catholic system, and more especially *M. Gaillard*, in the first work on our list, object to the arguments drawn from this calculation on the ground of the increased population of France. They are of opinion that the increase of the foundlings is the natural effect of the increase of the population, and that the proportion between the two numbers has rather decreased. The observation, however plausible, is nevertheless inapplicable to the case before us, as we shall immediately show.

At the outbreak of the French Revolution, for instance, the population of France was estimated at twenty-four millions, and in 1833, at thirty-two millions, showing an increase of one fourth of the total number. Adopting now the same standard of ratio for the increase of foundlings, their number, which at the beginning of the revolution was 40,000, ought to have grown in 1833 to no more than 53,000 instead of 120,000, as is actually the case. It is obvious that the causes of the enormous increase must be sought in some other circumstances than in those arising out of the increased population, and, if we do not err, we think we shall be able to trace them to their real sources.

It is but natural to suppose that public institutions, established for the especial purpose of releasing parents from the care of their children, the longer they exist and the further the sphere of their operation extends, the more do they become naturalized to the views and feelings of the nation at large, and the more do the feelings of the people become habituated to the method pursued. The feeling of shame at deserting one's own child loses its acuteness in proportion as the example increases; and the parental anxiety for the well-being of the offspring

diminishes in equal proportion as the improvements effected in the institutions increase the probabilities of health and safety for the infant.

Let us now turn to the heavy expenditure accruing from the system. When foundling hospitals were first introduced into France the expenditure was calculated not to exceed 40,000 francs annually, but it soon greatly surpassed this limit, and compelled the state to levy direct taxes for the special purpose of maintaining the hospitals, the expenses having increased to more than ten millions of francs annually. Of the 97,775,613 francs, the total amount of the expenditure for the maintenance of those hospitals for the years 1824—1833 inclusive, eleven and a half millions were taken from the standing funds of the hospitals themselves; two millions from some special revenue, such as fines, &c., which the state appropriated to that purpose; twenty-one and a half millions were levied from the parishes where the hospitals are situated, and sixty millions from the various departments. The department of Rhone and Lyons had to contribute annually 700,000 francs; while the expenditure of the hospitals at Paris alone exceeds 1,600,000 francs. The expenditure is on the increase despite the lessening of the individual expenses: at Lyons, for instance, in 1826, 83 francs, 46 cents was the sum paid for the board of a foundling, while in 1833 it only cost 66 francs, 87 cents. The same reduction also took place in Paris, where in 1824, the board of a foundling cost as much as 119 francs, 82 cents; while in 1833 it was reduced to 104 francs, 45 cents.

After all it is evident that the evil can only be eradicated with the system itself, and if the state be determined not to bear the heavy burden any longer, it were far better openly to disavow the principle and abandon the system altogether, than to attempt to counteract its effects by a sort of underhand manœuvre. Indeed, it is incomprehensible how clear-sighted men such as Terme and Monfalcon, though they plainly see and complain of the moral and physical evils arising out of the Roman Catholic system, should still approve of the principle; and at the same time propose remedies which evidently give it the lie. We shall, however, leave our French neighbors to themselves, aware that they, of all nations, are the last to bear patiently the burden of heavy taxes merely because they are sanctioned by custom. The French have before them the example of the German States, and more especially the example of England, which latter country, after many fruitless trials, at last determined to give up the system of foundling hospitals altogether: and it does not appear to fare the worse for it.

Even Catholic Russia, which generally models her institutions after those of the French, has not suffered the establish-

ment of new hospitals in its two capitals since 1808. And we may venture, in conclusion, to predict that though vanity may prevent the French from acknowledging in plain words that the Germanic nations have at all times evinced more tact and sounder judgment in their views on social relations, they will ere long contrive to discover in the question at issue, as they have done on many other occasions, if not a new form, at least an *original name* for their conversion to the German system, without avowing, at the same time, the fallacy of their existing one.

- Art. VI. 1. *Dissertations on Unaccomplished Prophecy.* By WILLIAM SNELL CHAUNCEY.
2. *The Second Advent of Christ the blessed Hope of the Church.* By W. URWICK, D.D.
3. *The Personal Reign of Christ.* By ORLANDO T. DOBBIN, A.B., Trinity College, Dublin.
4. *The Millennium a Spiritual State, not a Personal Reign.* By JOHN JEFFERSON.
5. *An Elucidation of the Prophecies, being an Exposition of the Books of Daniel and the Revelation, &c.* By JOSEPH TYSO.
6. *Millenarianism Unscriptural; or a Glance at some of the Consequences of that Theory.*
7. *The Question, Will Christ's Reign during the Millennium be Personal? answered from Scripture.* By CHARLES MORRISON, Belfast.
8. *Israel's Return; or Palestine Regained.* By JOSEPH ELISHA FREEMAN.

THE prophecies of Scripture, notwithstanding all the unprofitable speculation and the unchristian tempers with which they have been perplexed and dishonored, still maintain their prominence as subjects of inquiry; and many who have been accused of regarding them with too much carelessness and neglect, are coming forward to prove that the charge was groundless, and that though they did not obtrude their views unduly in their public instructions from the pulpit, nor throw themselves with indecent haste into the arena of controversy, yet that they were not unmindful of the importance of studying the whole scheme of prophecy, and forming a decided judgment on the questions which have so long vexed and divided the Christian church.

We have no doubt that from hence a considerable amount of good has arisen, and that the fanatical extravagancies which

have accompanied it, will wear themselves out, or soon retire from the sight of sober and sacred elucidation.

The students of prophecy who pursue their inquiries with a devout and diffident spirit, have long been aware that their chief difficulties lie, not in the grand outline, but in the detail. It is to this that the very judicious comment of Sir Isaac Newton on the words of Daniel may most appropriately be applied. The vision is 'sealed unto the time of the end;' and before that time, if not altogether clothed in obscurity, it will be susceptible of only a very partial and imperfect interpretation. Yet ought not this to deter those who are qualified for the task from using diligently all legitimate means for obtaining clear and satisfactory views as far as they advance, and to leave what is now inexplicable to the development of time. The prophecies stand not as anomalies in the moral and spiritual world; they are in this respect on a footing with many other mysteries which it is known and confessed will never be fully explained or understood; but of which it has never been said that the time, and pains, and learning devoted to them have been thrown away. Who, indeed, would even dare to insinuate that this is the case? Who will say that the laborious volumes which have been written on predestination, free will, the origin of evil, the incarnation, and the doctrine of the Trinity, have been utterly futile? Certainly the main body of the difficulty has not been removed; and to persons unaccustomed to reasoning, and indisposed to research, little benefit may accrue; for the case is not similar to that of an invention or discovery, in which the public may at their ease, without care or trouble, reap the advantages which the silent, and patient, and laborious researches of the learned may have procured for them. On the contrary, it is a case in which each individual must labor for himself; and whatever advantages he would derive, he must gain by his own exertions. That which lies before him is a process of abstract reasoning, and he must travel through it for himself, or he will not be able to appreciate the conclusion to which it leads; the utmost reach of extraneous assistance is to point out to him the steps by which he may proceed in order at last to arrive at the conclusion. It is, therefore, only to those who have themselves gone through the requisite process on subjects such as we have alluded to, that a true appeal can be made as to the value of the studies, or of the works that have been written on them; but surely there will be none of these who will think that they have gained nothing, and who will not declare, that though some obscurity may still remain, yet that a general light has been thrown on the whole question—that the apparent contradictions and inconsistencies which seemed to attach to it, have in great measure vanished—and, in fine, they

will be conscious that they do know more, and understand more than before they attempted the investigation. And thus it is with regard to the prophecies. The best commentaries and expositions have confessedly failed in giving sufficient and satisfactory explanations, and others seem only to have rendered 'darkness visible;' but yet, to the sober minded student, there has resulted a sort of general illumination; he feels that he knows more of the grand scheme of providence, of the fundamental principles and system of divine government, and that he can trace some of its footsteps more accurately.

But it is only by the cautious and sober-minded student that such benefits may be reaped. Piety is, indeed, indispensable; without it no intellectual capacity, no aptitude for scientific, philosophical, or critical research can be accepted as alone sufficient for an exposition of the mysteries of prophecy. But piety associated with a radical defect of judgment—piety in alliance with a heated imagination—piety which regards itself as an object of divine favoritism rather than as the product of divine grace operating by scriptural influence instead of miraculous inspiration—piety enthralled by such conditions we regard as a total disqualification for this, or indeed any other study involving the character of religion and the final interests of the church of God.

To persons who in any remarkable degree fall under this category the language of prophecy acts as a kind of ignis fatuus, and misleads by its deceitful and fatal facility of application. Whether with respect to past or passing events, they are betrayed into the most strange and dangerous delusions. Indeed, from whatever cause, most of the writers who have undertaken to publish commentaries on the prophecies have more or less furnished an illustration of this unfortunate fact. The sacred words seem to have been tortured into every form that human ingenuity could devise or human perversity desire; and thus they have been made to countenance not only crude and wild speculations, but sometimes the practical bearing of these speculations has threatened the very constitution and framework of civil society. So early as the first ages of Christianity did something of this kind take place, and to such an extent did it soon proceed, that the Apocalypse itself fell into disrepute; and the same spirit—though we must own in some of its less virulent forms—has descended to our times. Without, however, further enlarging in our description of such erroneous interpretations, as each has its precise cause from whence it has arisen, by pointing out these we may guard the future inquirer against their ensnaring influence, however temptingly they may lie in his way.

The first and most fundamental rule for all expositors, and

especially for expositors of prophecy, is a genuine and correct system of verbal criticism, sedulously avoiding whatever may appear false and flimsy. In order to proceed with the best founded hopes of success, the true reading of a passage ought to be sought for diligently, by comparing the best editions ; and if possible, manuscripts of the sacred oracles. When the reading has been decided on, there must follow the genuine meaning of the terms ; and particularly when there is a shadow of doubt concerning them, it should be gathered by carefully comparing the various passages in which they occur, whether in sacred or profane writers, instead of simply trusting to the authority of lexicographers, as is too often the case. Next comes the grammatical sense of the whole sentence, which should be well and thoroughly weighed before it is incorporated with the rest of the prophecy, and much more before any attempt is made to decipher and apply it. How little this has been attended to by the advocates of the modern millennium scheme their absurd interpretations too plainly show ;—by neglecting this canon of all fair exposition they have placed among the unaccomplished prophecies some that have undoubtedly been fulfilled, and introduced much vagueness and unnecessary difficulties among others whose meaning and application seem far from doubtful. Mr. Jefferson has assumed, that there is not a single passage which speaks of the personal and protracted reign of Christ upon earth in plain and unequivocal terms ; and he shows that one of the passages on which the millenarians lay great stress conveys no such idea. ‘The coming’ of Christ to destroy ‘the man of sin,’ he affirms, does not warrant their interpretation of it. Availing himself of the rule we have laid down, he remarks,

‘It is very common in the Scriptures to speak of any remarkable visitation of divine mercy or justice as ‘the coming of the Lord,’ when it is sufficiently obvious that nothing personal is intended. A few passages only can be cited ; ‘He shall come down like rain upon the mown grass’ (Ps. lxxii. 6). ‘Bow thy heavens, O Lord, and come down’ (Ps. cxliv. 5). ‘Behold, the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt’ (Isaiah xix. 1). ‘The Lord cometh out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity. His going forth is prepared as the morning, and he shall come unto us as the rain,’ &c. (Hosea vi. 3). ‘Behold the Lord cometh out of his place, and will come down and tread upon the high places of the earth’ (Micah i. 3). If you will be at the pains to look at these verses in their several connexions, you will see at once that nothing personal is meant. In like manner when the Saviour spake of *coming* to establish his gospel kingdom, it is evident that he intended nothing personal ; ‘Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here who shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom’

(Matt. xvi. 28). This prophecy was literally fulfilled on the day of Pentecost, when the Son of Man was revealed in the plenitude and power of his saving grace and miraculous agency. So also when he speaks of his coming to destroy Jerusalem: 'For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall the coming of the Son of Man be. For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together' (Matt. xxiv. 27, 28). The reference plainly is to the siege of the city by the Roman armies; and the 'coming of the Son of Man' was the infliction of his judgment in its destruction. When a similar phraseology then is employed respecting his interposition to destroy popery, it cannot with any propriety be concluded that it *must* be personally intended. The evidence of holy Scripture is on the other side, and forbids us to entertain the thought of a personal coming, unless some text were adduced which unequivocally asserted it. The one to which so much importance is here attached, is itself a refutation of the personal scheme; 'Then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom *the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth*, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming' (2 Thess. ii. 8). Is not the last clause fairly explained by the preceding one? Besides, the temporal power of popery is already destroyed; its spiritual power is that of error, which truth will overcome; and even this is vastly inferior now to what it was when Luther came forth single-handed to attack it by truth alone. And further, the coming of the Saviour to destroy antichrist, is plainly distinguished in this very connexion from his coming to judge the world. For the first object he is described as 'riding on a white horse, and clothed with a vesture dipped in blood,' but for the latter, as 'seated on a great white throne, and from his face the earth and the heavens flee away.' The former is placed before the millennium, the latter after it. The effects of the former coming are the destruction of his enemies by the word of his mouth, the binding of Satan, and the revival and prevalence of true religion for a thousand years; but the effects of the latter coming are the resurrection and judgment of all the dead, the renovation of the mundane system, and the introduction of the final state.'—pp. 47—49.

The next thing after the grammatical meaning and the approved reading and genuine scope of a prophecy have been established, is to distinguish between the literal and the symbolical, and to affix to the latter in all cases, upon scriptural principles, its right application. We grieve to say that Mr. Chauncy, and writers from whom he has derived many of the illustrations of his views, give themselves little trouble to discriminate in this matter; whatever best squares and harmonizes with their scheme they adopt, and make the literal and symbolical change places in a most whimsical and arbitrary manner when a pre-millennial advent, the restoration of Israel and the establishment of Judaism in Palestine, are the affirmatives to be maintained. While authors of this stamp thus use the language of

prophecy, and apply its symbols as if they were but mere familiar 'household words,' and their meaning as evident as the terms of ordinary discourse, others have rightly made them a chief object of study,—have sorted, arranged, and established specific rules of interpreting them, and in many cases, we are bound to say, with evident success. Among these the palm is undoubtedly due to Mr. Faber; we refer to his admirable chapter on the figures and symbols of the prophecies. The system of hieroglyphics which is the principal medium of prophetic revelation has its origin in nature and history, and it is only from the darkness of the human mind, and the scantiness of words, that the clue has in any measure been lost. It speaks by pictures rather than by sounds; and through the medium of those pictures, rather than through the medium of labored verbal definition, it sets forth with equal ease and precision, the nature of the matters predicted. The only difficulty is to find the key to the symbols: this, with regard to 'scriptural hieroglyphics, is 'furnished by Scripture itself; and when the import of each 'hieroglyphic is thus ascertained, there is little difficulty in 'translating (as it were) an hieroglyphical prophecy into the 'unfigured phraseology of modern language.' Mr. Faber's grand division of the prophetic symbols is into two classes, one of which contains such symbols as represent abstract ideas, and are purely metaphorical or allegorical; and the other such as represent the natural or spiritual world, or objects or events in the natural or spiritual world. These two classes he shows to contain divisions, and the divisions again subdivisions; and thus after judicious parting and arranging the obscurity and uncertainty which at first appears to involve the prophetic symbols is with little further difficulty, in some good measure at least, dissipated and explained. We fear, however, that much will remain inexplicable to modern expositors, as the complete knowledge of the Hebrew system of hieroglyphics seems to have been confined to the Hebrew schools of the prophets.

Not less important than a right understanding of the import of the symbols, is *consistent interpretation*. Literal must not be confused with figurative signification. Mr. Chauncy supplies various instances of this strange amalgamation. A striking one, in support of his notions of the personal reign of Christ upon earth during the millennium, is his taking in its literal sense the fourth verse in the fourteenth chapter of Zechariah, where it is said that in that day the feet of the Messiah 'shall stand upon 'the mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem, on the east; 'and that the mount of Olives shall cleave in the midst thereof 'toward the east and toward the west, and there shall be a 'very great valley,' &c.; and also the sixteenth verse, that it

‘ shall come to pass, that every one that is left of all the nations
 ‘ which come against Jerusalem, shall even go up from year to
 ‘ year to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the
 ‘ feast of tabernacles.’ But the ‘ living waters,’ in the eighth
 verse, he understands as *figuratively* signifying the diffusion of
 Christian knowledge and the various other blessings which the
 world at large are to enjoy as the fruits of the Redeemer’s
 reign. Now, it is unfair and contrary to all just exegetical
 principles, that two parts of one description, which is apparently
 homogeneous, and which we apprehend cannot be shown to be
 otherwise, should be thus discordantly interpreted. It ought
 undoubtedly to be wholly literal or wholly figurative; and
 whether one or the other, let common sense and the analogy of
 Scripture decide. If it be taken literally, it involves the literal
 restoration of the Jewish temple and worship; but if the New
 Testament assures us these are finally abolished, of course the
 true interpretation cannot be a literal one, and it is necessary,
 therefore, to admit that it must be taken figuratively. Conse-
 quently, too, the whole, and not merely a part or parts must
 be considered figurative. On the absurdity of founding a Jewish
 polity which shall literally answer the description of the pro-
 phet, and which all nations on the face of the earth shall re-
 cognize by going up year by year continually to keep the feast
 of the tabernacles, Dr. Urwick remarks :

‘ One feels as if persons who could seriously hold such views had so
 far merged judgment, that reasoning would scarcely tell upon them, or
 we should be disposed to ask how was Jerusalem to contain them all ?
 And though that may be answered by explaining that they are to go
 up, not *en masse*, but by their representatives, yet allowing this, if the
 feast is to last but seven days, as formerly, how will matters be so
 arranged that the deputies from all parts are to arrive at the exact time
 for the solemnity ? And, further, if it be said that absences occa-
 sioned by accidents or other unavoidable delays on the road or passage,
 will not be visited with the judgments threatened, ‘ the *will* being
 taken for the *deed*,’ I here demand under what *view*, and for what
intent, all the *Gentile* nations are to keep this *Jewish* festival ? The
 observance of the solemnity, according to the Mosaic order, was to be
 confined to persons who were ‘ Israelites born,’ and it was to be ob-
 served by them in commemoration of their forefathers dwelling in
 booths when God brought them out of the land of Egypt ; but such
 an occurrence never took place in the history of the Chinese, or the
 Russians, or the Tahitians, or any other people ; so that still the ques-
 tion returns—What answer will Gentile parents then give to the
 inquiry which their children will naturally propose when they see all
 the preparations making for the journey, ‘ WHAT MEAN ye by this
 service ?’ But I refrain from commenting longer on these expositions.
 To believe that these things *can be*, requires very strong faith. To

believe that they are taught as verities in the book of God certainly exceeds the capacity of my faith.'—Section iii., p. 81.

Dr. Urwick's views throughout are regulated by the just principle we have laid down, and in this he is followed by Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Dobbin. Instead of literalizing the hieroglyphics, and converting symbols into the objects they only darkly shadow forth, they are only intent upon discovering the fair and legitimate application of each, either as it stands alone, having no parallel, or as it harmonizes with the general strain of the prophetic writings to which it may have an immediate or remote relation. Thus Mr. Jefferson happily exposes the absurdity of the mode of interpretation adopted by the advocates of the premillennial advent and the personal reign of a thousand years. The passage he selects is the celebrated vision in the twentieth chapter of the Revelation, the first six verses. In proof that the literal interpretation of this text cannot be sustained, Mr. Jefferson states, among others, the following reasons.

'It is unfair to attempt such interpretation. The passage is one of a series of prophetic visions, which are all couched in figurative language, and are interpreted accordingly. 'Did the words occur,' as Dr. Wardlaw remarks, 'in an historical or epistolary composition, it would justly be pronounced unnatural (unless we were specially warned of the writer's deviation from his usual style), to explain them symbolically. Now in a professedly symbolical book, there is the very same force of objection against their being interpreted *literally*.' A literal interpretation of the entire passage is not attempted; indeed, is impossible. It follows an interesting and sublime description of the glorious triumphs of Christ in his spiritual kingdom, and of the destruction of the papal antichrist, a literal exposition of which is too absurd to be attempted by any man of sound mind. Who, for example, ever imagined that Christ has literally 'a sword proceeding out of his mouth,' or that he wears in heaven 'a vesture dipped in blood?' The connexion of this passage with that which precedes it, is such as to show the close consecutiveness both of the revelations, and of the facts revealed. There is no mark of transition, nor any change of style. So obvious, indeed, is this, that so far as I am aware, no attempt is made to render literally the former part of the text; 'the dragon, the binding with a chain, and the sealing,' are allowed by all to be symbolical. 'Why then are we immediately to make a transition from the symbolical to the literal; from the style of prophecy to the style of history?' or why must we blend the two modes in interpreting the same passage? But even where the literal interpretation is attempted, it fails at the very point where it is most important that it should hold; and instead of *living souls* of martyrs reigning with Christ, it gives us '*risen and glorified bodies*.'—pp. 10, 11.

The misapplying of particular prophecies is another source of confusion among the expositors of this obscure department of revelation. Such, for instance, as those against many of the nations of antiquity. 'It is true that there is a moral analogy in the dispensations of providence, and by consequence, the divine judgments, in ancient times, may be rightly held forth as a beacon and warning to our own. The practical lesson to be deduced is, that if God spared not the sinful nations of antiquity, it behoves us to beware lest he spare not us. Nevertheless this is not the primary sense of the denunciations against the Ammonites, the Moabites, &c. ; and they must not be primarily applied to the modern nations of Europe.' To these latter they can only refer in a secondary or accommodated sense. Strictly speaking, the denunciations have been long ago fulfilled ; the nations against whom they were prophesied have long since received their punishment, have sunk into insignificance, and have disappeared from the face of the earth. Those precise threatenings will never again be executed ; not even will the mystical antitype of the Chaldean Babylon suffer the very woes announced against her precursor. In short, except by way of general analogy, nothing of all this belongs either to our own or to future times.

On our Lord's awfully magnificent and terrible predictions of the destruction of Jerusalem, which some have explained as having a twofold application—referring ultimately if not chiefly to the day of judgment, Dr. Urwick ventures the following suggestion. It has at least the merit of being ingenious and probable.

'Many attempts have been made to anatomise this prophecy, and exhibit separately the parts which relate to the invasion of Judea and desolation of Jerusalem by Titus, and the parts which regard the judgment of the world at the last day. I have not met with any thing satisfactory in this way. If any man could have done it well, Bishop Horsley was the man ; he had learning, ingenuity, power, and determination enough for it. Yet one cannot read the sermon in which he attempts to separate the prophecy of the 'coming' from the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, without feeling that a giant is grappling with a difficulty he cannot master. The statement of our Lord, 'Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled,' puts it, I think, beyond question, that the whole range of the prediction was to have an accomplishment before the then present age of human beings should all have died from the face of the earth.

'I venture to suggest whether the destruction of Jerusalem, with the various circumstances detailed as connected with it, was not inquired after by the disciples, and foretold by our Saviour as a 'SIGN' or 'type' of his second advent, and of the final judgment ? I believe

the word 'sign' is commonly taken as meaning a 'token' or 'proof'; but from the use of the word in the gospels, I think it rather intends a 'type,' or a thing which corresponds with another, and which may be taken as an illustration of it upon a small or inferior scale. 'Then certain of the Scribes and of the Pharisees answered, saying, Master, we would see a SIGN from thee. But he answered and said unto them, an evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a SIGN; and there shall no SIGN be given to it, but the SIGN of the prophet Jonas: for as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.'—Matt. xii. 38—40. On another occasion the Jews demanded of him, 'What SIGN showest thou then, that we may see, and believe thee? what dost thou work? Our fathers did eat manna in the desert; as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat'—as though the daily supply of manna to the Israelites were a *type* or *sign* to the Israelites of the doctrine which he promulgated to them. Our Lord in reply to their request for a 'sign,' at once referred to himself as the glorious reality of which the manna Moses gave to the Israelites was properly the type or 'sign.' See John vi. 30, &c. Every reader will recollect that the prophets often, when delivering divine messages to the people, accompanied them with symbolic actions, and these symbolic actions were signs. I give but one example from many. 'Thou also, son of man, take thee a tile, and lay it before thee, and pourtray upon it the city, even Jerusalem. And lay siege against it, and build a fort against it, and cast a mount against it; set the camp also against it, and set battering rams against it round about. Moreover take thou unto thee an iron pan, and set it for a wall of iron between thee and the city: and set thy face against it, and it shall be besieged, and thou shalt lay siege against it. This shall be a SIGN to the house of Israel.'—Ezekiel iv. 1—3.

'If the idea now thrown out be correct, it at once settles the question as to the twofold reference of the prophecy which this note regards, and shows that instead of portioning it out, so that some statements of it should be made to foretell events that occurred within fifty years after it was delivered, while other statements of it regard events that have not yet transpired, the *whole* of it is the *prophecy* of a SIGN—a 'sign' upon a scale of unequalled grandeur, and typifying a *reality* of incomparably greater magnitude and moment still—a 'prophecy of a sign,' which being fulfilled, will involve both the *pattern* and the *pledge* of the ultimate reality signified. Consequently the *whole* of it had a fulfilment in, and shortly previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the *whole* of it is to have *another* fulfilment at the second coming of the Lord.'—pp. 5, 6, Note.

But perhaps the most prolific source of all errors on prophetic subjects, has been the bending and coloring historical events, in order to make them fit a particular prophecy, or tally with a particular hypothesis; a presumptuous and perilous undertaking, adopted by a great number of expositors, all differing from one another with regard to the application of the same

prediction. Witness for example, the enumeration of the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was to be divided. In the vision of the ten horned beast, the commentators saw that they were bound to find ten kingdoms, three of which were to fall before an eleventh. Accordingly, there are perhaps a dozen lists of such kingdoms, and each list precisely tallies with the conditions of the prophecy, yet all are dissimilar and discordant. Certainly nothing of this kind could have happened had not the commentators intentionally, or unintentionally fitted the event to the prediction, instead of simply selecting an event which would actually and of itself correspond. Before an interpreter can be qualified to read history by the light of prophecy, and apply prophecy again to the facts of history, he must be able to ascertain the precise relative importance, and the real definite character, moral and political, of every event that has taken place upon the great theatre of the world during the lapse of its six thousand years. And who is equal to a task like this; where are the histories to be found? How many kings and kingdoms may have passed away without a record; and of those of whom there is still some memorial, how opposite are the accounts given by different historians, and how difficult, nay, often how impossible it is to determine which is the true one? Historians who agree as to the main facts in substance, yet trace them to such contrary sources, ascribe them to such contrary motives, invest them with such different degrees of importance, give them such an opposite moral character, that it would seem we must be utterly at fault when we are required to show their reference to a prophecy, which describes events only by their real importance and their true moral character.

If on some occasions prophecies have been tortured for the purpose of this spurious and dangerous application, the very doubtfulness and indistinctness of history has more frequently rendered the process unnecessary. The interpreter takes upon himself the character of historian, as well as commentator. That is, he arranges the facts according to an order of his own—supplies deficiencies from his imagination assisted by doubtful circumstances, and obliterates what he may deem superfluous and not exactly suited to his purpose. But even where there is sufficient vigour of mind and of principle to resist the temptation of thus tampering with history as we find it, to the wisest and most discreet it often proves uncertain and dangerous ground. We do not mean to affirm that with regard to the grand outline of prophecy, and the scheme of providence, history is not to be consulted. Imperfect as it is in everything truly important and which links prophecy and providence together, we have no other guide. Pagan historians and even the infidel historian Gibbon, furnish almost the whole body of facts

which are applied to the elucidation of the prophecies ; and we have no doubt whatever, that were an historian, with different general views and principles, to travel over the ground which Gibbon has occupied, the prophecies which relate to the latter ages would be much farther elucidated, and there would be infinitely less reason to complain, that although the prophetic descriptions are in themselves definite and accurate if fully understood, and the events of history possess an equally definite character if properly appreciated ; yet, from the ignorant and imperfect data of commentators, are often wrongfully associated and misapplied. In fine, and as a practical corollary to all that has been advanced on this head, when we meet with these misstatements and misconceptions, let it be remembered how much an habitually pious state of mind, a disposition to view and estimate all events with reference to the glory of God and the advancement of his kingdom, will tend to give clear and right notions of the interpretation of prophecy. In proportion, as this is the case, we view the prophecies, as also the whole of the word of God, under the same aspect, according to the same rules, from the same eminence, with the same associations as did the sacred writers themselves ; and in like proportion too, may it be hoped, that our judgments respecting them will be analogous. Earthly cares and feelings dim the perceptions, and mislead the understanding ; and perhaps we may add that possibly the chief reason why the prophecies are said to be ‘sealed to the ‘time of the end,’ is that until the kingdoms, and parties, and learning, and pride, and interests of this world shall have passed away, the scales will not fall from the eyes of men, to enable them to see clearly the mysteries of providence and grace.

Another particular in relation to our present subject, which is so obvious that it would appear superfluous to notice, had not the neglect of it led to very serious practical errors, is a rule which, with regard to scriptural interpretation in general, no man in his senses thinks of violating—namely, that isolated texts and obscure paragraphs must not be so explained as in any way to contradict the general tenor of scripture in the established rules of Christian faith and practice. One part of holy writ cannot stand in opposition to another ; and while there is a positive precept to the contrary, or where the spirit of Christianity leads in a contrary direction, no exposition of an obscure prophecy must be placed in competition. Thus for instance, the command of our Saviour to ‘go and teach all nations, and to preach the gospel to every creature,’ is absolute ; and when we meet with the interpretation of prophecy, which assumes that the evangelization of the world will be accomplished by a miraculous effusion of the Holy Spirit, which is calculated to supersede human agency and missionary labours,

we may be sure that the interpretation is erroneous, and however plausible its appearance, we must confidently reject it. The same may be said of interpretations which have been put forth of late, and which make the test of Christian conduct to consist in studying certain parts of the Holy Scriptures, and of Christian faith in holding certain peculiar views of futurity. All such interpretations are a priori suspicious, and upon examination cannot fail to prove false.

One other principle, and it is the last we shall notice, as the abuse of it has been fraught with many wrong notions of truth, and a thousand delusions, is that which requires of every expositor of the prophetic scriptures yet unfulfilled, a sacred regard to the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom, and its progressive advancement to its final consummation unamalgamated with the politics of earth, and conferring as its highest rewards the glory and felicities of heaven. The modern millenarian, whether he be found among the clergy of a worldly sanctuary, where the beggarly elements of earth are continually mixed up with things sacred to form an imposing hierarchy, or whether he be a convert from Judaism, his imagination filled with the splendors of his national glory which has so long passed away, and which he yet hopes to see restored; one familiar with a visible head to his church, and the other expecting to behold in the seed of David, a successor to fill his throne in Palestine; both agree that the millennium, instead of a spiritual state, is to be a personal reign of Christ in this world,—upon this earth for a thousand years; and the martyrs and eminent saints are to be raised from the dead, and to share with him the cares and honours of regal government. How opposed this is to a fair and reasonable exposition of the prophecies relating to this period—how contrary to the genius and spirit of Christianity—and more especially to its spiritual and heavenly tendencies—three of the writers at the head of this article have abundantly shown. Mr. Dobbin, we have not quoted, and perhaps his style is a little too scholastic, ornate, and pretending, but his argument is well sustained; and in referring to this branch of the prophetic question, he pursues it in a strain of Christian eloquence. We can only afford space for the concluding paragraph.

‘ But over and beyond this, I might object to the moral influence this doctrine exercises upon the mind of the believer of it. Does it not, I ask him, usurp the place of heaven in his affections? What is it the millenarian preacher expatiates upon—is it not the future felicity of *earth*? What do his hearers converse upon when they meet together—is it not the felicity of *earth*? What is the subject of their thoughts by day, what of their dreams by night, what of their prayers in the closet, family, and church—is it not the felicity of *earth*? The millenarian dwells upon it, as I know by per-

sonal intercourse with many of the most devout who bear that name, to the exclusion of almost every other scriptural subject, except as connected with it: and it grows to such inordinate dimensions before his enraptured fancy, that 'the proportion of faith,' (Rom. xii. 6) is by him quite forgotten. This hope sustains him in trial, comforts in sorrow, impels to duty, and in fact takes the place with him of the multifarious mass of doctrine, impulse, and motive, which urges the plain bible Christian upon his heavenward way. Knowing in short, how much this is the case—how intrusive this doctrine of a personal reign with all its adjuncts of temporal glory to the believer is—how it jostles other doctrines out of their place in the evangelical scheme—and how it entrenches itself in the mind of its votaries at the expense of other valuable truths, (unintentionally it may be—through the infirmity of nature it may be,) I can sometimes account for it, only by supposing that those who take this view, have forgotten the admonition of the book of God,—'if ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are *above*, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. Set your affections on *things above*, *not on things on the earth*.' (Col. iii. 1, 2.) As far as their practice goes, this precept is of no avail: for they deem it a merit rather than a fault, to give it a virtual abrogation, and look with longing for a time, when earth and earth's fulness, its bounds and its blessings, shall be theirs. Because then they substitute earth for heaven in their scheme of retribution to the saints,—a partial for a perfect happiness; and because they exalt this doctrine to an unseemly importance in their published schemes of divine truth, as well as in their conversation and life; and heaven our eternal home, heaven our unfading glory, heaven our changeless inheritance, heaven our unpurchaseable portion, heaven our endless peace, heaven our untroubled rest, heaven our deathless bliss, is made a thing of small account, secondary, subordinate—we reject the theory of a personal reign.'—pp. 35—37.

Of Mr. Chauncy's work we are compelled to say, that it violates every one of the critical canons we have assumed as indispensable rules to guide the enquirer in his way through the mazes of unaccomplished prophecy. Dr. Urwick's lectures we unfeignedly commend to the Christian church, as a valuable addition to its sacred literature and fervid eloquence. The following admonitory passage from the third discourse is worthy of serious attention.

'At present the science of prophetic interpretation is so little matured, the exact point where we ourselves stand in the prophetic range, is involved in so much perplexity, the expositions that have been given of predictions, the fulfilment of which has not been undeniably fixed by inspiration, are so varied, so incongruous, and many of them so extravagant and wild, that one is tempted to think whether the wiser and safer plan may not be to wait, patient in ignorance, and

leave the event itself to explain the prophecy. Let me add also, that in my view there are comparatively few minds that are prepared by enlarged and well adjusted information, and by habits of cool, vigorous, deep, comprehensive and nicely discriminating thought, for successfully pursuing this line of Christian inquiry. And it is truly pitiable, not to use a stronger term, to witness the excited temperament, the confident loquacity, the reckless impetuosity of the imaginative faculty, the utter destitution of anything like an approach to self-distrust, and the eagerness with which the flimsiest plausibilities are seized upon, as indisputable verities, that often force themselves upon our notice in persons who claim credit for high attainments in prophetic research.'

—*The Second Advent of Christ*, p. 76.

Mr. Tyso's work does not take so wide a range as some of the others;—his precise object is to show 'that the seventy weeks, the one thousand two hundred and sixty days, and the events predicted under the seven trumpets and seven vials, have not yet taken place, but that they will be accomplished within the space of about three years and a half from their commencement, and probably at no very distant period.' The work contains a great deal of extravagance, some curious matter for still further investigation—especially on the discrepancies between the various writers on unfulfilled prophecy with regard to the prophetical periods. For the most part, however, we may affirm of Mr. Tyso's volume, that its interpretations are arbitrary and its reasonings fallacious.

Israel's Return, or Palestine Regained, is chiefly attractive for its title; it is a thrice told repetition of what has been said by other writers on the same side of the question. Our readers will form some conjecture of the nature of the work when we state that the heading of the tenth chapter runs thus: 'Personal appearing of Messiah in behalf of Israel—tremendous slaughter of their enemies—conversion of Israel to Christ as their Messiah—and further restoration of them to their own land.' The author's 'unbounded confidence,' his infinite superiority to 'doubt, diffidence, and uncertainty' on subjects which most thoughtful men approach with awe and apprehension, lest they should be deceived themselves, and thus mislead others, may recommend him to a certain portion of 'the Christian public'—for whose meridian, indeed, his book seems chiefly to be written—but in our minds confidence, when not based on argument, 'unbounded' though it be, awakens proportionate distrust. 'Israel's Return' goes the whole length of the premillennial theory. If Christianity were not a spiritual system, and Christ was not the 'Prince of Peace,' we might study these millenarian productions with the feelings with which we trace the bloody track of heroes whose mission is the destruction of the human race, and still retain the consis-

tency of our Christian character. But we confess that the greater our familiarity with these writers becomes, the deeper is our conviction of their estrangement from the true spirit and grand design of the Christian dispensation. As an antidote to the manifold errors involved in the modern millenarian scheme, and as a work admirably adapted to aid the sincere inquirer, whom this scheme may have a little perplexed, and whose views it may have unsettled, we recommend the perusal of 'Millenarianism Unscriptural; or a Glance at some of the Consequences of that Theory.' What these consequences are in their general character, the author well describes in his preface—and each particular feature is drawn with a masterly hand in the work itself. 'Consequences of incongruous, anomalous, prodigious, and even of a terrific character—consequences incompatible with the nature and design both of Judaism and Christianity—consequences, in particular, seriously infringing, if not subversive of the mediatorial economy—consequences repugnant to the explicit testimony of Scripture, as to the resurrection and judgment of the human race; the ultimate abode of the righteous, and the final doom of the world—consequences, in short, irreconcilable with express declarations of our Lord himself.'

Mr. Morrison's 'Question, Will Christ's Reign during the Millennium be Personal?' is very ably answered, and all the points at issue in this controversy satisfactorily discussed. Both parties would do well to read it.

Art. VII. *The Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, Esq., F.R.S., Secretary to the Admiralty in the Reigns of Charles II. and James II.; including a Narrative of his Voyage to Tangier, deciphered from the Short-hand MSS. in the Bodleian Library.* By the Rev. JOHN SMITH, A.M., Decipherer of 'Pepys's Memoirs.' Now first published from the Originals. In two vols. London: Bentley. 1841.

THESE volumes will be welcomed by a large class of readers who have derived both entertainment and information from the Diary and Letters which were published a few years since under the editorship of Lord Braybrooke. They constitute an appropriate supplement to the larger work of his lordship, by the side of which they will naturally take their place in all our historical libraries. Samuel Pepys was born February 23rd, 1632, and passed his boyhood in or near London. He was

educated at St. Paul's school, whence he removed to Cambridge in 1651. He married early, and was involved for some time in considerable pecuniary straits. Fortunately for Pepys, he had a powerful friend in his cousin Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards created Earl of Sandwich, into whose house he was received, and who paved the way for his subsequent advancement. During the brief protectorate of Richard he embarked in the *Naseby*, to accompany Sir Edward, then 'one of his Highness the Lord Protector's council, Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and general at sea,' on an expedition to the Sound. On returning to England he obtained a public employment under Sir George Downing, whom Anthony Wood justly describes as 'a sider with all times and changes.' The political principles both of Pepys and of his cousin were of that convenient order which admitted of seasonable change. Prior to the restoration they were anti-monarchical, and Pepys especially, as would seem from the following entry in his diary, was somewhat violent in his round-head propensities. 'Here dined with us two or three country gentlemen; among the rest Mr. Christmas, my old schoolfellow, with whom I had much talk. He did remember that I was a great round-head when I was a boy, and I was much afraid that he would have remembered the words that I said the day the king was beheaded (that, were I to preach upon him, my text should be—'The memory of the wicked shall rot'); but I found afterwards that he did go away school before that time.' Reading accurately the signs of the times, Montague hastened to make terms with the exiled prince, and his dependent relative was not a whit behind him in discarding, *sans ceremonie*, the republican tendencies of his youth. Both obtained their reward,—the former being created Earl of Sandwich, and the latter being appointed Clerk of the Acts. From this period to the revolution, Pepys continued, with a brief interruption which we shall notice presently, to occupy influential and lucrative posts. His official duties were discharged with industry and skill, and with a larger measure of integrity than was common to the politicians of his day. His diary, which was published by Lord Braybrooke in 1825, is unquestionably the most interesting and important of his productions yet given to the public. The letters and journals in the volumes now before us are not however without interest and worth. It is only a portion of the former which was written by Pepys, and some of these, with many from his correspondents, might have been permitted to remain undeciphered, or at least unprinted, without loss to our historical literature. But we must be content to take the work as it is, and shall proceed to make a few extracts in order that our readers may judge for themselves of its worth. It is well

known that the popularity which attended the restoration was short lived. This might have been anticipated from its ultra character, yet few probably even of the most sagacious bystanders anticipated that it would decline so rapidly. The following allusion to this subject in a letter to Lady Sandwich, under date of February 8th, 1667, is in unison with what we learn from other quarters. The personal vices of the monarch were not more injurious to public morals than the political profligacy and distracted councils of the government were to the national reputation.

‘ The parliament rises this day, or to-morrow, having with much difficulty given the king a sum really too little, yet by them thought enough, if not too much, for his occasions. However, better thus much given, and they parted, than to have had them sit longer to have increased the discontents which were already come to great height between the court and the country factions.

‘ Our enemies are busy in their preparations, and bold, having begun the year with the unhappy taking of a very good frigate of ours, the *St. Patrick*, of about fifty guns, built but the last year. The news of her loss came to us but yesterday morning.

‘ We are in our preparations as backward as want of money and stores can render us, but do hope that what the parliament hath given us will, in a little time, better our condition ; yet not so, I assure your ladyship, as to give me any cause to be sorry for my lord’s being abroad, but contrarily to wish his continuance there some time longer ; although, should he return to-morrow, his lordship would find the world give him another look than when he left us, the last year’s work having sufficiently distinguished between man and man.

‘ Who commands the fleet this year is not yet known, but, for aught I see, there is no great striving likely to be for it, the Prince not being in condition of health, and the Duke of Albemarle, as I hear, declaring his not going. Whoever goes, I pray God give him more success than I can, without presumption, hope he will find.’

—Vol. i. pp. 115, 116.

The following, addressed to Lord Sandwich, then in Spain, Oct. 7th, is much to the same effect.

‘ Though your lordship’s silence (by Mr. Sheres) touching the receipt of either of those letters I have been bold to address to your lordship since your leaving England, denies me the satisfaction of knowing that they reached your lordship’s hands, yet I am unwilling, without more certainty, to take upon myself the shame, as well as affliction, which it were fit I should, did I know that your lordship had them not. And yet I must acknowledge, my lord, that this is but the third, having no desire of disquieting your lordship with bad news ; and the times affording not one passage fit to be called good, from the

hour I had the honor to see your lordship last, to that of publishing of your lordship's articles of peace with Spain: for, besides them, nothing that I know of, of public management, hath found so much as common excuse, much less the universal acceptance (which this hath done) in all this time.

'That after a war chargeably and unsuccessfully managed, as well as unsatisfactorily concluded, the parliament (who parted last upon jealous terms) is come together again this week, with as great an inclination on their side (as is believed) to inquire into faults, as the king is also said to be resolved on his to give way to their examining and correcting them. But their work, as it is thought, will be the less, by the late removal of my lord chancellor; an act wherein I cannot inform your lordship more, touching the grounds of it, than that its doing is generally imputed to reasons delivered the king by Sir W. C. (who I know do not spare to assert the requisiteness of it), with the concurrence at first of his royal highness, though afterward it proved not so pleasing to him, but that he is said to have endeavored the preventing it when it was gone too far.'—*Ib.* pp. 117—119.

Pepys's official situation brought him into frequent contact with the Duke of York, then lord high admiral, between whom and himself a growing intimacy and attachment appears to have arisen. Whatever were the grounds of the connexion between the secretary and his official superior, the fact itself is unquestionable, and goes far to account for the charge of popish inclinations which was alleged against the former. The nation had now begun rightly to estimate the character of the restored government. Men's minds passed from one extreme to another; from exultation to despondency, from implicit trust to inveterate suspicion and doubt. The Protestantism of the king was more than doubtful, while James's adhesion to the church of Rome was matter of notoriety. The religious fears of the nation were thoroughly roused, and the political liberalism which had survived the restoration sought to rally its forces under the No Popery cry. Good and bad men were temporarily united in opposition to the popish councils of the prince; and all who were known to possess his friendship were suspected of being favorable to his creed. Pepys suffered on this account, and the suspicion which attached to him was strengthened by the popish inclinations of his wife. He himself adverts, in his diary, to the wavering faith of Mrs. Pepys in the following terms—'Nov. 28th, 1668. My wife lately frightened me about 'her being a Catholique. I dare not, therefore, move her to 'go to church, for fear she should deny me.' Under these circumstances it was no marvel that Pepys's own faith should have been brought into doubt on the occasion of a petition being presented to the House of Commons in 1673, against his return

for Castle Rising. Pepys applied to the brother of his wife for evidence to rebut the charge preferred against him, and received in reply a communication from which we extract the following.

‘HONoured SIR,

‘I answer to yours of last night (which I received this morning at eight of the clock), I wonder indeed that you, whose life and conversation hath been ever known to be that of a sincere Protestant, should now be called in question of being a papist. But, sir, malice and envy will still oppress the best of men.

‘Wherefore, sir, to the hazard of my life, I will prove (if occasion be), with my sword in my hand (since it hath touched so near of the memory of my dear sister), that your competitor is a false liar in his throat, as to your having either an altar in your house, or that my dear sister, ever since she had the honor to be your wife, or to her death, had the least thoughts of popery. This I know, not only by my often conversation with her, but in my presence, one time I remember, she having some discourse with my father concerning your life and conversation, as well as fortunes; this was his speech with her, that amongst the greatest of the happinesses he enjoyed in his mind was that she had, by matching with you, not only wedded wisdom, but also one who by it, he hoped in Christ, would quite blow out those foolish thoughts she might in her more tender years have had of popery. These, to the best of my memory, were his very words.

‘To which her reply was (kissing his eyes, which she loved dearly), ‘Dear father, though in my tender years I was by my low fortune in this world deluded to popery by the fond dictates thereof, I have now (joined with my riper years, which give me more understanding), a man to my husband too wise, and one too religious in the Protestant religion, to suffer my thoughts to bend that way any more.’ But, sir, I have given you too much trouble with one thing.’—*Ib.* pp. 146—148.

The storm which threatened his fortunes passed over for a season, but it was not to be expected that he should escape uninjured amidst the violence and injustice which marked our national proceedings on the so-called Popish Plot. This was a season of insanity, when men’s fears were too violently excited to permit the calm exercise of their reason. Absolutists and liberals, Church of England men and nonconformists, political intriguers and upright religionists, partook in common of the almost universal mania. The nation was thoroughly alarmed, and in the height of its frenzy trampled alike on the claims of humanity and the spirit and precepts of the Christian faith. Mr. Pepys was known to be a favorite of the Duke of York, the leader and hope of the popish party, and was in consequence exposed to all the violence of the storm which then raged through the country. He was accused to the Commons of furnishing secret information respecting the English navy to

the French government, and of being himself a Roman Catholic, and a great promoter of the designs of that party. Under these charges he was committed to the Tower on the Speaker's warrant, May 22nd, 1679, where he remained until the following February, when he was discharged, on the attorney-general stating that the principal witness against him refused to abide by his original deposition. Several letters, written by him at this period, are contained in the present volumes, and will be read with considerable interest by all who are desirous of minute information respecting the period in question. Amongst the witnesses against Pepys, was a man named James, formerly his butler, who deposed that his master was a papist, and had kept in his house a priest in disguise. But being suddenly attacked by an alarming illness, he sought to ease his conscience by acknowledging that his evidence was false. The following letter to Mr. Povey, Feb. 25th, 1680, refers to this matter, and is too honorable to Pepys to be omitted.

‘ An occasion offers, wherein you may exercise that kindness you have sometimes exchanged with me ; and it is this. •

‘ You may, I doubt not, have heard that one James, who had been some time my servant, had been made use of as my accuser. He is now upon his sick-bed, and, as I am told, near the point of death ; and has declared himself inclined to ease his conscience of something wherein I may be nearly concerned, with a particular willingness to open himself to you, whom he says he has known and observed during his serving the Duke of Buckingham and me.

‘ You may please, therefore, in charity to me as well as to the dying man, to give him a visit to-morrow morning, when I shall appoint one to conduct you to his lodging. It may be you may hesitate herein, because of the friendship which I no less know you to have with Mr. Harboard than you know him to have ill will against me, and of the effects of it, under which I still remain of being held obnoxious to others, to whom you bear great reverence.

‘ But that makes me the rather to importune you to the taking this trouble, because your candor is such, that, with a fair and equal indifferency, you will hear and represent what that dying man shall relate to you, who, it is likely, will reveal at this hour nothing but truth. And it is to truth only, and the God thereof, I appeal, and which will, I hope, vindicate my reputation, and free me from the misunderstandings which I find many ingenuous and worthy persons have had of me, from their being seduced by the false testimonies which have been gained and improved to my disadvantage, even to the hazard of my life and estate, and no less to the disturbing of the government, than to the raising injurious reflections upon those public trusts in which I have (much to your knowledge) carried myself diligently, and (I am sure) faithfully.

‘ In this I, the rather, take the liberty of opening myself, thus freely and amply, to you upon this occasion ; because I would move

you the more strongly, to take upon you this just and charitable office, so much importing others, as well as

‘ Your most humble servant,

‘ S. PEPYS.’

—Ib. pp. 206, 207.

James died a few days after this letter was written, and Pepys refers to his confession in a letter to his own father, from which we take the following.

‘ It is long since I have expressed my duty to you, and truly one day has followed another with some new occasion of care, so that, though I have been in a great measure restored to the liberty of my person, my mind has continued in thralldom, till now that it has pleased God, in a miraculous manner, to begin the work of my vindication by laying his hand on James my butler, by a sickness (whereof he is some days since dead), which led him to consider and repent of the wrongs he had done me in accusing me in parliament, which he has solemnly and publicly confessed on the holy sacrament, justifying me and my family to all the world in that part of my accusation which relates to religion; and I question not but God almighty will be no less just in what concerns the rest of my charge, which he knows to be no less false than this. In the mean time, his holy name be praised for what he has done in this particular.’—Ib. 210, 211.

The political principles of Pepys harmonized well with those of his patron, and we find him consequently expressing his satisfaction with the duke’s administration of Scotch affairs, and in defiance of facts at once innumerable and notorious, specifying *gentleness* as one of its attributes. The extract is short, and we subjoin it.

‘ Nevertheless, the authority the duke maintains with so much absoluteness, yet gentleness here, is a thing very considerable, rendering it morally impossible for any disquiet to arise in his majesty’s affairs in this kingdom. Truly, as their government seems founded on principles much more steady than those of ours, so their method of managing it in council (his royal highness having been pleased to give me opportunity of being present with him two council-days), appears no less to exceed ours in the order, gravity, and unanimity of their debates.’

—Ib. pp. 295, 296.

Amongst the disastrous results of the restoration, none was more strikingly obvious than the disorganization and consequent inefficiency of the English navy. The genius of the commonwealth had wrested from the Dutch the supremacy of the ocean, and had laid the foundation of that naval superiority which has been so triumphantly maintained in modern times. The profound intellect and unspotted integrity of Vane had

infused into this department of the public service a spirit of enterprise, courage, and self-confidence which rendered our seamen invincible, and changed the whole aspect of maritime affairs. The government of the Stuarts speedily undid what the high-minded republican had accomplished, and our fleets were in consequence insulted by foes whom they had formerly chased from the sea. The following admissions are too explicit to need comment.

‘ From the shameful want of discipline, the rest of the ships not ready to come out of Plymouth, with their flags, after my lord’s signals, one hour after another, and himself plying three or four hours under sail, going out. Morning, at sea, only the Woolwich in sight. So (with a fair wind for Plymouth), we were fain to lie by for them, losing our way all the while. Hamilton, in the Dragon, and Wheeler, in the Tiger (though shot at from my lord, not being under sail to come out) to the last.

‘ Yet, my lord, though infinitely vexed at this, and blaming it to me, plainly declared the misfortune of a man in his condition, carrying a flag, in a government where he cannot exercise the necessary discipline, for fear of making more enemies than he hath already ; the admiralty, themselves, being more likely to take part with the friends of those he should punish, than join him in it. Therefore, he was under a necessity to let them alone ; it being now (as we have often said to one another), a work for any man to set things right in the navy, but the Duke of York.

‘ He added (as mighty adventurous), that if the duke would take up the Admiralty, and had no mind to appear in the exercise of severity on captains, he would go to sea, and take all the odium on himself, rather than the duke should not take it up, and thereby save the navy, which will otherwise be undone.

‘ Yet I must add, that I doubt whether even the duke be now strong enough to mend things ; that is to say, without exposing himself to more envy and complaints, among friends of the rogues he should punish, than is fit to advise the duke to draw upon himself ; especially in his present circumstances. On this consideration, I think, he should not take it on him, till the king hath, of his own accord, first taken away, by good rules, the occasions of these people’s disorders, by taking away the money business and others. Then, seeing those rules executed, would become his duty to the king, and no act of his own.’

—Ib. pp. 339, 340.

‘ Captain Macdonnell, in the Greyhound, in answer to the message to inquire after a ship seen yesterday in the offing, and thought to be a Salleeman, informs my Lord Dartmouth of Captain Lloyd’s being gone for England. Notwithstanding his pressing him to come to my lord, he would not, but proceeded in his voyage : hence sufficiently appear—

‘ I. The consequence of the king’s commanders taking in money, which Macdonnell brought us word he (Lloyd) had on board from Cales, that, let the business of the king’s be what it will, all shall give

way to private benefit; for otherwise he would, of course and curiosity, without any orders or entreaty, have come to a flag he met in the way, both to tell and to ask news.

‘II. These gentlemen-captains, depending on the interest of their friends at court, will venture to do what a plain tarpaulin, if he had no other reason, would never dare. This use my lord made of it, and said he would write it to the king.

‘III. That, where it is not a commander’s interest, he will plead want of written orders, as here Lloyd does, for his not coming to my lord, for so Macdonnell reports: but, when the contrary, he then thinks his discretion will justify his doing a thing, as he would have done his going out of the way to speak with a flag, notwithstanding his orders to go for England, if it had suited his other occasions.

‘IV. That a commander can easily get certificates of his ship’s being foul and out of order, unfit and unable to keep the sea, as Lloyd now pretends, and so is sent home by Shovell.

‘The master tells me Lloyd told him my lord did crowd sail, so that it was impossible to overtake his lordship: whereas Macdonnell says he told him no such thing, but that he went leisurely, for the sake of merchantmen he had with him.

‘Macdonnell was sent back again to overtake Lloyd and bring him back, his being with my lord being of great importance to the service we are going on. It will be worth minding what the event of the whole is, and to inquire at Tangier what orders he had for going home.

‘Captain Lloyd, though unfortunate in this accident towards my Lord Dartmouth, is said to be a very good artist, and curious in it above any gentleman-captain, therefore fit to be discoursed with about the matter of gentlemen’s being artists.’—*Ib.* pp. 351, 352.

The following is interesting, as settling a point which for some years past has engaged the attention of many scholars and divines. It is part of a letter from Mr. Daniel Skinner to Pepys, under date of November 19th, 1666, and accounts for the fact of Milton’s treatise *De Doctrina Christiana*, together with a corrected copy of all his Latin letters, being found in the State Paper Office, enclosed in an envelope, superscribed, ‘To ‘Mr. Skinner, Merchant.’ Mr. Skinner was at this time at Rotterdam, in attendance on Mr. Chudleigh, the secretary to the Dutch embassy.

‘After a hazardous passage cross the seas, though first a great expense in clothing myself for so great an appearance as this at Nimeguen, and a long, tedious, mighty chargeable journey through all the parts of Holland (a country serving only to set a greater value on our own), I at last arrived at Nimeguen, meeting with a very kind and (beyond expectation) fair reception from Mr Chudleigh, though (which is the misfortune I am telling you of) I was surprised with an unkind letter which his honor Sir Joseph Williamson had conveyed

before my arrival to my Lord Jenkyns concerning me. The whole business was thus :

‘ Your worship may please to remember, I once acquainted you with my having the works of Milton, which he left behind him to me, which, out of pure indiscretion, not dreaming any prejudice might accrue to me, I had agreed with a printer at Amsterdam to have them printed. As good fortune would have it, he has not printed one tittle of them. About a month ago there creeps out into the world a little imperfect book of Milton’s State Letters, procured to be printed by one Pitts, a bookseller in London, which he had bought of a poor fellow that had formerly surreptitiously got them from Milton. These coming out so sily, and quite unknown to me, and when I had the true and more perfect copy, with many other papers, I made my addresses to Sir Joseph Williamson, to acquaint him that there was a book come out against his authority : that, if his honor connived at that, he would please to grant me licence to print mine ; if not, that he would either suppress that little book, or give me leave to put (in the bottom of the Gazette) that they were printing in Holland, in a larger, more complete edition.

‘ Now, sir (little thinking that Sir Joseph was such an enemy to the name of Milton), he told me he could countenance nothing of that man’s writings. In this answer I acquiesced. A little while after, his honor sends for me to know what papers I had of Milton’s by me, and that I should oblige him if I would permit them to his perusal ; which very readily I did, thinking that it might prove advantageous to me. And finding upon this so great an access to his honor, I presented him with a Latin petitionary epistle for some preferment, either under him or by his means. His honor was pleased graciously to receive it, and in a most expressive manner to promise me any advancement that might be in his power.

‘ During this, the opportunity of going to Nimeguen happened ; and, the day before I went out of England, I went to his honor for some recommendations. He returned me my papers with many thanks, and was pleased to give me a great deal of advice not to proceed in the printing of my papers at Amsterdam ; that it would be an undoubted rub in any preferments of mine : and this he said, he spoke out of mere kindness and affection to me. I returned his honor many humble thanks, and did expressively ensure him that, as soon as I got to Amsterdam (which I took in my way on purpose), I would return my copies, and suppress them for ever. Which, sir, I have done, and have followed his honor’s advice to every punctilio.

‘ Yet, notwithstanding this, his honor was pleased (whether I shall term it unkindly or unnaturally) to despatch a letter after me to my Lord Jenkyns, to acquaint his lordship that I was printing Milton’s works, and wished them to have a care of me in the king’s service ; which has put a little stop to my being employed as yet, till I can write to England, and procure so much interest as to clear Sir Joseph Williamson’s jealousy of my being yet engaged in the printing of these papers : though my Lord Jenkyns and Mr. Chudleigh are so well satisfied, after my giving them a full account of the business, and

bringing my copies with me to Nimeguen, ready to dispose of them where Sir Joseph should think fit, that they seem as much concerned at Sir Joseph's letter as I do, and have sent me here to Rotterdam at their charge (so kind they are), to remain here till I can write to England, and they have an answer from Sir Joseph Williamson how that his honor is satisfied; which they don't at all question but he will be when he shall hear what I have said and done.

'Now, may it please your worship, having given you a full and true account of the whole affair, seeing the fortune of a young man depends upon this small thing, either perpetual ruin, or a fair and happy way to future advancement; pray give me leave to beg of you, which I most humbly and submissively do, that you would please instantly to repair to his honor Sir Joseph, and acquaint him that I am so far from printing any thing from Milton's now, that I have followed his honor's advice, and upon due pensitation with myself have nulled and made void my contract with Elsevir at Amsterdam, have returned my copies to myself, and am ready to dispose of them where his honor pleases, either into the hands of my Lord Jenkyns, or into his own for better satisfaction; and am so far from ever procuring a line from Milton printed, that, if his honor pleases, he shall command my copies, and all my other papers, to the fire. And though I happened to be acquainted with Milton in his life-time (which out of mere love to learning I procured, and no other concerns ever past betwixt us but a great desire and ambition of some of his learning), I am, and ever was, so far from being in the least tainted with any of his principles, that I may boldly say, none has a greater honor and loyalty for his majesty, more veneration for the Church of England, and love for his country, than I have.'

—Ib. pp. 173—178.

We can make room only for one more extract, which will interest such of our readers as are acquainted with Dryden's *good parson*, to which it refers.

'JOHN DRYDEN, ESQ. TO PEPYS.

'PADRON MIO,

July 14, 1699.

'I remember, last year, when I had the honor of dining with you, you were pleased to recommend to me the character of Chaucer's *Good Parson*. Any desire of yours is a command to me, and accordingly I have put it into my English, with such additions and alterations as I thought fit.

'Having translated as many fables from Ovid, and as many novels from Boccace, and tales from Chaucer, as will make an indifferent large volume in folio, I intend them for the press in Michaelmas term next. In the mean time, my Parson desires the favor of being known to you, and promises, if you find any fault in his character, he will reform it. Whenever you please, he shall wait on you, and, for the safer conveyance, I will carry him in my pocket, who am,

'My *Padron's* most obedient servant,

'JOHN DRYDEN.

‘PEPYS TO JOHN DRYDEN, ESQ.

‘SIR,

Friday, July 14, 1699.

‘You truly have obliged me, and, possibly, in saying so, I am more in earnest than you can readily think, as verily hoping from this your copy of one *Good Parson*, to fancy some amends made me for the hourly offence I bear with from the sight of so many lewd originals.

‘I shall, with great pleasure, attend you on this occasion whene’er you’ll permit it; unless you would have the kindness to double it to me, by suffering my coach to wait on you (and whom you can gain me the same favor from) hither, to a cold chicken and a salad, any noon after Sunday, as being just stepping into the air for two days.’

—Vol. ii. pp. 254—256.

Here we must close our notice of these volumes, though somewhat disposed to add a few words on the great desirableness of a severer judgment than is usual being exercised in the selection which is made from the correspondence of eminent men. We estimate such publications as the present too highly to wish to impose any very stringent restraints on their editors; nor are we ignorant of the fact that what is uninteresting, and appears to be unimportant to one class of readers, may be regarded in a very different light by another. But after making every allowance which the most liberal criticism can require, we are strongly of opinion that the great ends of biography and history would be much better effected by winnowing the chaff more thoroughly from the wheat than is ordinarily done. A larger number of readers would thus be induced to acquaint themselves with the epistolary correspondence of past times, and a much more accurate notion of the events, spirit, and character of the days of our forefathers would thus be diffused through the general mass of our countrymen. The present volumes are not more faulty in this respect than is usual with works of their class—yet their value would certainly not have been diminished by the suppression of many of the letters which they contain.

Art. VIII. *The Hour and the Man. A Historical Romance.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU. Three Vols. London. Moxon.

AT the time when the star of Napoleon Bonaparte was rising in revolutionary France, another of similiar brilliancy, but of purer light, was beginning to shine in St. Domingo, in the character of Toussaint L'Ouverture. How many tongues have celebrated his eminent qualities! How many eyes have wept over his melancholy fate!

Some have asserted that Toussaint was a native of Africa; but the most probable statement is that he was born on the plantation of the Count de Noé, near Cape François, about the year 1745. He is said, in early life, to have displayed peculiar kindness towards the brute creation, and to have possessed a patience of temper which scarcely anything could discompose. His amiable deportment conciliated the favor of M. Bayou de Libertas, the manager of the plantation, who appointed him his postilion; and having found means to learn reading, writing, and arithmetic, which not one negro in ten thousand could boast, he acquired great distinction among his fellow slaves.

When the insurrection of the negroes occurred in 1791, Toussaint was still a slave on the plantation, but refrained from taking any part in the first revolutionary movements. The spirit of vengeance wreaked its animosity alike on the humane master and the barbarous tyrant, and happy were those planters who could escape from the island. M. Bayou would have fallen into the hands of the infuriated blacks and suffered death, had not Toussaint delivered him from the impending destruction. He provided for his emigration to America, found means to embark a considerable quantity of sugar to support him in his exile, procured the escape of his family with him, and contrived every plan for his convenience.

Toussaint now entered the army of his country, which had begun to assume a regular form. He joined the corps commanded by Biassou, and was appointed next in command under him; but his superior being degraded from his station on account of his cruelties, Toussaint was invested with the chief command of the division. His character now gradually unfolded, and he displayed the same humanity and benevolence that had distinguished his more private life. Among his other great qualities, he was pre-eminent for unsullied integrity. It was the common proverb among the white inhabitants, that he 'never broke his word.' An unequivocal specimen of the reliance to be placed on his engagements was exhibited by many of the exiled planters and merchants, whom his promise of protection induced to return from distant countries to which they

had fled. These he restored to their estates, and inspired with confidence. At the time of his first elevation to rank, the contest between the blacks and their former masters had terminated ; but another civil war soon arose, and was for some time carried on with the greatest fury between the friends of the dethroned French monarch, and those of the Convention. In this conflict, men of all complexions were on both sides ; and the two parties comprehended nearly an equal number of blacks and whites. Toussaint espoused at first the cause of royalty, and his talents rendered it triumphant in St. Domingo, as it had been unsuccessful in France. Before Spain deserted the coalition formed by the great powers of Europe against the republicanism of France, he had the rank of general in the Spanish army conferred upon him, and was honored with the ancient military order of that country. But events soon induced him to think it neither politic nor patriotic to maintain his hostility to the French government. The planters and royalists had solicited the assistance of Great Britain, less for the sake of restoring the Bourbons in France than with the hope of recovering the iron rule of their own plantations. Toussaint was, therefore, compelled either to make amicable terms with the French Commissioners, or to unite with the British invaders and others whom he knew to be the foes of negro liberty. He, therefore, gave peace to the republicans he had conquered, and acknowledged the authority of the convention.

Henceforth, he showed his fidelity to the French government under every change that took place in its constitution. The representatives of that government sent from time to time to St. Domingo, though full of the spirit of exaction and cruelty, he managed with the utmost prudence, interposing frequently the shield of his influence between them, and the planters, and the jealous negroes. His benevolence was strikingly displayed in the rescue of General Lavaux, whom the negroes imprisoned at Cape François, and intended to put to death. This service was publicly acknowledged. On another occasion he displayed the heroic spirit of forgiveness, when several Frenchmen were taken, who had deserted him with aggravated treachery. He ordered their attendance at church ; and when that part of the service was read which respects mutual forgiveness, he went with them to the front of the altar, and after pointing out the flagitiousness of their crime, ordered their immediate discharge from confinement. His conduct, also, to General Maitland was noble, contrasting with the perfidy he was urged to practise by the commissioners of the French republic. At the time when the treaty was negotiating for the British troops to evacuate St. Domingo, Maitland went to Toussaint's camp with only two or three attendants. Roume, the French commissioner, wrote

to Toussaint to embrace the favorable opportunity of detaining the British general prisoner. He was pre-warned of this plot on his way, but hesitated not to trust himself to the negro chief. On his arrival, Toussaint was absent, a circumstance he viewed with some discontent, not to say suspicion. At length he entered the room with two letters in his hand. 'There, general,' said he, 'before we talk together, read these : one is a letter just received from Roume, the other is my answer. I would not come to you till I had written my answer to him, that you may see how safe you are with me, and how incapable I am of baseness.' Maitland found one of the letters to be an artful persuasive to seize him, as an act of duty to the republic, the other an indignant refusal.

No sooner was the negro chief relieved from the warfare in which he had been engaged on behalf of his race, who almost adored him, than he devoted his entire attention to the arts of peace ; and the whole system of his legislation was characterised by the same sagacity, prudence, and humanity, that had distinguished his exploits in the field. When he restored many of the planters to their estates slavery was gone ; no human being was to be bought or sold. The greatest difficulty he had to overcome, however, was the indisposition to agricultural labour produced in the negro mind by the oppression and cruelty formerly practised. The planters, however, were now obliged to put their laborers on the footing of hired servants, and the negroes were required to labor for their own subsistence. Ample encouragement was afforded to industry by a legal arrangement for wages, and penalties were inflicted for the punishment of idleness. The effects of these regulations were soon visible ; the progress of agriculture was such, that, notwithstanding the ravages of nearly ten years' war and other impediments to improvement, the land produced in the next crop full one-third of the quantity of sugar and coffee which it had ever before yielded in its most prosperous season ; while the plantation negroes became healthful and happy. The population increased ; and while situations of responsibility were filled by free negroes and mulattoes who were respectable under the former government, others were occupied by negroes, and even Africans, who had just emerged from slavery. In fact the general aspect of society, from the lowest to the highest of the inhabitants was that of comfort, peace, and prosperity. Having deemed it necessary for the public interest to frame a regular constitution for the future government of the island, Toussaint called to his assistance, for this purpose, several Europeans of talent, and having submitted the document to a general assembly of representatives, convened from every district, by whom it was approved and adopted, it was promulgated .

in the name of the *people*, by a proclamation in due form on the first of July, 1801, and the island declared to be an independent state. Quiet and prosperity immediately followed; but, alas, were soon interrupted by European perfidy.

Peace having been restored between Great Britain and France, Bonaparte determined on sending an expedition across the Atlantic. It is probable that he regarded Toussaint with suspicion, and moreover, wanted employment for his numerous army. A fleet was accordingly collected in the harbours of Brest, L'Orient, and Rochford; and an army of twenty-five thousand men were embarked in the transports that accompanied it. Le Clerc, brother-in-law of the First Consul, was placed at the head of the army, while the fleet was commanded by Admiral Villaret, who had been in the royal service before the revolution. The two sons of Toussaint, who had been sent to France for education, were taken from their studies, and sent on board the fleet as hostages for the conduct of their father. This armament arrived at St. Domingo on the 28th of December, when Le Clerc dispatched three divisions of his force towards three points of the island at the same time. No sooner had General Rochambeau landed at Fort Dauphin, than the troops were drawn up in battle array, and the negroes without the least previous notice were charged with the bayonet, and fled from the fort. The next day the main body, under Villaret and Le Clerc, arrived off Cape François, and prepared to take possession of the town; but the black General Christophe sent a mulatto to inform the commander that the General-in-chief being absent in the interior, no disembarkation of any military force could be permitted till the return of the messenger who had been dispatched to inform him of the arrival of the French; that if they attempted to land, all the white inhabitants would be considered as hostages for their conduct, and that an attack upon the town would be followed by its immediate conflagration. Le Clerc, upon this, wrote a disingenuous letter consisting of conciliation and menaces, to which Christophe sent a dignified reply. A deputation from the inhabitants, headed by the mayor, went on board the fleet, and entreated the consideration of the General, representing that the blacks were determined to set fire to the city, and put all the white people to the sword on the first signal of disembarkation. They were dismissed without any promise, and an insidious proclamation of the First Consul was directed to be read. Having received intelligence, however, of Rochambeau's landing at Fort Dauphin, Le Clerc was by no means inclined to wait for Toussaint's arrival, but prepared at once to commence his operations. He hoped to gain the heights before the negroes put their threats into execution, but in vain; he only attained them to see the town in flames.

Christophe then retreated with the troops under his command, in good order, carrying off two thousand of the white inhabitants as hostages. As soon as Toussaint was informed of what had occurred, he lost no time in giving such directions as existing circumstances required, and though the consular gazettes expatiate on his cruelty and barbarity, the fact was that he pursued a humane and determined purpose to protect the French from the resentment of his brethren. General Moise, with many officers and troops under his command had revolted, not with views hostile to Toussaint and his government, but solely to wreak their vengeance on the whites. The insurrection, however, was soon quelled; but Moise, though his nephew and friend, and about thirty officers were brought to a court-martial for their sanguinary conduct, and publicly executed at the Cape. Thus did the Commander-in-Chief sacrifice the feelings of the man to the duties of the governor. But the agents of the French government made use of this piece of Roman heroism, to blacken his character by every odious calumny.

As soon as all the divisions of the French force had landed, Le Clerc made trial of a scheme to practise on the feelings of Toussaint. A letter was to be delivered from Bonaparte, and an interview to be effected between him and his two sons, who had been made to believe it was the interest of their father to comply with the proposal to be made to him. Coisnon, their tutor, was to introduce them, but they were not to be suffered to remain unless the father promised acquiescence in the wishes of the First Consul. His family circle joined their persuasions, but Toussaint had wit enough to see the snare, and with anguish yet heroic firmness he said, after a brief struggle, 'Take back my children, since it must be so. I will be faithful to my brethren and my God.' A correspondence ensued between him and Le Clerc, during which there was a truce of some days. Le Clerc, however, became impatient, and renewed hostilities, proclaiming Toussaint and Christophe 'out of the protection of the law.' The contest that ensued was severe, accompanied by various successes and repulses on both sides at particular points. Two thousand black troops under Maurepas, however, went over to the French, and the insidious promises of Le Clerc, induced many other leading individuals to follow the example, while most of the negro troops became weary of the war. The constancy, however, of the black general never forsook him, and though unable to meet his enemies in the field, he was still unconquered. Almost the whole French army was employed against Crete-a-Pierrot, a fortress between Port au Prince, and St. Marc, which was under the command of Dessalines, one of the most skilful of all the negro generals. It was at length possessed; but the atrocities of the French stain

the page of history on this occasion. Six hundred blacks were surrounded by General Hardy, and deliberately put to death, and a similar tragedy was enacted at Trianon. Elated with success, Le Clerc immediately put the plantation negroes again under the driver and the whip. The poor cultivators now found their mistake in listening to the French declarations of liberty, and the planters themselves were afraid to take possession of their estates. Toussaint saw, in this imprudent baseness of his enemies, the hope of retrieving his affairs; and with this view, in the month of April he abandoned the mountains, and effecting a junction with Christophe, hastened towards the northern coast, where he defeated the troops of France, and brought the cultivators in great numbers to his standard. He drove everything before him, and even without battering artillery, very nearly captured Cape François. Le Clerc now perceived the fatal consequences of his duplicity, and resolved on issuing a proclamation with a view of reassuring his unhappy dupes of his regard for negro freedom! It was so insidiously constructed as instantly to produce the desired effect; and the black chiefs were necessitated by the first week in May to conclude a peace, by which the sovereignty of France over the island of St. Domingo was acknowledged by all its inhabitants.

Toussaint retired to a plantation at Gonaïves on the southwest coast, called after his own name *L' Ouverture*, where in the bosom of his family he sought tranquillity and repose. But perceiving the negro general in his power, Le Clerc practised one of the basest acts of treachery that ever disgraced a man or a government. In the dead of night the Creole frigate and the *Hero*, a seventy-four gun ship, were dispatched from Cape François and stood in to Gonaïves; when several boats with troops landed and surrounded the house of Toussaint, who with his family was reposing in unsuspecting slumber. Brunet, a brigadier-general, and Ferrari, aide-de-camp to Le Clerc, entered with a file of grenadiers and required him instantly to go with his family on board the frigate. Resistance was useless; Toussaint submitted, soliciting in vain that his wife and children might be suffered to remain; and before the neighborhood could be alarmed all were on board the *Hero* and under sail for France. A hundred of the confidential friends of Toussaint were arrested also, and, without any other imputation of crime, some were hurried on board the frigate *La Muiron*, bound to the Mediterranean, and the rest distributed through the squadron. What became of these wretched captives was never known. During the voyage Toussaint was allowed no intercourse with his family; and on their arrival at Brest, after a moment's interview with them on deck (and it was the last) he was conveyed, under an escort of cavalry, to the castle of Joux,

in Normandy. At the commencement of winter the unfortunate negro chief, after being immured in a miserable dungeon, expired on the 27th of April, 1803.

Such are the general facts connected with the life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, which Miss Martineau has chosen as the basis of a 'historical romance.' The real history is indeed itself a romance, and required little embellishment or amplification. She has accordingly added very few imaginary personages, and these barely sufficient to form amusing under-plots to the main story. The title combines the headings of two of the chapters, from one of which we shall furnish an extract by which the reader may be enabled to judge of the nature of the work and the method of its execution. It is 'the hour' of changing sides, and Toussaint is with the French priest Laxabon.

' 'Father,' said he, commanding his voice completely, 'is there not hope, that if men, weakened and blinded by degradation, mistake their duty when the time for duty comes, they will be forgiven?'

' 'In what case, my son? Explain yourself.'

' 'If I, hitherto a slave, and wanting, therefore, the wisdom of a free man, find myself engaged on the wrong side,—fighting against the providence of God,—is there not hope that I may be forgiven on turning to the right?'

' 'How the wrong side, my son? Are you not fighting for your king, and for the allies of France?'

' 'I have been so pledged and so engaged; and I do not say that I was wrong when I so engaged and so pledged myself. But if I had been wise as a free man should be, I should have foreseen of late what has now happened, and not have been found, when last night's sun went down (and as to-morrow night's sun shall not find me), holding a command against the highest interests of my race,—now, at length, about to be redeemed.'

' 'You—Toussaint Breda—the loyal! If Heaven has put any of its grace within you, it has shown itself in your loyalty; and do you speak of deserting the forces raised in the name of your king, and acting upon the decrees of his enemies? Explain to me, my son, how this can be. It seems to me that I can scarcely be yet awake.'

' 'And to me it seems, father, that never till now have I been awake. Yet it was in no vain dream that I served my king. If he is now where he can read the hearts of his servants, he knows that it was not for my command, or for any other dignity and reward, that I came hither, and have fought under the royal flag of France. It was from reverence and duty to him, under God. He is now in heaven; we have no king; and my loyalty is due elsewhere. I know not how it might have been if he had still lived; for it seems to me now that God has established a higher royalty among men than even that of an anointed sovereign over the fortunes of many millions of men. I think now that the rule which the free man has over his own soul,—over time and eternity,—subject only to God's will,—is a nobler

authority than that of kings ; but, however I might have thought, our king no longer lives ; and, by God's mercy, as it seems to me now, while the hearts of the blacks feel orphaned and desolate, an object is held forth to us for the adoration of our loyalty,—an object higher than throne and crown, and offered us by the hand of the King of kings.'

' 'Do you mean freedom, my son ? Remember that it is in the name of freedom that the French rebels have committed the crimes which—which it would consume the night to tell of, and which no one knows better, or abhors more than yourself.'

' 'It is true : but they struggled for this and that and the other right and privilege existing in societies of those who are fully admitted to be men. In the struggle, crime has been victorious, and they have killed their king. The object of my devotion will now be nothing that has to be wrenched from an anointed ruler, nothing which can be gained by violence,—nothing but that which, being already granted, requires only to be cherished, and may best be cherished in peace,—the manhood of my race. To this must I henceforth be loyal.'

* * * * *

' 'Well. Explain, explain what you propose.'

' 'I cannot remain in an army opposed to what are now the legal rights of the blacks.'

' 'You will give up your command ?'

' 'I shall.'

' 'And your boys,—what will you do with them ?'

' 'Send them whence they came for the present. I shall dismiss them by one road, while the resignation of my rank goes by another.'

' 'And you yourself by a third.'

' 'When I have declared myself to General Hermona.'

' 'Have you thoughts of taking your soldiers with you ?'

' 'No.'

' 'But what is right for you is right for them.'

' 'If they so decide for themselves.—My power over them is great. They would follow me with a word. I shall therefore avoid speaking that word, as it would be a false first step in a career of freedom, to make them enter upon it as slaves to my opinion and my will.'

' 'But you will at least address them, that they may understand the course you pursue. The festival of this morning will afford an opportunity—after mass. Have you thought of this ?—I do not say that I am advising it, or sanctioning any part of your plan : but have you thought of this ?'

' 'I have, and dismissed the thought. The proclamation will speak for itself. I act from no information which is not open to them all. They can act, thank God, for themselves : and I will not seduce them into subservience, or haste, or passion.'

' 'But you will be giving up everything. What can make you think that the French at Cap, all in the interest of the planters, will receive you ?'

' 'I do not think it ; and I shall not offer myself.'

' 'Then you will sink into nothing. You will no longer be an officer, nor even a soldier. You will be a mere negro, where negroes

are wholly despised. After all that you have been, you will be nothing.'

'I shall be a true man.'

'You will sink to less than nothing. You will be worse than useless before God and man. You will be held a traitor.'

'I shall; but it will be for the sake of a higher fidelity.'

* * * * *

'Toussaint payed him his wonted reverence, and left the tent.

'Arrived in his own, he threw himself on the couch like a heart-broken man.

'No help! no guidance!' thought he. 'I am desolate and alone. I never thought to have been left without a guide from God. He leaves me with my sins upon my soul, unconfessed, unabsolved: and, thus burdened and rebuked, I must enter upon the course which I dare not refuse. But this voice within me which bids me go,—whence and what is it? Whence is it but from God? And how can I therefore say that I am alone? There is no man that I can rely on,—not even one of Christ's anointed priests; but is there not he who redeemed men? and will he reject me if, in my obedience, I come to him? I will try,—I will dare. I am alone; and he will hear and help me.'

'Without priest, without voice, without form of words, he confessed and prayed, and no longer felt that he was alone. He arose, clear in mind, and strong in heart: wrote and sealed up his resignation of his commission, stepped into the next tent to rouse the three boys, desiring them to dress for early mass, and prepare for their return to their homes immediately afterwards.'—Vol. i. pp. 136—151.

The ninth chapter is headed 'The Man.' The news that Toussaint was gone over from the allies to republican France soon became universal in Cape François, and that this step had been followed by a large defection from the allied forces. Toussaint and Henri Christophe took possession of the town, released General Laveaux from prison, and spread universal joy among the French.

We have been much pleased with these volumes; chiefly, perhaps, for the hero's sake. In some passages there is a decided failure, from the want of probability; while in others there is unquestionably much to interest and impress. A Walter Scott would have found this a fine subject for his genius. We are glad, however, it has now been treated, and in a manner which does no discredit to a clever writer, though it is not perhaps the best production of the author's pen.

- Art. IX. 1. *Extracts from Papers Printed by the order of the House of Commons, 1839, relative to the West Indies.* By Authority. London: 1840.
2. *A Winter in the West Indies, described in Familiar Letters to Henry Clay, of Kentucky.* By JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY. London: 1840.
3. *The Present Condition of the West Indies; their Wants, and the Remedy for These: with some Practical Hints showing the Policy of a New System for their future Regeneration.* By HENRY MORSON. London: 1841.
4. *Past and Present Efforts for the Extinction of the African Slave-trade.* By W. R. GREG. London: 1841.
5. *Emancipation.* By WILLIAM E. CHANNING. London: 1841.

THERE is an important sense in which the phrase we have adopted as the running title of this article is far from being applicable to the subject to which we have applied it. The results of emancipation—of the emancipation, that is to say, of the eight hundred thousand bondsmen who lately watered with their sweat and blood the West Indian possessions of Great Britain, are as yet, in their completeness, no matters of discussion, for they are not yet in existence. The influence of this great measure stretches both so wide and so far; it spans, not only so broad an expanse of waters—for it will assuredly reach the continent of Africa—but so vast an expanse of time—since it will affect the character of all coming ages—that it is precipitate, even to trifling, to speak as though we saw, at the present moment, anything which can properly be called the results of emancipation. We may observe, indeed, things which have resulted from it, as we may observe what has resulted from the husbandman's toil, when we see the clean ploughed furrow, the smooth raked earth that covers the seed, or the light green hue with which it is clothed by the up-springing blade; but it is for them to speak of *the result* of his labors, who shall see the waving yellow crop, and the industry of the harvest field. Not more, at the largest amount, than the tender herb to the ripened corn, are present results of negro emancipation to the harvest of unmeasurable good of which it is to be productive.

Using the term with this qualification, however, there is enough in the results of emancipation, as at present visible, to furnish matter of interesting inquiry and gratifying record, more especially as its immediate effect was anticipated by many persons with real or feigned alarm. We propose, therefore, to devote a few pages, under the guidance of the works named at the head of this article, to a statement of the present, and an inquiry into the prospective issue of emancipation in our West India colonies.

Before we enter upon our task, it will be proper to give some brief account of the works upon our table.

During the parliamentary session of 1839, there were laid on the table of the House of Commons voluminous papers on the state of the British West Indies, during the critical period which elapsed between the spring of 1838 and that of the following year. On the first of August, 1838, emancipation took place; the period we have named, therefore, comprehends the time immediately preceding that change, and immediately following it. At this period the stipendiary magistrates were in the official habit—a habit which has subsequently been most injuriously discontinued—of making monthly reports to the colonial governors, of all things which they deemed material to a correct knowledge of the state of affairs. These reports, although far from being in all cases what they ought to have been, brought to head quarters, and ultimately to the British government and the British parliament, an immense amount of invaluable information, and contributed to most important beneficial effects. As a class—we are happy in having this opportunity of saying it—the stipendiary magistrates of the West Indies have deserved well of their country; and their services, performed amidst accumulated difficulties and implacable hostility, entitle them to the warm approbation and high esteem of every friend of freedom and humanity. The reports of these functionaries, together with the despatches of colonial governors, are the staple of the volume which we have placed at the head of our list, as at once of the largest bulk and of the highest authority. It is a thick, but not a cumbrous octavo volume, consisting, as the title says, of extracts from papers printed by order of the House of Commons in 1839, relative to the West Indies. It is an admirable digest of the documents relating to emancipation and its immediate consequences, prepared, as it appears, by direction of government, in order to throw the important information contained in the parliamentary papers into a form generally accessible and easily available. Its price is extremely small; and every person who wishes to know upon authority the facts of the case, or to be able to refer to authority in relation to them, should place it in his library. Thanks are certainly due to the government, for the careful preparation and economical publication of it.

The work of Mr. Gurney, *A Winter in the West Indies*, although illustrative of the same subject, is the antipodes of that we have just noticed. It is the narrative of a well informed and highly cultivated traveller, who suffers nothing to escape him, and looks upon every thing with a benevolent, and generally a discriminating eye. With a view to render his volume useful in the United States, he has thrown it into the form of

letters to an American correspondent; and he has chosen for his correspondent on this occasion the eminent statesman and slaveholder, Henry Clay. We are not sure that we agree with the author in the supposition, by which no doubt he was actuated, that addressing the letters to Mr. Clay was adapted to give them greater weight with the slaveholders of the Union; but this we are sure of, that Mr. Gurney has lost sight, for the moment, of all moral distinctions, in addressing Mr. Clay as—‘My dear friend.’ The only thought by which we can reconcile ourselves to the use of this appellation is, that it is a Quaker form of expression, and means nothing; but, if we are wrong in this, we can only deplore that so excellent and eminent a man should have so forgotten himself, even for a moment. In no respect are the principles or habits of Henry Clay such as can induce Joseph John Gurney to rank that gentleman among his ‘dear friends;’ and it was of some importance to society, more especially in the United States, that a good man should have taken such an opportunity of reprobating, rather than countenancing, a bad one. We should make a similar remark, would our space permit, respecting Mr. Gurney’s fond appellation of another American slaveholder—‘our friend, J. C. Calhoun,’ p. 225.* Of facts which he observed in the West

* To *A Winter in the West Indies* is prefixed a Prefatory Letter to the author’s brother-in-law, Sir T. F. Buxton, in which he declares himself in favor of the African Civilization Society. We are not about to make any general reference to this subject, on which we have already expressed our opinion. We notice the Prefatory Letter merely to say, that we think our traveller disposes most unsatisfactorily of the bearing of the association we have named on the professed peace principle of the Society of Friends. As a Friend, Mr. Gurney holds the unlawfulness of war: yet he is willing to take part in founding colonies which are to have military protection, because that ‘point is under the sole care of government,’ p. viii. Again, the expedition to the Niger is armed to the teeth, and the Civilization Society is to ‘co-operate with’ that expedition; to which our author reconciles himself by the etymological consideration, that ‘the word ‘co-operate’ seems to point out the action of independent parties.’ He thinks the Society ‘stands on a safe ground,’ while it confines its co-operation ‘to matters purely pacific,’ and that ‘it cannot be considered responsible for a collateral circumstance, distinctly disapproved by some of its members, which it has done nothing to promote, and which belongs exclusively to the independent action of government,’ ib. All this is to us utterly inconclusive, and partakes painfully of the character of evasion. Upon the principle here resorted to, Roman Catholics may prove that they never burnt a heretic. All that they have ever done has been to accept the service of the secular arm. They have ‘confined their co-operation to matters purely’ religious, while the murdering part ‘belonged exclusively to the independent action of government.’ Is it possible that any members of the body of Friends, clear-sighted and inflexible as they have generally shown themselves, are about to fall into such a snare; to identify themselves with a military system, and to become—they who have been so often choked with gnats—the swallows of a camel?

Indies, his representations are beyond doubt of the greatest accuracy and value. All is true that he has told, and a most important witness to the value of emancipation he is. We think, however, that he has not told all that is true. The goodness of his heart, we suspect, has allowed him to leave untold some things, which go to make up the full amount of iniquity on the planters' side of the account, in the West Indies.

The pamphlet of Dr. Channing has been dictated by his perusal of Mr. Gurney's Letters, and consists in part of a spirited abstract of their more important contents, to which are appended some observations of his own. It is strongly marked by the author's characteristic eloquence and nobleness of sentiment, and will fascinate every reader. It concludes with some important remarks on the subject of American slavery, a subject of which, in our last number, we took an extended notice.

The remaining pamphlets on our list emanate from the West India party. They treat of the present state of the West Indies in respect of labor and production, and allege a great amount of evil, as a remedy for which they call for a large immigration of laborers. The writers, however, although they agree in this general view, are different men. Mr. Greg makes his appearance in a mask, and sets a gin for abolitionists, by pretending—we really do not think him sincere—a great anxiety for the abolition of the slave-trade. He is evidently of the old school. Mr. Morson is of the new; and treats the question with a frankness and generosity to which, from men of his party, we are quite unaccustomed. We hail with unfeigned pleasure the growth of such a spirit as he manifests among the West India proprietary; and we have only to hope that it may speedily become universal. We shall say a few words on the subject of these pamphlets before we have done.

In attempting a statement of the present results of emancipation, we need not make more than a passing reference to the falsification it has afforded of the gloomy and terrific predictions which so long served as a scarecrow to prevent its accomplishment. Verily the authors of them were no prophets, and their terrors, whether real or pretended, are become mirth for children. In looking at the many gratifying accounts which the works on our table present to us, we are embarrassed by their multiplicity, and by the smallness of our space. Suffice it to say in general, therefore, that in all that relates to the physical comfort and domestic and social happiness of the former slaves, emancipation has done every thing that the most sanguine could have expected from it. They have shown that they know well the value of money, and of all the comforts that money can purchase; and that they are promptly accessible to all the influences which actuate the rest of mankind. After spending

the day of emancipation like a Sabbath, they entered at once on the career of improvement; and a peasantry more universally or more rapidly improving does not exist in the world. The prompt and steady augmentation of imports to the colonies demonstrates their growth in physical comforts, while the outcry for schools in every quarter proclaims their thirst for knowledge. In every way they are getting on; and nothing, as it seems, will be able to resist the impetus with which our late bondsmen are making progress towards general competency, worth, and respectability. In this respect emancipation has been no failure; and the friends of humanity may profoundly rejoice in what they have done.

There is another side, however, of this subject. It remains to be asked, what has emancipation done for the planter. Has it not ruined him? Has it not deprived him of labor, destroyed the value of his estate, sunk his capital, and beggared his family? All these things have been loudly affirmed; but there is not a particle of truth in the allegation. The immediate effect of emancipation was to create a new commodity—labor—for sale. This, like all other commodities, immediately came to market; and, like them, it was offered at its market price. Whoever would come into the market, and give the market price for it, never wanted labor. Those who would not, could not get it; and they would have found just the same difficulty in getting yams or cocoas, if they had tried the same method. This was nothing but common sense. If a laborer had consented to take less than the market price for his labor, his taskmaster might have pointed us to the fact in derision, and have said—‘I told you he was a fool.’

What, then, was the price which labor established for itself in the colonial market? Was it not such as to make plantation work more costly than before, and, indeed, ruinously expensive? On the contrary, work was done cheaper than ever, not excepting the digging of cane-holes and the manufacture of sugar. One of the heads under which the contents of the parliamentary papers are arranged in the volume before us, is entitled ‘Cost of cultivation by free labor, and value of property.’ We wish we could insert the whole of this section, for the value of the evidence by which the assertion we have made above is demonstrated; but we must content ourselves with an extract. Mr. Grant, stipendiary justice in Jamaica, writes thus on the 9th of February, 1839.

‘With regard to the expenditure of properties, I am confident that cultivation can be carried on at much less expense than under the former system

‘I know a property on which there were 350 slaves. The amount

expended on account of labor, from the 1st of August to the 31st of December last, on this property, was £449 1s. On an average, between taxes, clothing, medicine, medical attendance, &c., each apprentice or slave cost the owner of the property at least £5; this, for the year, would be £1,750, and at the same rate, for the five months, £725. The annual rent of houses, gardens, and grounds on the property, will amount to £500 per annum; and at the same rate, for the five months, it amounts to £208 6s. 8d., which sum, deducted from the £449 1s. expended in labor, leaves a balance of £240 14s. 4d. as the outlay for labor required on the property for the five months; and for the same space of time the expense of apprenticeship, or slave contingencies, would amount to £725, leaving a balance in favor of the expense required for free labor of £484 5s. 8d.; and the late deficiency law required five people, besides the overseer, doing militia duty, to be employed at salaries, and maintained on the property. The saving effected by the change in this particular is very great. The book-keepers are now dispensed with.

‘The supercession of a free system has been a great relief to the owners of unproductive properties. They were bound to give the prescribed allowances to their slaves, without reference to their own profits. To illustrate this position, I can point out a property on which were settled 100 slaves. The lowest estimate of expenditure on their account is £500 a year, and the possession, notwithstanding the high price of produce, has of late years regularly increased the owner’s debt. Since 1st August to 31st December, the labor account has amounted to £99 4s. 2d. The usual cultivation has been carried on and improved; the pastures, hitherto neglected, are cleaned; and about 30 acres of coffee, which had grown up to the state best described by ‘ruinate,’ have been opened. The produce, small as it is, now secured, will pay all the expenses of the plantation; and, even in this first year of experiment, place the proprietor on a better footing than under a continuance of the previous system he ever could have hoped for. The collection of a rent from 1st November to 1st February will be a further relief.’—*Extracts*, pp. 173, 174.

The cost of plantation labor under the two systems is placed in a clear light by Mr. Ramsay, another stipendiary magistrate, in the following passage. The sterling value of Jamaica currency may be taken at two-thirds of the nominal amount.

‘During slavery and the apprenticeship, the jobber charged from £10 to £12 per acre for digging, with his slaves or apprentices, an acre of land into cane-holes: now, at wages of 1s. 8d. per day, an acre of cane-holes may be dug for the sum of £2 10s. currency; at 2s. 1d. wages, it will cost £3 2s. 6d.; at 2s. 6d. wages, it will cost £4 10s.; and at 3s. 4d., the highest rate of wages that I have heard of, it will cost only £5, just one-half what it cost in times past.’

—*Ib.* p. 175.

That, however, which puts this question beyond all possibility of doubt is, that, by task-work, which is a sure and infallible

mode of testing the real value of labor in the market, and of securing for the purchaser of it a full equivalent for his money at the market price, work of all kinds is done considerably cheaper than by wages, and in all cases far cheaper than in slavery. On this point Mr. Gurney adduces the following decisive statement of Dr. Stewart, a Jamaica planter, from a letter written in March, 1840.

‘ ‘ With regard to the comparative expense of free and slave labor,’ says he, ‘ I give you the result of my experience in this parish. *Wherever rent and labor have not been mingled together*, prices have been reduced, in the picking and curing of coffee, from one third to one half; from £10 per tierce, to from £5 to £6 10. Grass land is cleaned at one-third of the former expense. A pen in this neighborhood, when cleaned in slavery, cost, simply for the contingencies of the negroes, £80. The first cleaning by free labor—far better done—cost less than £24. Stone walls, the only fence used in this rocky district, cost £5 6s. 8d. per chain, the lowest £4, under slavery. The usual price now is £1, the highest £1 6s. 8d. per chain. To prepare and plant an acre of woodland in coffee cost, twenty years ago, £20; up to the end of slavery, it never fell below £16. In apprenticeship it cost from £10 13s. 4d. to £12. Now it never exceeds £5 6s. 8d. I myself have done it this year for £5; that is the general price all through the district. In 1833, I hired servants at from £16 to £25 per annum. In 1838, 1839, and since, I have been able to obtain the same description of servants, vastly improved in all their qualifications, for from £8 to £10 per annum.’ These are pound, shilling, and pence calculations; but they develop mighty principles—they detect the springs of human action—they prove the vast superiority of moral inducement to physical force, in the production of the useful efforts of mankind. It is the perfect settlement of the old controversy between wages and the whip.’—*Winter in the West Indies*, pp. 154, 155.

The immediate result of emancipation, therefore, has been as beneficial to the planter as to the peasant, and has furnished both with equal cause of gratulation.

That this has been substantially the case, is manifest from the position which West India property has maintained in the market, through the whole of this critical period. We are not going to cite the instances (although there is no doubt of the facts) in which estates have sold for more since freedom than they would have brought under slavery; for there is fallacy in them. They are altogether beside the mark. The case is really this. During slavery the market value of a plantation was reckoned, neither by acres of land nor by extent of buildings, but by slaves exclusively, at so much per head. The seller said, ‘ Buy my slaves, and I will *give* you both the buildings and the land.’ At that time, then, the *estates*, strictly speak-

ing, were worth nothing; the whole value lying in the human stock. By the marvellous and infatuated grant of twenty millions sterling, this country bought the stock, without taking those lands and buildings which the proprietors were so ready to throw in as a makeweight to any other purchaser. At that time these were worth nothing. What have they been worth since? The estates without the slaves have been universally worth as much as the slaves and estates together! That is to say, the act of emancipation has doubled the real property of West India proprietors. It has first of all put the value of their estates as they were into their pockets in hard cash, by purchasing the only element of them which had any value, the slaves; and it has then, by a sort of magic, created a new value, of at least equal amount, in the lands and buildings, which before had no value at all. When to this we add, that, generally speaking, land in the West Indies has had a rising value ever since emancipation, and is rising still, we cannot but think it fully manifest that this act of justice is working as well for the planter as the laborer. On this point let us again hear Mr. Gurney.

‘There can be no better testimony in Jamaica on this subject than that of A. B. He assured me that lauded property in that island now, without the slaves, is worth its full former value including the slaves, during the times of depression which preceded the act of emancipation. It has found its bottom, has risen, and is still gradually rising. ‘I believe in my conscience,’ says Dr. Stewart, ‘that property in Jamaica, without the slaves, is as valuable as it formerly was with them. I believe its value would be doubled by sincerely turning away from all relics of slavery, to the honest free working of a free system.’

—Ib. pp. 156, 157.

The value of land, however, is but another name for the value of labor. Land which is to be cultivated is worth nothing where there are no hands to cultivate it; and it reaches a higher value according to the facility of obtaining suitable labor. To say that estates fetch a good and rising price, is to say that there is no want of labor for the cultivation of them. Here is proof, therefore, that there has been no scarcity of labor in the West Indies. The market for estates could not have been so good, if the market for labor had been really bad. The one exactly reflects the other. And the rising value of estates, like a mirror, exhibits, with unquestionable fidelity, the general and willing industry of the emancipated peasantry. How well sagacious West Indians knew this, and for what reason merry England was made to ring with the clamor of planters’ ruin, may be gathered from the following statement of Mr. Grant, the sti-

pendiary magistrate before referred to, on the 10th of June, 1839.

‘I have remarked that the persons who are loudest in proclaiming the deplorable state of the country, are the very persons who grasp most firmly the property they have in it, and, if they have the means, are most willing to purchase more. This *may* be honest. They *may* be doing this without any sinister motive. I know of one of them who purchased a property about three years ago. He was lately offered nearly treble the amount he gave for it. Did he take it? No; but in the same breath he would assert that the country was ruined.’—*Extracts*, p. 176.

We may be asked how the view we have given can be reconciled with the falling off of the supply of sugar, by which the country, for the last eighteen months, has suffered so much. Nothing is more easy; inasmuch as it is demonstrable that the deficiency has not arisen from emancipation. It has followed emancipation, it is true; but this is through the simultaneous operation of those other causes to which it is really to be referred. To prove, however, what we have asserted. We suppose it will be allowed, that whatever has resulted from emancipation should be found in all the emancipated colonies; like causes producing, in similar circumstances, like effects. If a defective cultivation of sugar had arisen from the release of the slaves, it should have appeared wherever slaves had been released; that is to say, the sugar crop should have fallen off in all the colonies. Our readers perhaps will ask, Did it not do so? We answer, decidedly not. In only two, out of the whole number, was there a short crop; these were British Guiana and Jamaica. Why there was a short crop there is of no consequence to the argument; we affirm that nothing more absurd or more fraudulent was ever attempted, than to construe a deficiency of sugar from two colonies into proof of deficient labor in a score. In all the rest there was as much sugar made as usual, in some of them more; and the inference is irrefragable, that the causes of the deficiency, where it has existed, are not general (as the influence of emancipation must have been) but local.

Although it is not necessary to the validity of this argument that we should specify the sources of the local deficiency, we will say a word on this subject in passing. The manufacture of sugar is extensively affected by variations of the seasons, and rapid changes of productiveness occur, between a widely separated maximum and minimum quantity. In 1838 and 1839, British Guiana suffered from excessive drought; and no possible increase of labor, or industry of laborers, could have made a

large crop of sugar. Hence (we take the statement from Mr. Morson's pamphlet, p. 34), while the produce of 1835 was 107,586,405 lbs.; that of 1838 was 77,052,737 lbs.; and that of 1839, 47,522,000. lbs. On the authority of private letters given in the *Colonial Gazette* (an unexceptionable authority) of the 6th of January last, we learn that the present season is highly favorable, and that the crop is expected to exceed 40,000 hhds. Now, we may reckon this at about 900,000 cwt., or 100,800,000 lbs.; an extraordinary increase on the last two years of drought, and a near approximation to the large produce of 1835. More recent accounts, some of them from official sources, confirm the highly productive character of the present season in Guiana, and the remarkable general prosperity of the colony.

In Jamaica, the cause of the deficiency was not so much in the temper of the heavens, as in that of the planters. The untameable perverseness which set the House of Assembly in such ludicrous opposition to the home government, diffused itself through almost the entire resident plantocracy, under the form of a determination not to accommodate themselves to the new system. Modes of oppression and vexation without end were resorted to, in order either to coerce labor, or to get it without paying the market price for it; and the consequence was, that the laborers did just what any Englishman would have done with his produce of any kind, they took the article to market no longer, but consumed it themselves. Such was the opinion which Mr. Gurney formed on the spot.

‘ Now, so far as this decrease of produce is connected with the change of system, it is obviously to be traced to a corresponding diminution in the quantity of labor. But here comes the critical question—the real turning point. To what is this diminution in the quantity of labor owing? I answer deliberately, but without reserve, ‘ *Mainly* to causes which class under slavery, and not under freedom.’ It is, for the most part, the result of those impolitic attempts to force the labor of freemen, which have disgusted the peasantry, and have led to the desertion of many of the estates.’—*Winter in the West Indies*, p. 172.

For the peasantry themselves nothing could have been happier. The insane system of oppression weaned them from their fond attachment to the old dens of cruelty, and originated a system of independent location, under which free villages are already adorning, like gems, the bosom of the Isle of Springs. Late accounts inform us that the peasantry in Jamaica are ‘ working better.’ The meaning of this is that the planters are behaving better. We shall very gladly forget the errors, which we hope they are rapidly abandoning.

We cannot close this branch of our subject without saying that the ground we have taken respecting the results of emancipation, is both extraordinarily and unnecessarily high. Emancipation would have been triumphantly successful, even if it had not been so good a money speculation. The principle that, if the staple produce of the West Indies should be diminished, emancipation would be a failure, we have no sympathy with. No virtuous mind can be content to weigh the happiness of mankind against hogsheads of sugar and puncheons of rum. On this point we quote with great pleasure a passage from the pamphlet of Dr. Channing.

‘What is the great end of civilized society? Not coffee and sugar; not the greatest possible amount of mineral, vegetable, and animal productions; but the protection of the rights of all its members. The sacrifice of rights, especially of the dearest and most sacred, to increase of property is one of the most flagrant crimes of the social state. That every man should have his due, not that a few proprietors should riot on the toil, sweat, and blood of the many: this is the great design of the union of men into communities. Emancipation was not meant to increase the crops, but to restore to human beings their birthright, to give to every man the free use of his powers for his own and others good.

‘What matters it that the staples of the West Indies are diminished? Do the people there starve? Are they driven by want to robbery? Has the negro passed from the hands of the overseer into those of the hangman? We learn from Mr. Gurney that the prophecies of ruin to the West Indies are fulfilled chiefly in regard to the prisons. These are in some places falling to decay, and everywhere have fewer inmates. And what makes this result more striking is, that, since emancipation, many offences formerly punished summarily by the master on the plantation, now fall under the cognizance of the magistrate, and are, of course, punishable by imprisonment. Do the freed slaves want clothing? Do rags form the standard of emancipation? We hear not only of decent apparel, but are told that negro vanity, hardly surpassed by that of the white dandy, suffers nothing from want of decoration or fashionable attire. There is not a sign that the people fare the worse for freedom. Enough is produced to give subsistence to an improved and cheerful population; and what more can we desire? In our sympathy with the rich proprietor shall we complain of a change which has secured to every man his rights, and to thousands, once trodden under foot, the comforts of life and the means of intellectual and moral progress? Is it nothing that the old unfurnished hut of the slave is in many spots giving place to the comfortable cottage? Is it nothing that in these cottages marriage is an indissoluble tie?—that the mother presses her child to her heart at indeed her own? Is it nothing that churches are springing up, not from the donations of the opulent, but from the hard earnings of the religious poor? What if a few owners of sugar estates export less

than formerly? Are the many always to be sacrificed to the few? Suppose the luxuries of the splendid mansion to be retrenched. Is it no compensation that the comforts of the laborer's hut are increased? Emancipation was resisted on the ground that the slave, if restored to his rights, would fall into idleness and vagrancy, and even relapse into barbarism. But the emancipated negro discovers no indifference to the comforts of civilized life. He has wants various enough to keep him in action. His standard of living has risen. He desires a better lodging, dress, and food. He has begun too to thirst for accumulation. As Mr. Gurney says, 'he understands his interests as well as a Yankee.' He is more likely to fall into the civilized man's cupidity than into the sloth and filth of a savage. Is it an offset for all these benefits that the custom-house reports a diminution of the staples of slavery?'—*Emancipation*, pp. 18, 21.

Language like this would have been a sufficient vindication of a great measure of justice and humanity, under far different circumstances than those which have actually arisen. The issue, as it really appears, furnishes a new proof of the axiom, that what is morally wrong can never be politically right. Gratitude and joy may be abundantly cherished, while we read the following sketch by Mr. Gurney of the state of Jamaica, applicable as it no doubt is to the British West Indies at large.

'In the mean time, the imports of the island are rapidly increasing; trade improving; the towns thriving; new villages rising in every direction; property much enhanced in value; well-managed estates, productive and profitable; expenses of management diminished; short methods of labor adopted; provisions cultivated on a larger scale than ever; and the people, wherever they are properly treated, industrious, contented, and gradually accumulating wealth. Above all, education is rapidly spreading; the morals of the community improving; crime in many districts disappearing; and Christianity asserting her sway, with vastly augmented force, over the mass of the population. Cease from all attempts to oppose the current of justice and mercy—remove every obstruction to the fair and full working of freedom—and the bud of Jamaica's prosperity, already fragrant and vigorous, will soon burst into a glorious flower.'—*Winter in the West Indies*, pp. 173, 174.

In such a state of things as it has been our happiness to describe, one might have expected a chorus of gratulation and joy. The croakers, however, have their vocation, and with them the covetous, cation of a well known maxim, are determine gained while another shilling may be added. We are told that a crying evil now exists in namely, a want of labor; and that there copious and continual immigration. Str-

made on this subject, both to the government and the public, and large sums of money have been appropriated to the object by several of the colonial legislatures. The result is, that a considerable tide of emigration has set in towards Guiana, Trinidad, and Jamaica, both from the more thickly populated West India islands, and the United States. The movement has recently extended to Great Britain and Ireland, and is stretching to Sierra Leone. Our anxieties on this head are very limited, provided the government will not become an active party. Labor, like produce or money, is nothing more than an article in the market of the world, and it will sooner or later be found just where it is wanted. Its circulation cannot long be either forced or obstructed. If the West Indians really want labor, they will get it; if they do not, all that they can do to force emigration will be fruitless. When their labor market shall be glutted, it will as surely relieve itself by re-emigration, as a market glutted with any other article relieves itself by re-exportation. This matter must, and soon will, find its own level. While the colonies will spend money on it, agents may be hired, and emigrants may be procured, but the law which regulates demand and supply cannot be set aside, and will operate in spite of them.

The alleged scarcity of labor, however, is altogether fictitious. This topic was brought up in the course of the interview which Mr. Gurney had with the Governor of Jamaica, and we will fortify our opinion by the quotation of his.

‘On one point we somewhat differed. Sir Charles seems to be of the opinion, with many other persons, that the planting interest of Jamaica is suffering from the want of a larger population. That there is scope in that island for a great increase in the numbers of the people, is unquestionable; and we are by no means opposed to any reasonable scheme of immigration. But the result of our own inquiries is a conviction that the present population of Jamaica, if its force be but fairly applied under a just and wise management, will be found more than adequate to its present extent of cultivation; and that, as the population multiplies, under the righteous sway of freedom, the cultivation may be indefinitely increased.’—*lb.* p. 170.

There can be no reasonable doubt that there is labor enough in the West Indies, and that the immediate effect of immigration will be injurious, by diminishing the impulse, on the part of the planters, to a proper care of the native peasantry. As to the pretence set up by all West India writers in succession, and particularly labored by Mr. Greg in the pamphlet before us, that, by a copious immigration of laborers, British West India sugar may be rendered cheaper than that of Cuba and Porto Rico, and that immigration may thus put down slavery, nothing

can be more hollow or absurd. **First**, because sugar, like every other article, whatever it may cost to make it, will sell at the market price ; and this can be reduced only by enlarged supply. **Secondly**, because the cost of making British West India sugar will never permit it to be sold at the price of Cuban. According to Mr. Greg, this cost is on the average 35s. 6d. per cwt., while that of Cuba is only 20s. Now how is it possible that any amount of immigration can reduce the cost of producing sugar in the British West Indies 15s. per cwt.? Immigration can reduce the cost of sugar growing only by reducing the wages of the laborer ; and 15s. per cwt. is, we conceive, a very large proportion of the wages paid for this labor now. The notion that West Indians would like to see their sugar selling at the price of Cuban—22s. per cwt.—when the manufacture of it costs 35s., is utterly preposterous.

The real spring of the eagerness for immigration which has been shown by the West Indians, we take to be the high price of sugar, and the enormous profits attainable by the quick cultivation of new lands. Mr. Greg (an unexceptionable authority for our present purpose) estimates the cost of British West India sugar, including all expenses but the duty, at an average of 35s. 6d. per cwt., p. 91. Now the average price paid by the English purchaser for a good while past may be quoted at 55s. per cwt.: leaving the enormous profit of 20s. per cwt., or 20s. on 35s., for the producer. This is obviously the reason why the West Indians want a quick and large addition to their number of laborers. They wish to make hay while the sun shines. They have looked to immigration as affording them a facility for attaining this object, which they had not during slavery. They could not increase their number of slaves by importation, nor could they introduce free laborers into the same fields with slaves ; but, when all were free, a new prospect opened itself. They saw in imagination fresh arrivals of men, and of men from Africa ! There is something to us both pregnant and appalling, in the eagerness and the perseverance with which the West Indian legislatures and pamphleteers have directed their eyes to this desolated continent. They have implored the government to institute and conduct, on a large scale, a system of permanent 'free emigration' from Africa ! We think we do them no injustice when we say that they were looking practically to a new slave-trade. The arguments by which their suit has been enforced, are just those which have been so many times advanced in defence of the slave-trade, with its greatest enormities. It is a nearer approach to such a measure than we can contemplate without uneasiness, that the British colony of Sierra Leone has been thrown open by our colonial minister to the immigrant speculators from the West

Indies. We have learnt with regret, that the situation of the Africans there is such as to render some of them importunate to leave it ; and, undoubtedly, as freemen, they have a right to do so. But, while the progress of this measure will be watched with anxiety by every friend of humanity, lest it should involve a repetition of such atrocities as were covered by the innocent name of ' free emigration ' from Bengal to Mauritius, let the West Indians be assured that the slightest approach to a system of emigration from Africa which should extend beyond the limits of a British colony, would be viewed by the public with horror and indignation. The whole management of such a system must evidently fall into the hands of the slave-traders in Africa ; and it cannot be doubted for a moment but they would obtain their victims by the established modes of warfare, rapine, and fraud. It would be part and parcel of the African slave-trade. And yet it seems actually to have entered into the heads of the West Indians that this horrible traffic might now be revived, under the immediate sanction of the government and the abolitionists !

Brief Notices.

Railway Transit. A Letter to the Right Honorable Henry Labouchere, M. P., President of the Board of Trade. By Francis Roubilliac Conder, Civil Engineer. Weale : London. pp. 32.

This is a sensible and well written letter on an important subject ; important at all times, but just now more than ordinarily so. Though in our opinion the public during the late succession of railroad disasters was a good deal more ' frightened than hurt ' (for the proportion of accidents as compared with the instances of safe conveyance was even then far less than under the old system of travelling) ; still there can be no doubt that sufficient mischief was done to justify the most rigorous inquiry into the past conduct of railroad directors and managers.

Mr. Conder contends, and we think with great propriety, that the magnitude and complication of public interests involved in railroads, render it highly desirable and even necessary that parliament should keep a vigilant eye upon them ; though, we presume, he would, like ourselves, plead only for that measure of interference which shall be just sufficient to secure the bodies of her majesty's subjects from mutilation and their pockets from imposition.

Though we must confess ourselves too little professional to form a decided judgment on some of the various suggestions the writer throws out for the more effective management of a line of railway, we

have no hesitation in saying that many of them commend themselves at once, and would tend, if universally adopted, to diminish to a great extent the chances of accident. We were particularly pleased with those which relate to the system of signals, and the construction of the locomotive itself. With respect to some minor points, we have doubts which we feel the less hesitation in expressing, as the writer modestly expresses some doubt about them himself.

His principal suggestion, however, is, if it can be adopted, a very important one. He proposes the formation, on each line, of what may be called a responsible transit-executive, composed of a chief-transit engineer with deputies under him. We have no doubt that some such system might be most advantageously acted upon, but, whether the present rates of traffic on any of the completed lines, are sufficient to enable railway companies to execute the project on the scale Mr. Conder recommends, is a question which we have no means of determining. He thinks it not justly liable to objection on this ground. We very cheerfully recommend the pamphlet to all who feel interested in this important subject.

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Improvement of Affliction: A Practical Sequel to a Series of Meditations, entitled 'Comfort in Affliction.' By the Rev. James Buchanan, North Leith. Edinburgh: Johnstone. 1840.

We have read these discourses on affliction with much pleasure, and can cordially recommend them to such as are suffering under the painful dispensations of divine providence.

Letters of the Late John Love, D.D., Minister of Anderston, Glasgow. Third Thousand. Glasgow: Collins. 1840.

These letters are characterized by a free communication of thought in an easy, elegant style. They are on a variety of subjects. And while they all show the enlarged scriptural views and sound judgment of the author, those on 'the Christian Ministry' are decidedly the most valuable, as on this topic he was eminently qualified to write, having passed through various changes during the term of fifty years' public devotedness to that work.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Letters from Italy, to a Younger Sister. By Catherine Taylor. Vol. 2. Mr. Buckingham's 'America, Historical, Statistical, and Descriptive.' In 3 Octavo Vols. Illustrated with a Portrait of the Author, and Seventy Wood Engravings.

Summer and Winter in the Pyrenees, by the Author of 'The Women of England,' and 'Family Secrets.' In one volume, uniform in size, &c., with 'The Women of England.'

Just Published.

A History of British Starfishes and other Animals of the class Echinodermata. By Edward Forbes, M.W.S. Parts 4, 5, 6.

'The World in the Year 1840. Retrospect of the chief Events, Civil, Political, and Religious, of the past Year, in Chronological order.

Some Inquiries into the Effects of Fermented Liquors. By a Water Drinker.

The Chinese as they are; their Moral, Social, and Literary Character, &c. By G. Tradescant Lay.

Memorials of South Africa. By Barnabas Shaw.

The Countess D'Auvergne, or Sufferings of the Protestants in France in the Sixteenth Century. By Catharine Ponsonby.

One Hundred Sonnets, Translated after the Italian of Petrarca, with the Original Text, Notes, and a Life of Petrarch. By Susan Wollaston.

The North American Review. No. 110.

The History of the Reformation on the Continent. By George Waddington, D.D., Dean of Durham. 3 vols.

The Latter Days of the Jewish Church and Nation as revealed in the Apocalypse. By Dominic M'Causland.

The Moral Government of God Elucidated and Enforced. By Thomas Kerns, M.D.

The Antiquities of Egypt, with a Particular Notice of those which Illustrate the Sacred Scriptures.

Retrospection, or the Light of Days gone by, and other Poems. By Rev. William Liddiard.

The Courts of Europe at the close of the last Century. By Henry Swinburne, Esq. Edited by Charles White, Esq. 2 vols.

A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art. Edited by W. T. Brande. Part 2.

History of Providence as Manifested in Scripture. By Alex. Carson, A.M. Seven Sermons. By Robert Russell, Minister of Wadhurst.

Memoir of John Huss. By Margaret Anne Wyatt.

Family Worship, a Series of Prayers, with Doctrinal and Practical Remarks adapted to the Services of Domestic Worship. By 180 Clergymen of the Church of Scotland.

Helen Fleetwood. By Charlotte Elizabeth.

Pictorial History of Palestine. Part 18.

Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare. Winter's Tale. Part 30.

Baptism not Purification, in Reply to President Beecher. By Alex. Carson, M.A.

The Restoration of the Jews to their own Land, connected with their future Conversion and the final Blessedness of our Earth. By Rev. E. Bickersteth.

Priscilla, the Helper; a Memoir of Mrs. Rowton, of Coventry. By John Gregg Hewlett.

Works of De Foe. Part 17. Edited by W. Hazlitt.

The Jubilee Memorial, commemorating the Rev. W. Jay's Fifty Years' Ministry at Argyle Chapel, Bath.

My Life. By an Ex-Dissenter.

On Heroes, Hero-worship, and the Heroic in History. Six Lectures. By Thomas Carlyle.

A Treatise on the Dominion of Sin and Grace. By Dr. Owen. With Notes and an Appendix. By William Innes.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR MAY, 1841.

- Art. I. 1. *Sermons or Homilies appointed to be read in Churches in the time of Queen Elizabeth of famous memory.* A new edition. 1839.
2. *Report of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for 1840 ; to which is prefixed the Anniversary Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, by the Lord Bishop of Oxford, on Thursday, June 4, 1840.*
3. *Publications of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1. Two Tracts on Regeneration and Conversion.* By Dr. MANT. New edition. 1839. 2. *The Baptismal Covenant ; or an Introduction to the Church Catechism.* By Rev. SAMUEL HOBSON, LL.B. 1840. 3. *Registration and Baptism.* A Handbill. 1840.
4. *Tracts for the Times.* No. 86. Rivington.
5. *Plain Tracts for Critical Times on the important subjects of Baptism and Regeneration, with an especial reference to the Oxford Tracts.* By a Union of Clergymen. Nos. 1 to 6. Smith, Elder, and Co.
6. *A Sermon preached at Kettering, at the Primary Visitation of the Bishop of Peterborough.* By Rev. Sir G. S. ROBINSON, Bart., and Published by request. Rivington.

THE doctrines of the Church of England are contained in two volumes ; the Book of Common Prayer, and the Book of Homilies. Of the latter it is proposed to give some account ; connecting with it the other publications named above : all of which, as there will be occasion to explain, carry with them considerable authority ; and lead a candid and intelligent reader, by somewhat varied routes, to the same conclusion. In the beginning of the reign of Edward the Sixth, few of the clergy being able to preach, a book of homilies or short sermons, on some of the leading truths of religion, was drawn up for their

use, under the direction of Archbishop Cranmer. In the year 1562, Elizabeth, 'tendering the soul's health of her loving subjects, and the quietness of their consciences,' re-enacted the use of the same. Two years afterwards a second and larger book of sermons was put forth, also by royal authority; and these two volumes, now united in one, form the work, the title of which is given at the head of this article. Some parts of this venerable, and on the whole, excellent production, are now, owing to the changes of society or of language, obsolete; some of its tenets, on subjects not theological, are erroneous and dangerous: and as a body of divinity, it has its carious part. Pitiful, therefore, is the position of clergymen, who are bound to receive the whole of it as 'a true setting forth, and pure declaration of God's word.' As a standard of belief, it merits reprobation; and is part and parcel of that corrupt and corrupting system by which the words of men have been raised into an importance due only to the truth of God. Considered in relation to the Church of England, the Book of Homilies is a badge of slavery; a violation of the command, 'call no man 'master on earth.' Considered merely as a human production, it contains much sound evangelical and practical instruction; and not a few sentiments which an enlightened reader will reject. It is also marked by deficiencies which ought to have been supplied.

Some of the disclosures made by these sermons of the sixteenth century, of the state of morals and manners, in what have been called the good old times of merry England, are curious enough; and dark as are the pictures drawn, they are not darker than might be expected, where corrupt human nature had been rather nourished than curbed, by what passed under the name of religion. Unto such decay, it was said, had true godliness and virtuous living come, that great swarms of vices worthy to be rebuked, existed; but, above all, the outrageous seas of adultery, whoredom, fornication, and uncleanness, had not only burst in, but also overflowed almost the whole world.* The rudeness of behaviour engendered by the ignorance and dissoluteness of the times, could not be restrained even on consecrated ground: but the people, instead of a decent attendance on divine worship, would not cease from uncomely walking and jetting up and down and overthwart the church, and from speaking filthily, covetously, and ungodlily, in the house of the Lord, of matters scarce honest or fit for the ale-house or tavern.† Serving men would not study either to

* Hom. on Uncleanness, p. 128, 12mo. edition.

† On the right Use of the Church.

write fair, or to keep a book of account, or to study the tongues. Vagabonds and idle persons abounded:* and though the people were allowed by their gracious prince to have two meals a day (many of their forefathers having had but one spare meal, and that on fish only), they notwithstanding showed some reluctance to observe those political fasts which were appointed with the view of reducing the price of provisions.† Nor did the laws against sumptuousness of attire, passed by Elizabeth (herself no quakeress), render needless ecclesiastical expostulation against finery.

‘Most commonly he that ruffleth in his sables, in his fine furred gown, corked slippers, trim buskins, and warm mittens, is more ready to chill for the cold than the poor laboring man, which can abide in the field all the day long, when the north wind blows, with a few beggarly clouts about him. We are loth to wear such as our fathers have left us. We must have one gown for the day, another for the night; one long, another short; one for winter, another for summer; one through furred, another but faced; one for the working-day, another for the holyday; one of this color, another of that color; one of cloth, another of silk or damask. We must have change of apparel, one afore dinner, and another after; one of the Spanish fashion, another Turkey: and to be brief, never content with sufficient. The proud and haughty stomachs of the daughters of England are so maintained with divers disguised sorts of costly apparel, that, as Tertullian, an ancient father, saith, there is left no difference in apparel, between an honest matron and a common strumpet.’—*Homily against Excess of Apparel*.

There is one homily, designed to be read to the people before they set out, in Rogation week, to mark by their perambulations the boundaries of the parish; in which it is flatly asserted that ‘almighty God never suffereth the third heir to enjoy his father’s wrong possessions.’ But, whatever may be thought of this tenet of the Church of England, the homily contains much excellent advice.

‘It is lamentable to see in some places how greedy men use to plough and grate upon their neighbor’s land that lieth next them: how covetous men now-a-days plough up so nigh the common balks and walks, which good men beforetime made the greater and broader, partly for the commodious walk of his neighbor, partly for the better shack in harvest-time, to the more comfort of his poor neighbor’s cattle. It is a shame to behold the insatiableness of some covetous persons in their doings: that where their ancestors left of their land a broad and sufficient bier-balk, to carry the corpse to the Christian

• On Idleness.

† On Fasting.

sepulchre, how men pinch at such bier-balks, which by long use and custom ought to be inviolably kept for that purpose : and now they either quite ear them up, and turn the dead body to be borne farther about in the high streets ; or else, if they leave any such meer, it is too strait for two to walk on. These strange encroachments, good neighbors, should be looked upon..... It is a good deed of mercy, to amend the dangerous and noisome ways, whereby thy poor neighbor, sitting on his silly weak beast, foundereth not in the deep thereof.*

Very amusing, if the subject were not too serious, would be the homily on matrimony. ‘ We see how wonderful the devil
‘ deludeth and scorneth this state ; how few matrimonies there
‘ be without chidings, brawlings, tauntings, repentings, bitter
‘ cursings, and fightings. * * * The common sort of men
‘ do judge that moderation is a token of womanish cowardness,
‘ and therefore they think that it is a man’s part to fume in anger,
‘ to fight with fist and staff.’ And though Elizabeth and her
divines by no means approved of the beating of wives, yet they
would have them very submissive under such discipline. ‘ For

* In these days of stone and iron roads, when those who would practise the ‘ science proper to gentle blood,’* and even those who travel on foot, are being gradually, but surely, excluded from the path-ways across the green fields, we wish most earnestly that clerical magistrates would study the homily for Rogation week ; and learn thence, to respect the vested rights of the people. As the population of the country increases, the value of land rises ; and each proprietor is naturally anxious to have his own inheritance as free from public intrusion as possible. But the general good ought not to be sacrificed to individual convenience. We would by no means undervalue the schooling given to the young in the present day ; but may not an occasional stroll in the green lanes and bye-paths on a Saturday afternoon, be quite as important a part of their education as the spelling and catechism taught during the forenoon ? Nor ought the advantage of a moral and mental kind to be deemed slight, which is secured to the adult members of the community by the right of pursuing the quiet foot-path which winds through rural scenery, and leads from town to town. The reason often suggested to magistrates for permitting the owners of fields to stop up the foot-ways or bridle-ways, viz., that the distance by the carriage-road is not greater than by the less public road, has regard to one view of the question only, and that the most paltry. A country house, with its quiet neighborhood in which to roam, is the ambition of those who accumulate wealth. Very few can possess this luxury. The greater is the reason, therefore, why that right to share, in an humbler degree, in pleasures which all possess, whilst they are at liberty to walk the fields without being scowled upon, or fined as trespassers, should be jealously guarded. We should esteem ourselves happy if any should be induced by these hints rigidly to watch over that valuable right of the poor man and his children—their right to pass through the meadows, and corn fields, and woods—to stroll in the green pastures, and beside the still waters.

* But chiefly skill to ride seëmes a science
Proper to gentle blood.—*Fairy Queen*, b. ii. can. 4.

‘ if we be bound to hold out our left cheek to strangers who
 ‘ will smite us on the right cheek, how much more ought we to
 ‘ suffer an extreme and unkind husband! But yet I mean not
 ‘ that a man should beat his wife; God forbid that; * * * but
 ‘ if thou chancest upon such a husband, take it not too heavily;
 ‘ but suppose thou that thereby is laid up no small reward here-
 ‘ after, and in this lifetime no small commendation to thee, if
 ‘ thou canst be quiet. * * * But thou [the husband] per-
 ‘ adventure will say, that she is a wrathful woman, a drunkard,
 ‘ and beastly, without wit and reason. For this cause bewail
 ‘ her the more.’ And then, as usual, poor Socrates is dragged
 in, by way of confirmation, being the only bright example of the
 kind which all history supplies.

We pass on to points of greater importance: and will endeavor to give the reader some notion of the political principles of the Book of Homilies. It must be fully admitted, that in becoming politicians, the clergy are true to their calling: and not less so in entertaining and propagating the most flattering tenets in regard to royalty; and the most slavish ones in reference to the duty of the people. According to the creed of Churchmen, Henry the Eighth was a faithful and true minister of God, who gave him the knowledge of his word, and an earnest affection to seek his glory.* James was a high gift of God; and his council godly, wise, and honorable.† According to the same creed, it is sinful in subjects, *in any case*, to resist and stand against the superior powers;‡ and all murmuring, rebellion, and withstanding, on their part, is intolerable ignorance, madness, and wickedness.‡

‘ What shall subjects do then? Shall they obey valiant, stout, wise, and good princes; and contemn, disobey, and rebel against children being their governors, or against undiscreet, and evil governors? God forbid: for first, what a perilous thing were it to commit unto the subjects the judgment which prince is wise and godly, and his government good, and which otherwise; as though the foot must judge of the head: an enterprise very heinous, and which must needs breed rebellion. A rebel is worse than the worst prince; and rebellion worse than the worst government of the worst prince that hitherto hath been.’—*Homily on Rebellion*, part 1.

‘ Though not only great multitudes of the rude and rascal commons, but sometime also men of great wit, nobility, and authority, have moved rebellions. yet, were the multitude of the rebels never so huge and great, the captains never so noble, politic, and witty, the pretences feigned to be never so good and holy, the speedy overthrow

* On Good Works, part 3, p. 63.

† On Obedience, part 1, p. 115

‡ *Ib.*, part 2.

of all rebels, of what number, state, or condition soever they were, or what color or cause soever they pretended, is and ever hath been such, that God doth thereby show that he alloweth neither the dignity of any person, nor the multitude of any people, **NOR THE WEIGHT OF ANY CAUSE**, as sufficient for the which the subjects may move rebellion against their princes.'—*Ib.* part 4.

By the same authority we are assured that they who die in foreign wars, fighting for their prince and their country, die in a good conscience, and be children of eternal salvation; but that all rebels justly do fall headlong into hell.* Such are the absurd, unconstitutional, and unscriptural opinions, which the clergy are bound to adopt and teach: and when the writers of the Oxford Tracts call the revolution of 1688, the rebellion of 1688, they speak as they ought to speak. All consistent Churchmen must abhor the British constitution; believe that the third William, and they who fought and died for him, were the very figures of fiends and devils;† that Hampden, and Pym, and all who made common cause with them, were engaged in an enterprise villanous and frantic;‡ and regard the nobles (with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head) who extorted from John the charter of our freedom, as rebels, accursed on earth and for ever damned in hell.§

The Church of England is not more hostile to civil than to religious freedom. She teaches that images ought not to be suffered in churches or temples;|| and enjoins upon monarchs the duty of driving away all spiritual harlots, especially out of suspected places.|| Her 'godly and wholesome doctrine' would be reduced to practice if the queen were on Sunday next to send her officers to the Catholic Chapel in Finsbury, and to all similar places, with orders to put an end to the 'spiritual fornication' there committed. Nor are Protestant Dissenters beyond the limits of her despotic statutes; for the thirty-seventh article affirms that monarchs 'should rule all states and degrees committed to 'their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal; and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil 'doers.' True it is, that, owing to recent legislative measures, and to the power and direction of public opinion, we are no longer entirely at the mercy of haughty prelates; but to every one loving the liberties of his country, it must surely be matter for serious regret and apprehension that there should be fifteen thousand men who, by the donations of the state, have been raised, some to great wealth, and all to great influence, and who are pledged

* On Wilful Rebellion, part 3, p. 634. † *Ib.* ‡ *Ib.*, part 4, p. 640.
 § *Ib.*, part 3, p. 627. || Against Idolatry, pp. 259, 270.

to entertain, and bound in duty to inculcate, the slavish and persecuting principles of the homilies and the prayer-book.*

In proceeding to the inquiry how far the homilies exhibit the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, it gives us unfeigned pleasure to bear a willing and fervent testimony to the excellence of many of these ancient sermons. The fallen, depraved, and guilty condition of man is therein affirmed with great plainness. 'Of ourselves, we be crab-trees, that can bring forth no apples; we be of such earth as can but bring forth weeds, nettles, brambles, briars, cockle, and darnel.' 'Of ourselves, and by ourselves, we have no goodness, help, or salvation; but contrariwise sin, damnation, and death eternal!'+ With equal explicitness is the doctrine of justification by faith alone declared. 'Man cannot make himself righteous by his own works, neither in part, nor in the whole; but justification is a thing which we take of God by his free mercy, and by the only merits of his most dearly beloved Son, our only Redeemer, Saviour, and Justifier, Jesus Christ.'‡ Pages might be quoted to the same effect, showing that the homilies propound those views of human nature, and of the way of man's acceptance with God, which are exhibited (or were exhibited) by that small minority of the ministers of the Church of England—the evangelical clergy: and reminding us that the overwhelming majority of the clergy have abandoned the doctrines which the formularies of their Church represent as of fundamental importance. In a former article such doctrinal corruption was proved to exist in the Prayer-book as should induce all pious members of the Establishment to abandon that book without delay. It has now been shown that on some essential points, the authorized documents of the national Church unequivocally assert the truth. Now, it is pretended that an established church is indispensable for the conservation of sound doctrine; the various bodies of Nonconformists being (it is said) ever liable to drift away into error. And yet the English Establishment (the very model, we are told, of all such institutions), having, in her authentic docu-

* In the service for 5th November, God is thanked for sending William for the deliverance of our Church and nation from popish tyranny and arbitrary power; a sentiment so utterly at variance with the homilies, that we know of but one explanation of the inconsistency, and that is, the supposition that the ecclesiastics who drew up and sanctioned the service in question (for we take it for certain that some ecclesiastics were consulted) were ignorant of the contents of the homilies. The form of prayer for November 5, derives its authority from that most religious king, George the Fourth; and Churchmen have to choose between the dogmas of Carlton House and their more venerable documents. Both cannot be true. The Oxford Tractists adhere to the latter.

† On the Misery of Man, part 2.

‡ On Salvation, part 2.

ments, both poisonous errors and saving truth, has given all prominence and effect to the former, and well nigh consigned the latter to oblivion. The vital doctrines of the new covenant, so far as they find a place in the articles and homilies, have been there (speaking generally) as a dead letter; and the few clergy who have dared to preach these saving truths plainly and boldly, have been loaded with every form of obloquy: but the lying flatteries of the Prayer-book, by which men are assured that they were made Christians by baptism, and afterwards confirmed in their religion by the bishop, and at length shall be buried in sure hope of its immortal blessings, have been uttered by the Church continually, with no faltering accent, with no doubtful effect.

Let it not be said, that this is a description of times past, and, though applicable just after the labors of Wesley and Whitfield had brought to light the deplorable state of the Church, is no longer applicable. That such a plea is of no validity, appears from the following facts. About twenty-five years ago Dr. Mant (afterwards made Bishop of Down and Connor) published his views of regeneration and conversion. They derived importance, not only from their being written by a dignitary of the Church, but further, from their having been delivered at the Bampton Lecture, recommended to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge by the Salop District Committee of that Society, adopted, and published in a tract for general circulation. Notwithstanding the controversy this tract excited, it has remained amongst the standard publications of the Society to the present day; and the edition now lying before us was printed so late as the year 1839. Of the society which circulates this tract, the queen, the head of the Church, is the patron; the Archbishop of Canterbury is the president; and the other archbishops, and all the bishops, are members of the committee. Five bishops, appointed by the president, decide what publications shall be adopted for circulation; and no one, *the members of the royal family* and the bishops excepted, can gain admission into the society unless recommended by a member; who is to affirm in writing that he 'verily believes the applicant to be a well affected member of the united Church of England and Ireland, as by law established.' We are fully warranted, therefore, in regarding the publications of this society as explanatory of the doctrines of the Church of England; for if the archbishops and bishops do not understand her doctrines, who does? What then is the purport of the tract in question? It is designed to prove two things: first, that the Church of England certainly, and most plainly, teaches that regeneration is by baptism; and, secondly, that conversion, as taught by Whitfield and Wesley, is hurtful fanaticism. It is with the

former position that we are just now concerned ; and here are the opinions of the bishop, and of the society which has for twenty-five years been disseminating them widely amongst the people.

‘ I make no scruple of considering the words of our Saviour in this text (John iii. 5) as indicating the sacrament of baptism, because I believe it to be the doctrine of the Bible, and I am sure it is the doctrine of the Church of England ; agreeably to which, I conceive it to be the opinion of the generality of the national clergy, that by that sacrament we are made Christians ; and are born anew, of water and of the Holy Spirit. I shall venture to show, by the adduction of several passages in her liturgy, that the doctrine of regeneration by baptism is most clearly asserted by her ; or, in other words, that she supposes, in strict conformity with the Scriptures, not merely that all real Christians are regenerated by God’s Holy Spirit, by which I understand all those who live a Christian life ; but that those also are so regenerated who receive baptism rightly, or, what in the case of infants, at least in a Christian country, amounts to the same thing, to whom baptism is rightly administered, notwithstanding by their future conduct they may forfeit the privileges of their new birth.’

The author proceeds to quote from the several offices for baptism, from the catechism, the confirmation service, the liturgy, and the articles ; and gives the conclusion in these words :—

‘ I have thus stated the several passages in the liturgy and the articles, wherein our Church notices regeneration, or the being born again. I have not knowingly omitted one. And I will now venture to express my opinion, that a doubt can hardly exist upon the mind of any reasonable inquirer with respect to the opinion entertained by our Church on the question of baptismal regeneration.’

If the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had heedlessly admitted Dr. Mant’s tract twenty-five years ago, and, unwilling to lose its dignity by formally undoing its own act, were now quietly consigning the tract and the deadly heresies it contains to oblivion, every man of right feeling would judge the committee leniently, even if he deemed a bolder course more desirable. But alas ! the very reverse of this is the case. The sermon of the Bishop of Oxford, prefixed to the Report of the present year, plainly teaches that the children baptized in the Church of England are in that rite made Christians ; and publications placed on the society’s catalogue for the first time during the past year (two of which publications are named above) assert the obnoxious tenet, in words as explicit as those employed by Dr. Mant. Hear first the lord bishop.

‘ Convinced by the general declarations of holy writ, no less than by the express terms in which the earlier sacrament is spoken of, he [the sound Churchman] cannot look upon the mind of the baptized infant as the ‘ blank tablet ’ of the philosopher, nor as the ‘ barren,’ if not ‘ weed-choked ’ soil of the schismatic, but rather as a field bedewed and cleansed by the living water of the Holy Spirit. Hence arises that so great responsibility imposed upon us, . . . of making their spiritual state, when young, a paramount consideration, lest *one* link of the golden chain which connects their *regeneration* with their *resurrection* should be broken. Taking the scripture view, we find the commencement of a spiritual life already begun, and only needing, as far as human means can avail, our utmost care and watchfulness that the good work may be continued, so that the rest of the child’s life may be according to this its beginning.’

The hand-bill recently put forth by the society may be given entire; and well would it be if a copy could be put into the hand of every Dissenter. It would surely make him more than ever thankful that he is not, as others are, the prey of priestcraft; and at once remove the impression yet lingering in the minds of many Nonconformists, that the Church of England, though disgraced by the worst discipline, has the purest doctrine.

‘ REGISTRATION AND BAPTISM.

‘ From the Minister of the Parish to Christian Parents.

‘ As it is now made by law the duty of the Registrar to register the birth of every child in his district, I think it my duty to caution you against a strange notion which sometimes prevails, that this registration of the *birth* does away with the necessity of *baptism*; and to remind you that your duty to bring your child to be christened—that is, made a member of the church of Christ by the holy sacrament of baptism, remains altogether unchanged.

‘ Remember, that all human beings are born in sin; and that a child, until it is baptized, remains in a heathen state; is not a member of the church of Christ; has no part in the blessings purchased for us by Him; is not a partaker in the privileges and hopes of the gospel; nor an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.

‘ I earnestly, therefore, and affectionately exhort you, that you will not be guilty of such neglect towards your infant as to deprive it of the inestimable blessings which are derived from admission into the church of Christ by the sacrament of baptism; but that you will not delay to present it at the holy Font for that purpose.’

The other publication we have selected from those added to the catalogue of the society during the last year, is written in a catechetical form, and is designed as an introduction to the Church catechism; and certainly it is a suitable introduction.

‘ Q. Why is the name given at baptism called a Christian name ?

‘ A. Because they who are baptized are then admitted into a new family, even the church of Christ, and entitled to the name of Christians.

‘ Q. What ought our Christian name to make us remember ?

‘ A. That we are not our own, but Christ’s, &c.

* * * *

‘ Q. What was Christ’s command respecting baptism ?

‘ A. ‘ Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations,’ &c.

‘ Q. What does the word ‘ teach ’ mean in this text ?

‘ A. It means, make disciples. And when they became disciples they were called Christians ; and so a child is made a disciple by baptism, and receives a name on its admittance into the family of Christians.

* * * *

‘ Q. What is the state into which you were called through baptism ?

‘ A. A state of salvation.

‘ Q. What do you mean by that ?

‘ A. I mean that they who are baptized according to Christ’s holy institution, are brought from a world that lieth in wickedness into the ark of his church. They are released from their sins, adopted into God’s family, sanctified by the Holy Spirit, and have the promise of everlasting life.’

Such are the doctrines put forth in the year 1840, by a society which numbers among its subscribers two lord archbishops, twenty-four lord bishops, eight bishops, and seven thousand clergymen.

Time was, when the pious ministers of the Establishment were, almost to a man, zealously opposed to the tremendous errors which, as we have shown, the Church of England does, beyond all controversy, hold and teach ; but Scott, and Newton, and Hervey, and Berridge, and their coadjutors, are almost without successors. The evangelical clergy of the present day are a race of men *sui generis* ; and they constitute the newest of all sects. It is well known that the Oxford errors have spread rapidly amongst this class of the national clergy ; not a few of whom rejoice that their Church has retained ‘ those mysteries ‘ which are necessary to salvation, and divinely commissioned ‘ stewards to convey them.’* The sermon of Sir G. Robinson affords evidence in point. Addressing the assembled clergy, he reminds them of the ‘ ministry handed down to them from the ‘ days of the apostles, and of the sacraments which their hands ‘ are appointed to dispense ;’ retails the stale saying, that ‘ the ‘ earliest schismatic with whose history we are acquainted is

* Tracts for the Times, No. 86, p. 6

‘the devil;’ and devotes the last part of his sermon to a defence of Dr. Pusey and his allies; whom he represents as men ‘engaged in the important work of bringing back a divided and deluded people to unity and peace.’ This sermon was delivered on a public occasion, before the bishop of the diocese and the clergy of two deaneries; and notwithstanding the commendation, measured it is true, but yet very decided, which it bestows on the Oxford Tractists, was published by the request of the clergy. Where were those among the clergy of the two deaneries, who have known the grace of God in truth, that they failed, in the presence of their diocesan, to lift up their voice against the publication, under their sanction, of a discourse in which some of the most pestilential and anti-Protestant errors of the day are spoken of in strong terms of praise? Sir G. Robinson is correct in his fact when he speaks of high Church principles as ‘rapidly extending their influence throughout the most enlightened members of the Church.’ There is a growing disposition among such of her ministers to exalt the value of baptism and the Lord’s supper, when administered by men episcopally ordained: a tendency to displace the simple, sublime, and essential verities of God’s word, by the vain, grovelling, and hurtful traditions of men.

The deluding and deadly doctrine of baptismal regeneration, taught in the Prayer-book with all the plainness with which words can convey it, affirmed by the dignitaries of the Church and the great body of the clergy, and scarcely disowned by the pious few, is implied and asserted in the Book of Homilies. Thus, in the first part of the sermon on salvation it is said, that ‘infants being baptized, and dying in their infancy, are by the sacrifice of Christ washed from their sins; and that they who in act or deed do sin after baptism, when they turn again to God unfeignedly, are likewise washed by this sacrifice from their sins:’* in the latter part of which sentence it is evidently implied, that they who had been baptized were at the same time born again. In the second part of the same sermon, it is said, that ‘we must trust only in God’s mercy, and the sacrifice of Christ, to obtain thereby God’s grace and remission, as well as of our original sin in baptism, as of all actual sin committed by us after our baptism, if we truly repent and turn unfeignedly to him again.’† Now, the ninth article defines original sin as consisting in the corruption of our nature; the homily teaches, that original sin is removed by baptism. In the third part of the same homily it is written, that ‘our office is not to pass the time of this present life unfruitfully, after

* p. 22.

† p. 29.

‘ that we are baptized or justified. Much less is it our office, ‘ after that we be once made Christ’s members, to live contrary ‘ to the same:’* in which words it is plainly assumed, that the parties addressed were made Christians by baptism. And what is the testimony of the homily on swearing? ‘ By holy promises, with calling the name of God to witness, we be made ‘ lively members of Christ, when we profess his religion, receiving the sacrament of baptism.’† In the ‘ sermon for keeping ‘ clean of churches,’ the font is referred to as ‘ the fountain of ‘ our regeneration;’‡ and in that on fasting, baptism is called ‘ a ‘ profitable sacrament, the sacrament of our regeneration or new ‘ birth.’§ In the homily concerning the Holy Ghost, in which the doctrine of regeneration ought to have been affirmed most explicitly, there is not a single sentence inconsistent with the cardinal error we have exposed. All ‘ good and godly emotions’ in the hearts of men are, indeed, distinctly attributed to the Holy Spirit; and the folly of any one imagining himself to have the Holy Ghost, unless he bring forth the fruits of the Spirit, is clearly shown; but all this is easily reconcileable with the belief that men are regenerated in baptism only, and may lose partially, or even wholly, by their subsequent misconduct, the blessings bestowed on them at the fountain of their regeneration.||

There is yet another mode of bringing to the test the tenets of the Church of England respecting baptism. If she teaches that her members are indeed by that rite made the children of God, she cannot afterwards, with any consistency, call upon them to exercise the primary and radical repentance by which sinners become Christians; but only that repentance which becometh saints; and the necessity for which arises out of the ‘ infection of nature that doth remain, yea in them that are ‘ regenerated.’¶ The unregenerate are properly summoned to *turn* to God; the regenerate, to *return* to God; from whom

* p. 32.

† p. 78.

‡ p. 297.

§ p. 313.

|| ‘ According to our Church, we are by baptism brought into a state of salvation, or justification (for the words are thus far equivalent): a state into which we were brought of God’s free mercy alone, without works; but in which, having been placed, we are to work out our own salvation with fear and trembling, through the indwelling Spirit of God working in us to will and to do of his good pleasure: a state admitting of degrees, according to the degree of sanctification (although the first act by which we were brought into it did not): a state admitting of relapses and recoveries; injured by lesser, destroyed for the time, by grievous sin; and after such sin, recovered with difficulty, in proportion to the greatness of the sin, and the degree of its wilfulness, and of the grace withstood.’

—*Pusey’s Letter to the Bishop of Oxford*, p. 82.

¶ Article ninth.

they have wandered by their sins. What, then, is the language of the homily on repentance?

‘It is most evident and plain that these things (the words of the prophets calling on the Jews to return to God) ought to be understood of them that were with the Lord afore, and by their sins and wickedness were gone away from him. For we do not turn again unto him with whom we were never before, but we come unto him. Now unto all them that will return unfeignedly unto the Lord their God, the favor and mercy of God unto forgiveness of sins is liberally offered. There is nothing that the Holy Ghost doth so much labor in all the Scriptures to beat into men’s heads as repentance, amendment of life, and speedy returning unto the Lord God of hosts. And no marvel why; for we do daily and hourly, by our wickedness and stubborn disobedience, horribly fall away from God, so that no doctrine is so necessary in the church of God as is the doctrine of repentance and amendment of life. Repentance is the conversion or turning again of the whole man unto God, from whom we go away by sin.’—pp. 583, 574, 577.

With these unsound representations, the sentiments promulgated by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge exactly accord. The latter part of Dr. Mant’s tract is on conversion. In it, he cites a passage delivered at Bangor, in 1808, by Bishop Randolph, in a charge to the clergy. We will give the passage, merely premising that it is in perfect accordance with the whole tract, and entreating the reader to observe that it was written by one bishop, adopted by another, and is sanctioned by the whole hierarchy.

‘That among men baptized as Christians, taught from their infancy to believe the doctrines and practise the duties of Christianity, a special conversion also at some period of their life is necessary to stamp them true Christians, is an unheard-of thing in the gospel, and is plainly a novel institution of man.’—p. 50.

This, from clergymen, is quite consistent. Admit baptismal regeneration, and the scriptural doctrines of repentance and conversion must vanish. The names, indeed, occurring very frequently in the Bible, cannot but be retained; but their meaning is lost. It were foolish and insulting to call upon those who have been made Christians, to become Christians. The priest who has affirmed of his hearers that they are grafted into Christ’s church, and made the children of God by adoption and grace, cannot afterward divide them into the classes of converted and unconverted. God’s command to men everywhere is, ‘Repent;’ a command equivalent to that uttered by the prophet, ‘make you a new heart.’ This summons of heaven

was, in the apostolic preaching, the conclusion of the whole matter: all the facts of Christianity being but so many data, from which they deduced, with mighty cogency, the great practical lesson, 'repent ye therefore:' but if the Church of England could prevail, there would not be in the whole kingdom a child a fortnight old, who did not possess, according to the presumptuous declarations of the priest, regeneration and faith; and not a single soul, therefore, amongst all the millions of Britain and Ireland, to whom there could with propriety be addressed that mandate of heaven which Paul proclaimed first at Jerusalem and Damascus, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, namely, that they should turn to God. The grand message of the new covenant, 'repent ye, and believe 'the gospel,' the Church of England has nullified; not by erasing the words from the Bible she gives to the people, but by the far more dangerous, because more delusive, process of assigning to them a false and flattering meaning. She has thus corrupted 'the principles of the doctrine of Christ,' by her vain traditions. The errors of her authentic documents lie too deep and are too widely spread, to be eradicated or explained away. They run through the whole system; follow man from his birth to his burial; and make their appearance in the most vicious form, just where man is most prone to yield to deception, and where it is of the last importance that he should not be deceived. So far is the boast of the Church of England, that she has been a faithful witness for the truth, from being well founded, that her much lauded formularies are, in doctrine, essentially and incurably corrupt.

The 'Plain Tracts,' mentioned above, are designed to prove that the Prayer-book does not teach what the writers of the Oxford Tracts, together with the bishops, and the great body of the clergy, affirm that it does teach, viz., baptismal regeneration. They are put forth by a union of clergymen, engaged in a well meant but fruitless effort to show that the formularies they have sworn to are, in respect to baptism, scriptural. They are written in the tamest style, and are so broken up into numberless particulars, as completely to bewilder the reader. If by 'plain' be meant feeble, the title is very appropriate: if lucid be meant, it is singularly inappropriate. As a reply to the Oxford authors, these 'plain tracts' are perfectly impotent. No antagonists should venture into the field against Dr. Pusey and his allies, unless possessed of consummate abilities, or of the clearest views of divine truth. The writers of the 'plain 'tracts' have neither. They have shown, however, some good sense, if (as we believe to be the case) they have abandoned their abortive purpose. What they have published is of little further use than to show—what was obvious enough before—

how utterly hopeless is the attempt to affix a harmless interpretation on the mischievous words of the Prayer-book. In the first edition of their first tract (the only one that has reached a second edition), they coolly inform their readers that at least seven or eight tracts of the size of the first, which extends to thirty-six pages, will be requisite to complete their design: admit that the general subject is exceedingly embarrassed; and express a hope that they shall not find it necessary to deviate from the literal interpretation of their Church documents, in the manner and to the extent, which every other theory hitherto developed has, in one shape or other, been obliged to do; and further, that they shall give a more satisfactory answer to the real difficulties of this intricate subject than has yet been given. It is something for a union of clergymen to admit that their baptismal service has never yet been understood.

These writers explain the three views which have been taken of baptismal regeneration by those who have held the doctrine. The many, with Dr. Mant, have honestly adopted the words in their plain grammatical sense. Others (as Bishop Bethell) have maintained that the regeneration wrought by baptism is a change of state, not of heart; a notion utterly at variance with the language employed in the Book of Common Prayer, and very properly thrown aside in the 'plain tracts' as untenable. Others, again, have contended, that when the priest affirms the baptized to be regenerate, he speaks hypothetically, charitably assuming that the professions made at the font are sincere. But then the inquiry arises, 'is it the sincerity of the sponsors, or the candidates, on which the effect depends?' Some clergymen make the new birth to depend on the fidelity of those who bring the child to the font; but the authors of the 'plain tracts' seem to make it depend on the sincerity of the infant. We have no words to express the bitter sorrow which oppresses us as we make the following extracts; sorrow, awakened by the thought that the men who have put forth these puerilities as highly important truths, are really among the most enlightened of the 15,000 clergymen by whose pretensions millions of our countrymen are beguiled. Is the transubstantiation of the Romanists more offensive or injurious than the dogmas taught by these Protestants?

'It is most obvious that our Church baptizes infants on the same ground with adults, speaking of them, and pronouncing respecting them, exactly as if they were adults.'—No. 5, p. 17. . . . 'It appears to us that both in the Scriptures, and by the Church of England, infants are spoken of, and dealt with, as adults.'—p. 12. . . . 'Infants are by our Church baptized as adults. This is a position that cannot be fairly denied by any who carefully attend to the structure of her

baptismal documents.'—p. 13. . . . 'If sincerity is not required in infants, what is required?'—p. 23. . . . 'Archbishop Lawrence is quite sarcastic about infant sincerity, as if it involved a gross absurdity. But against whom does he point this weapon? It must in its action strike, and wound, and deeply wound the reputation of the fathers, of Hooker, of our Church, and ultimately of Scripture, and perhaps of himself: for,

'1. If we suppose infant sincerity to be absurd, the fathers, Hooker, and the Church, must bear the charge; for to suppose the sincerity of infants absurd, is to suppose them incapable of stipulating. Our Church says, 'forasmuch as this child hath promised,' &c.; it hath stipulated by the very assumption. If, therefore, it be assumed to have stipulated, it is assumed that it is capable of doing so. Then it is assumed to be capable of stipulating well or ill, as others are. To assume that the child cannot stipulate well, that is, sincerely, is to assume that it cannot stipulate at all. But the fathers, the Church, and Hooker, say that the child does stipulate. Then its sincerity is assumed; and on this assumption its regeneration is declared.'

—p. 22.

The schoolmen pretended to determine how many ghosts might dance on the point of a needle: these united and evangelical Churchmen with all seriousness teach that a child a week old can promise and stipulate well or ill, sincerely or insincerely; and adduce in evidence the fathers, the Church, and Hooker; and they dare to add the Scripture. Calling again to mind the mournful fact, that these authors are among the best of the clergy, we tremble for our country; and are no longer astonished that infidelity should be rampant in the land. Not more surely did the mummeries of Catholicism generate the atheism of France, than the mummeries of the baptismal service, whether explained by Dr. Mant, Dr. Pusey, or these united clergymen (but especially by the latter), must generate scepticism in England. One good service, however, these well meaning and respectable men have done to the cause of truth. They have proved the irreconcilable contrariety of their own formularies to both Scripture and common sense.

Time has been when the unthinking multitude received as divine the dogmas of the priest; but that time has passed away, and been succeeded by the days of most searching inquiry. The nation must now be pervaded by an enlightened faith, or it will soon have no faith at all. Absurdities in a surplice will no longer pass current for heavenly mysteries. Men, pretending to be the successors of the apostles, must cease teaching cunningly devised fables, or they will encourage the people to infer that the apostles themselves were deceivers. Thoughts like these, forced upon the mind by the foregoing pages, are confirmed by the publications mentioned above, but to which, hitherto, only

a passing allusion has been made. The sermon of Sir G. Robinson is, or rather pretends to be, founded on these words of Paul, 'To the one we are a savour of life unto life, and to the other a savour of death unto death, and who is sufficient for these things?' As a discourse arising out of a passage of such awful sublimity and importance, it is deplorably meagre; its sole excellence being, its adaptation to the clerical auditory to which it is dedicated. We are amazed that an assembly of priests, with their bishop at their head, did not sufficiently respect both themselves and the preacher, to withhold from public scrutiny so discreditable a specimen of their acquirements and abilities as theologians. The latter part of this sermon, which relates to the 'schismatic contempt of lawful authority,' is far more interesting than the discussion, or rather the rambling remarks, which precede it. In attempting to elucidate the momentous truths which his text contains, the preacher meddles with matters too high for him; but when expatiating on the crime of nonconformity, and the worth of episcopal privileges, he is quite at home, and his style occasionally becomes lively and effective.

'The true tabernacle is our inheritance;—episcopal ordination, giving real validity to our ministrations; the sacraments, as bonds of unity and means of grace; our articles and creeds, an ever-standing witness against fallacy and falsehood:—these are the cords and the stakes by which the curtains of our tabernacle are held together. Our lot has been cast in times of restless movement, . . . no bond of earthly texture can hold together the fabric of society, rent and torn asunder as it now is. The only links that will avail us must be forged in heaven,—such as shall bind together rich and poor, learned and unlearned, in one holy, undivided, and catholic church.'—pp. 23, 24.

The eighty-sixth number of the Tracts for the Times is a very remarkable and interesting production; remarkable for the frivolous worthlessness of its tenets, interesting from the insinuating and very able manner in which they are explained and defended. The object of the writer is to prove the superintendence of providence in the changes the Prayer-book has undergone; and, strange to say, all the facts he brings forward tend to show, and are cited for the purpose of showing, the deteriorations which the English service-book has suffered—of showing that it has lost the high, joyous, and choral tone by which more ancient liturgies were graced, and has thus been lowered into a book fitted for servants rather than sons; God having, as a punishment inflicted because of the inferior character and Erastian condition of the Church, withdrawn from her the higher privileges of the saints. The pamphlet discovers

throughout an acquaintance with the Church formularies, and their origin, most creditable to the writer as a clergyman, and instructive to the reader; the argument is conducted with exquisite skill, and the novelty, and pathos, and poetry by which almost every page is marked, give to the whole treatise an irresistible charm. The design of the author is ridiculous; and the sentiments he advances, as he proceeds to fulfil his design, are childish in the extreme: yet the materials are woven together with so much tact and beauty, that any reader of taste, opening the pamphlet, would be allured, and almost constrained, to continue the perusal of it. Considered as an exposition of the opinions held by not a few of the clergy (and rightly held, for these Oxford gentlemen are the most consistent Churchmen of the day), it affords additional and melancholy evidence of the total incompetency of the Church of England for that work of instruction which she insolently arrogates to herself: and thus far, leads to the same conclusion as her authorized documents. The writer mourns over the loss of prayer for the dead;* and of 'the beautiful mention of angelic ministries, as bearing our supplications into the presence of the divine Majesty;† and of the ‡ mystical interpretations of holy Scripture, spoken of by the fathers as the peculiar privilege of sons.§ He deeply bewails the substitution of 'table' for 'altar,' but is somewhat consoled by the thought 'that by the last review, and the insertion of the word *oblations*,' we have that which prophets and kings have desired to see, what King Charles the First and Bishop Andrews had not.‖ The omission of anointing, at baptism and confirmation, is thus deplored; 'surely no one can say the greatness of the gifts which are here withdrawn;*** the cessation of all pretension to miraculous cures is traced to a want of faith;†† the teaching of Wesley and his followers is explained as a call to repent of 'the lukewarmness which the principles of the revolution of 1688 infused into the Church;‡‡ the utterance of the liturgy by the priest, with his face turned to the people, and not to the east, is deplored as a turning 'not to the angels assembled round the altar, but to the great men of our congregation;' and, finally, as one bright gleam of glorious truth amidst these silly fantasies, we quote with great satisfaction the following sentence, 'May there not be some-

* Page 21.

† Ib.

‡ 'The mighty conquest of his resurrection was signified before by divers figures of the Old Testament, as by Sampson when he slew the lion; and David when he delivered the lamb out of the lion's mouth, and when he overcame and slew the great giant Goliath,' &c.

—*Homily on the Resurrection*, p. 475.

§ p. 25.

‖ p. 26.

*** p. 29.

†† p. 63.

‡‡ p. 76.

‘ thing in the case of an establishment, that necessarily implies
 ‘ feebleness in the Church? The expression of having kings
 ‘ for her nursing fathers, it has been well observed, appears to
 ‘ denote feebleness such as to require it.’*

If Dissenters point to the numerous evils which appear in the working of the Establishment, they are referred to the authorized documents of the Church. Try her, it is said, by her formularies, not by her ministers. We have done so, alluding to other publications only as supplying extraneous and unimpeachable evidence of the errors contained in the Book of Common Prayer and the Book of Homilies; and have found those formularies opposed to freedom of conscience, to our civil rights as Britons, and to the word of God. Feeling the injustice with which the National Church (as it is falsely called) oppresses all who refuse to bow down before the idol it sets up, we sigh for deliverance. Well aware how prone the young are to be decoyed by the gentility and the pecuniary advantages which garnish the establishment, we would fain, ere we die, know that our descendants will be exempted from such temptation. But God is our witness, that it is not for our own sakes chiefly, that we long for the day when what is called the Church of England shall disappear. Its bad consequences to us, as Nonconformists, are but as the dust of the balance, when compared with its terrible results to those who are embraced within its pale. Ten thousand immortal beings, who know not the way to heaven, are encouraged by this ungodly system to act as clergymen; and thus incur the guilt of poisoning the streams of religious instruction at their source. As the inevitable consequence, formality, under the name of piety, overspreads the land; and the evangelical clergy, who should come forth in the power and spirit of Elijah, are toiling to reconcile their schismatical position, with their allegiance to an ecclesiastical system which contracts their views and withers their energy. Millions of our countrymen, including especially the higher ranks,† are

* p. 81.

† What can pious Churchmen think of the late royal christening? Can it indeed be that they find satisfaction in the thought that the archbishop solemnly declared the princess regenerate, grafted into the body of Christ’s church, and adopted by God? Can they be satisfied, either as loyal subjects or as sincere Christians, when they remember that the words of the catechism and the voice of the prelate are in a few years to be employed in fostering the delusion? Churchmen are not blind to the class of facts referred to. What said that favorite organ of the evangelical clergy, the Record, a few weeks since?

‘ Having thus obtained a world of regenerated and new-born creatures, the class of preachers to which we allude seem satisfied with their work and with their proselytes. They make them believe that, except the inordinately

beguiled and betrayed by the delusions which are thus, by authority, palmed upon them as scriptural verities; and the literature of a language in daily use throughout Great Britain, Ireland, and North America, and familiar to the learned of all lands, has not escaped the infection.* Nor is the evil, in its direct form, confined to England; but the most determined measures are adopted by the government to establish and foster the same faith and polity in all our colonial territories. By our national acts we are thus sowing the seeds of civil discord and religious delusion in all parts of the world; and every member of the community is taxed to perpetuate errors, by which it is to be feared distant tribes will be vexed and cursed long after those errors have disappeared from the land that gave them birth.

Happily that Erastianism, in which many of these abominations had their origin, and by which mainly their life is protracted, is awakening from different quarters a cry of remon-

wicked, they are in a safe and satisfactory state, and have a happy prospect for eternity. Talk, indeed, in social life, to the men or women of this regenerated community about their souls, and they set you down as a madman ; of the hidden life of God in the soul, and the mass of them have no more conception than the brutes that perish. Even to allude to such a subject in such society, is worse than fanaticism. It is a positive insult. And yet these men are all regenerated and born from above, and the greater part of the preaching at the west end of the town addressed to the sons and daughters of dissipation, is constructed on this *admitted truth.*'

Sir G. Robinson talks of one holy, undivided, and catholic church !

• ' Mark the babe
Not long accustomed to this breathing world ;

In due time
A day of solemn ceremonial comes ;
When they, who for this minor hold in trust
Rights that transcend the highest heritage
Of mere humanity, present their charge,
For this occasion daintily adorned,
At the baptismal font. And when the pure
And consecrating element hath cleansed
The original stain, the child is there received
Into the second ark, Christ's church, with trust
That he, from wrath redeemed, therein shall float
Over the billows of this troublesome world
To the fair land of everlasting life.
Corrupt affections, covetous desires,
Are all renounced ; high as the thought of man
Can carry virtue, virtue is professed ;
A dedication made, a promise given
For due provision to control and guide,
And unremitting progress to ensure
In holiness and truth.'—*Wordsworth's Excursion.*

strance, which is daily waxing louder and louder. Statesmen are endeavoring to hush the rising cry; the majority of the clergy, dreading all change, concur in the attempt; and not a few Dissenters, mistaking lukewarmness or timidity for candour, instead of speaking the truth in love, in the exuberance of their charity, bury it in their own bosoms. In the meanwhile, the deep and plaintive tones of dissatisfaction, issuing from the cloisters of Oxford, are vibrating in every ecclesiastical edifice throughout the land; and in the north, Chalmers, not knowing the majesty of his vocation, is leading on his friends to destroy what he aims to build up: in England, Dissenters are assuming that position of determined and religious resistance to a corrupt Establishment, to which duty has long and loudly called them; and in Ireland, the voice of the times is not to be mistaken. Let all who rejoice in this movement be meek, resolute, active, and persevering; and the hour may be much nearer than they have ventured to hope, when the glorious company of the apostles, and the goodly fellowship of the prophets, and the noble army of martyrs, and the *holy* church throughout all the world, shall raise in concert the song of triumph, 'Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honor to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.'

Art. II. *German Literature*, by Wolfgang Menzel. *Translated from the German, with Notes.* By THOMAS GORDON. In four volumes. Oxford: D. A. Talboys. 1840.

OUR readers will recollect that in the year 1837, we inserted a series of articles on the stalwart and vigorous Teuton whose name is appended to the above work on '*German Literature*.' We commenced that series by some account of Wolfgang Menzel himself, and then proceeded to give an analysis of his work, accompanied by copious citations. Those extracts were from the incomplete and now never to be completed MSS. of two friends who had long indulged the hope that their '*translation*' might one day be published with their joint names, and stand as a memorial of a long and endeared friendship. But their work was so long delayed by unexpected engagements that, though they announced it, they cannot complain if others have taken the field before them, and rendered it unnecessary that they should take it at all. They have the less reason to complain, inasmuch as the new translator has made

honorable mention of his obligations to the series of articles in question, as well as to the articles in the *Edinburgh and Foreign Quarterly*.*

It is a curious and striking tribute to the merit of Wolfgang Menzel, that while at least two distinct translations were preparing in England, one was also preparing in America; it appeared some little time before that which is the subject of the present article. Of the American version, we have seen only one volume, and that for too short a period to allow us to form any opinion of its merits. We can therefore give no opinion as to whether that or the British translation bears away the palm.

But without attempting to decide which is the better of the two, we have no hesitation in saying that the present translation is upon the whole a very good one. There are some few (as we conceive) misconceptions of the author's meaning, nor is the expression always quite so elegant as it might have been. There are also some cases in which the meaning is not very intelligible; but on referring to Menzel himself, we generally find that such obscurity is but the shadow cast by the original, and that what is dark and mystical in the English, is also dark and mystical in the German. It is true there is much less of this matter in Menzel than in most German authors, yet is he not always entirely free from it. He would not be German, were it otherwise. Upon the whole, the translation is marked by the union, to a considerable extent, of fidelity and elegance—by a close adherence to the meaning of the original with a due regard to the idioms of the language into which the meaning is to be transfused. Of the justice or otherwise of these commendations the extracts which we shall presently make will be the best test. Our author seems to have overlooked no source of information which could by possibility throw light either on Menzel's history or the character of his work; and as already said, he has made diligent yet perfectly fair use of those translations of portions of Menzel's volumes which had already appeared in the English periodicals. We must also mention,

* The following is the translator's courteous mention of his obligations to the labors of his predecessors. 'Menzel's *Deutsche Literatur*,' says the translator, 'has been several times reviewed in England, and always very favorably. The following I have met with, which are, so far as I know, the only notices—*Foreign Quarterly*, vol. xvi., *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lxiii., *Eclectic Review* (new series) 1837, vols. i. and ii. The *Eclectic* contains six or eight articles, almost entirely occupied with translations, principally of portions of the first volume of Menzel. These I have compared with my own; and to them, as well as to the translated passages contained in the *Edinburgh and Foreign Quarterly*, I have to express my acknowledgments for several expressions adopted.'

to the great credit of the translator, that he has given some account, in the shape of brief foot notes, of all the principal writers mentioned in the course of Menzel's extensive survey; and though these contain little more than the dates of birth and death, place of residence, rank, and titles of principal works, yet they form altogether a considerable mass of matter, and add much to the interest with which the volumes may be perused. We are also glad to see that the German works which have been translated into English have been for the most part carefully distinguished, though here we have noted some important omissions, especially in the cases of Herder, Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe.

At the beginning of the first volume we find a sketch of Menzel's history and character; it contains little which was not already stated in the sketch which was introduced into the first of our own series. One or two paragraphs, however, contain further information, with which we will gratify the reader.

'The following characteristic passage is extracted from the Recollections of Ernst Muench :--

'It was upon another fine summer's day that, going to invite my friend Steingass to a walk, I saw an unknown figure sitting at his study table. This was a powerful young man, of slender form and swarthy complexion, with a pair of keenly penetrating eyes; his long black hair parted on his forehead, and cut after the fashion of the Black Forest. His beard was long, according to the fashion of the *Turners*; and he was clad in the shortest black old-German coat I had ever seen. Long did the young man sit before me, uttering nothing but the most indispensable answers, and absorbed in the map of Switzerland. My friend soon appeared, and introduced him to me as Herr Wolfgang Menzel, of Waldenburg, near Breslau, formerly *Vorturner* at Jena and *Bursch* at Bonn, who had thought it prudent to withdraw himself from the immediate presence of the Prussian government, and seek his personal safety in that classic land of liberty, Switzerland.

'I now learned much of the sacred legend of Menzel's early achievements; of his feuds with the Breslau Menzel, Carl Adolph (the historian), with whom he is not unfrequently confounded, but with whom he disowns all kindred; of his dissensions with his parents, who opposed his literary career; of the hard fate of his youth, whence arises the harshness of his manly mind; of his audacious attack upon Goethe's lofty aristocratic supremacy at Weimar, &c. I soon discovered that he was, indeed, an overbearing companion, with whom it was not every one that could live, but richly endowed with intellect, and of a very decided character; in short, that he really was of the wood out of which, if they themselves mar it not, illustrious men are carved.'

It is by no means our intention to enter further into Menzel's history, or to discuss again the character of his mind or the

value of his writings. For our views upon these points we must refer the reader back to the series in question, where they will find them fully stated. Neither do we intend to enter into an analysis of the present work; that was also given in the aforesaid articles. We shall merely take this fair opportunity of laying before the reader Menzel's judgments on some important points connected with German literature, to which we had not then an opportunity of referring. They are the judgments of a highly intelligent and honest witness, and his observations are always well worthy of attention, either from the light they shed upon the state and prospects of the literature of his own country, or from their being equally applicable to the literature of every other. Wide as are the points of difference between the literatures of Germany and England, there are not a few in which, at certain epochs, they present considerable resemblance, while in every country, literature, being subjected to the same general laws of development, will pass through radically the same revolutions, encounter the same obstacles, be liable to the same abuses, and will require the same correctives.

The extracts we made were, as our translator says, principally from the first volume, and more especially from the chapters which gave an account of the 'Mass of Literature,' 'German Nationality,' the influence of 'School Learning,' the influence of 'Foreign Literature,' the 'Book Trade,' 'Religion,' and 'Philosophy.' From none of these, except the last, do we think it worth while to make any further extracts. In our article on 'philosophy,' we remarked that none could perceive more strongly than Menzel the defects of German philosophers, especially in point of style, and that a disciple of Reid or Stewart might be satisfied with the force with which he exposes them. We remarked that if we had had space we should have liked to cite a few passages on this subject. As space now unexpectedly offers, we will avail ourselves of it. We rejoice to find the obscurity and the mysticism of this class of writers thus freely exposed by a German. We have often been disposed to imagine that their obscurity to an Englishman might be very mainly owing to insufficient acquaintance with the German idiom, and with the meaning of the technical terms employed. At the same time we have certainly often been staggered by the fact that the writings of no other philosophers who have written in a foreign language, ancient or modern, are half so unintelligible, so often utterly baffle the most diligent and clear-headed student, or leave room for such endless disputes amongst their commentators. We are often in doubt about the *truth* of their doctrines—but comparatively seldom about their *meaning*—often feel inclined to reject or modify their views—but are not perpetually in the dark as to what is to be rejected or modified.

Of course there are some exceptions to be made; but neither Aristotle, Cicero, Bacon, nor Locke can we proceed page by page in utter darkness as to what is the writer's meaning. Plato, indeed, to appearance at least, is often mystical enough; but then we must not forget the dramatic form into which he has thrown his philosophical speculations, and the subtilities which everywhere pervades them, which, independently of other causes, really leave us frequently in doubt as to what is his meaning, or whether he meant what he appears to have said. In many cases he is undoubtedly merely attributing to his characters the sentiments which dramatic propriety dictated, and in as many others, we may freely suppose that the statements of his great master are to be taken as simply ironical. With the German philosophers it is altogether different; their works profess to be plain, didactic expositions of philosophical doctrines, and we do not believe there are any other works of the kind in any literature of any age or country, in which there is so much that is utterly unintelligible. We have heard of one of these philosophers, we believe Hegel, who said when near death, and when it was too late to attempt another unintelligible exposition of what must be always unintelligible, 'Alas! there is but one man in Germany that understands my writings—and he does not understand them.'

We think there is great truth and honesty in the following observations of Menzel in relation to the obscure language in which the German metaphysicians have attempted to clothe their doctrines. We have especially been struck with the justice of a remark, which we have often made, but which we have never before met with either in a German or an English author, that the employment of vernacular terms (signal as is their advantage in point of energy and vivacity, where they are capable of being exactly defined, and the definition is strictly adhered to) is one principal cause of the obscurity of German philosophers. From the great diversity of meanings attached to them in ordinary life, all more or less related (so nearly related, indeed, that for ordinary purposes it often matters little in which out of several the words are employed), it is almost impossible to use them with the requisite precision. Gesenius, we believe, has remarked that German philosophers ought to write in Latin; and that it would be impossible for them to utter such unintelligible stuff in any other tongue than their own. We have heard an amusing anecdote of a somewhat comprehensive erratum arising out of the use of common words in a scientific sense. It is said that a philosopher, having written a volume to expound the distinctions between 'vernunft,' 'reason,' and 'verstand,' 'understanding,' arrived at the conclusion just after he had finished printing it, that each word more truly represented what

he had attributed to the other, and therefore requested the reader that whenever he met with the word 'reason' he would be pleased to read 'understanding,' and whenever he met with 'understanding' he would be pleased to read 'reason.' But to our extract.

Scarcely one of our philosophers is understood by the people. They have borrowed a foreign terminology from the Greeks and scholastics; they long wrote in Latin, and even now they take the greatest delight in coining new words. Though this has procured for them the greatest reverence from the people, and lent to their most ordinary commonplaces an air of deep wisdom, yet it estranged the great mass of the public from philosophy, making it be looked upon as altogether an affair belonging to the school. Oken, who is as much distinguished for his patriotism as for his learning, inveighed with the greatest zeal against this foreign terminology, but without effect; nay, even without being himself able to avoid it. The difficulties of philosophical language are rendered still more perplexed by the peculiar and capricious use which each individual philosopher makes of the various terms. If we open their philosophical works, how different are the names which we meet in Leibnitz, Wolf, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. The foreign words, however, are, notwithstanding their diversity, still the most intelligible; the German, with their similarity, and in consequence of their various uses, are (the plainer they are in themselves,) the more unintelligible in philosophy. Whole volumes have been written about the true import of such expressions as *Vernunft* (reason), *Verstand* (intellect, understanding), *Geist* (spirit, mind), *Herz* (heart, feelings), *Gemüth* (sentiments, feeling), *Gefühl* (feelings), &c. Even yet no universal code of language has been adopted. The difficulties of language have kept on an equality with those of thought. The faculty of thinking having effected its release from the old obscurity by immense exertions, and only by degrees, was therefore compelled to create a new language for every new discovery. A tiresome, circuitous, and prolix manner of representation (*Darstellung*) was unavoidable, because it first directed men to simpler notions. Nothing is acquired with greater difficulty than what comes afterwards to be looked upon as a matter of course. The great majority of philosophies, indeed, to a certain extent, all the earlier ones, are merely preparatory studies. The great Kepler had to cover many hundred folio pages with figures, before those simple, well known laws which every one now comprehends without difficulty, were the result of his iron-like assiduity. The same holds good of many German philosophers, especially of those before Kant. Though we neglect, with an æsthetical aversion, the dry and often deceitful calculations of the intellect, yet we must confess that they were necessary. The most striking feature in almost all our philosophies is the scientific form, which takes pleasure in parading systematic tables, sections, and paragraphs.—Vol. i. 312, 313.

We cannot resist the opportunity of citing the following

account of the characteristic features of the philosophy of Hegel. Its absurdities, extravagancies, and impieties are almost beyond belief, and above everything disgusting, if we except the gross adulations of his followers and admirers. What hope is there of the philosophy of any country in which one man can conceive and print such stuff, and ten thousand praise him for it?

‘This system is a complete self-deification of Hegel, for he makes no distinction between himself and God; he gives himself out as God, for he says expressly—‘God does not know himself, does not exist, until he arrives at a consciousness of himself in men. A consciousness which in other men, for example, in Christ, is obscure, and manifests itself like a model only in representations; and that he arrives at a clear consciousness at the fulness of his being, only in a philosopher who is acquainted with the only true philosophy;’ that is, in Hegel himself, in his own person.

‘Thus we may have upon the throne of the world, as God, a withered pedant, a stiff, squinting professor, a tiresome, bombastic scholastic, a man filled with feelings of the most repulsive envy, one who takes an interest in the most trivial academic polemics,—in a word, a German pedant. The ancients placed a Hercules or an Alexander among the gods, but no Thersites. Only among the people of the mummies do we find a dogheaded Anubis and a diminutive, withered Horus.

‘The whole affair, however, is quite natural. It is not the vanity of Hegel alone, it is a natural consequence of the whole tendency of the age, that a German pedant should pretend to be God. During the age of chivalry, heroes were gods; during that of the hierarchy, God became a second pope; it was therefore to be expected that in the age of learning, he would become a scholar, and that Germany, the land of learning, would produce him. I should be sorry, did my panorama of German literature want this principal figure. Hegel marks the highest point of the misdirected mania for learning, of this great craze of the modern Germans. In him the evil reached its culminating point, in form as well as in spirit; for his language is, by its obscure bombast, its tediousness and stiffness, just as his system is, by its arrogant and contemptuous, yet unsatisfied, peevish, and sickly pride, the most perfect expression of that learned abscess which has now come to a head. Hegel’s philosophy would in all probability have attracted but little attention had it not obtained political adherents and patrons. And how did it do so? Did not the god-professor look down upon the kings of this world? I know not; but certain it is, that attendance upon Hegel’s lectures was highly recommended, and that the Hegelians were favored in the filling up of situations.

‘The Hegelian system presented itself, as a political scholasticism, furnished with almost the same weapons as the ancient ecclesiastical scholasticism. As they had to deal, not with facts, nor with convictions, but merely with notions; as they drew nothing from religion or morals, but all from logic, it was in their power to play with notions

and positions as they chose, to prove everything or nothing. The system became an absolute dialecticism without contents, without object; a mere means of explaining every possible object in any way men chose. In this relation the notorious position of Hegel: 'All that is, is in accordance with reason,' was principally used to prove that our present condition is absolutely the one most in accordance with reason, and that therefore it would be not only revolutionary but even foolish, nonsensical, and unphilosophical to find fault with any part of it.

'This new scholasticism returned even to the old distinction between the initiated and uninitiated. The abstruse language of Hegel, the affected obscurity in which he enveloped even the simplest propositions, in order to stamp them as oracles, were means intended to form an insurmountable wall of separation between the initiated and the profane.

'He has, therefore, made a right and proper use of the folly of those who imagined that they were drudging for their own vanity, while in reality they were promoting that of others. Few have become greater adepts in the art of mystifying. Now that he is dead his disciples dispute about what this or that oracular saying really meant. Something of the same kind has taken place with Schleiermacher, and with Goethe. These men having been often pleased to express themselves somewhat vaguely on the most important questions, the Berliners have always made it their business to admire, with the most serious air in the world, that which they understood least, each, however, making his neighbors believe that he understood it, whilst he himself was afraid that some of them might have really comprehended it. The Hegelians carried their folly so far, as to consider it a mere condescension to the inferior powers of the conception of men, to compare Hegel with Christ, and to think that they did honor to the latter in calling him a forerunner and apostle of Hegel; a subordinate messenger, who, by mere representations and appeals to the feelings, pointed out and foretold, as it were symbolically, the far more exalted Hegel, who was afterwards to come in the might of the notion (*Begriff*). This folly was carried so far, that Friedrich Förster, a man from whose historical spirit of investigation better things might have been expected, said, at the grave of Hegel, that he was, beyond all doubt, the Holy Ghost himself, the third person of the godhead. To such lengths the vanity of a coterie may lead its members,—yet perhaps only in Berlin.

'It is a striking characteristic of the age, that the Hegelians look kindly and graciously down upon Christ, whilst they look up with reverence to Goethe, as to something still higher. Hotho, for example, in his strange Preparatory Studies for Life and Art, showed that man's chief aim ought to be to immerse into the mind of Hegel, yet that through him an admission to the still higher joys of heaven was to be found in the mind of Goethe. Lerminier, a Frenchman who is, in other respects, far from being silly, and who was then in Berlin, has repeated him, and told his countrymen: 'Si Hegel a consommé la philosophie de son pays, Goethe en a consommé la littérature. En

verité, on croiroit avec ces deux hommes avoir abouti à toutes les possibilités de la pensée.'—Ib. 302—306.

One of the most amusing chapters in the work is that entitled 'Die Pädagogik,' or 'Education.' Though we cannot agree in the too moderate estimate which our author appears inclined to form of the indirect advantages resulting from the study of 'philology' in comparison with what he calls the 'Realia,' there is very much of valuable truth in his observations, and of truth almost as applicable to our own country as to his. There cannot be a doubt, for example, that there are many pedagogues in England who teach the classics less for what they contain than for the language which conveys it—less for the kernel than for the shell—less as the repositories of important fact or impressive fiction than as collections of grammatical constructions and illustrations of the laws of syntax. Let such read the following observations.

'The young who never learn aught but words and forms will never become acquainted with the substance. They are thrust into school, and there subjected to philological drilling. Most of them look upon this drilling as a torment, and see as the only means of liberation; they, therefore, study only for the examination (examen), and try to cram into their heads as much philological knowledge as it will hold, troubling themselves, however, as little as possible about the substance, because an acquaintance with the letter alone is required of them.

'In this manner the greatest minutiae of grammar became the chief occupation of our learned schools. As if there were nothing of more importance in the world, school-pedants contended about the most useless philological trifles, and compelled the great mass of the young to do homage to this enthusiasm for that which was absolutely nothing. Not only all the realia,—the German language, mathematics, history, geography, and natural sciences, gymnastics, and even religion, were all neglected; and all the time and all the attention of the pupils were devoted exclusively to the dead languages. I am sure that many of my readers must remember, that the philologists, the teachers of Greek and Latin in the *gymnasia*, exercised such a tyranny, that they appropriated almost every hour to themselves, making over all the other departments to subordinate and despised teachers, so that these departments might at least stand in the lists. They must remember that the grossest carelessness and neglect was overlooked when it related to these shelved departments, and that blunders against Buttmann, Thiersch, and Grotefend, were the faults which were looked upon as sacrilege. Nothing was required of the scholars but to understand and imitate the niceties of the Attic and Ciceronian style, the difficulties of Pindar and Plautus. The chief aim of philology in almost every German gymnasium was, to train scholars who could produce a Greek or Latin exercise so interwoven and refined with artificial difficulties that the very mouths of the professors watered at the

sight. Under the pretext that the reading of the pupils must be little, but good, they kept by a few classics, of which scarcely a single one was strictly enough parsed in several years. Yet the pupils, notwithstanding the eternal classicism, had never the advantage of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the classics. That this folly is not entirely done away with, is proved by the Bavarian school plan (schul-plan), the first of which (afterwards modified, it is true) was to make the whole of Bavaria Greek—and that before there was any talk of the election of King Otho I. This Bavarian school-plan excited the whole wrath of the dominant philologists against the oppressed but resisting realists. These stupid philologists have no right to the title of humanists. Humanism was something quite different; it tended to an universal human culture; the dead languages were looked upon by it as a means, not as an end. This new *grammato-mania*, however, considers the language as its sole end; in the dead languages, only that which is rare, peculiar, or difficult. A pedant, for instance, to whom the guidance of an extensive celebrated gymnasium was intrusted, hunted only after rare subjunctives, and had got a precious collection of them. As soon as the pupils opened Plato, Thucydides, or Tacitus, a general bush-beating commenced throughout the whole numerous class. No mention was made of the god-like ideas of Plato, of the profound political philosophy of Thucydides or Tacitus; subjunctives alone were hunted after, and entomologically arranged, like rare cockchafers.—Vol. ii. pp. 17—20.

Equally certain it is, that there are not a few schoolmasters at home as well as abroad, who ridiculously pretend to convey an encyclopædic knowledge, and to cram the heads of their young scholars with superficial lectures on subjects wholly unfit for them. We have only to glance at the advertisements in our newspapers to learn at how cheap a rate benevolent schoolmasters pledge themselves to initiate the youth committed to their charge in the mysteries of all science—in how incredibly short a time they propose to send them forth universally accomplished. We commend to them the following sarcastic rebuke of all such empiricism.

‘That aristocratic propensity which moves society from below, turning every journeyman tailor into a gentleman, and every cook into a lady, has infected even the simple schoolmasters and preceptors with a desire to imitate the university professors. Did every one know his own place, and maintain it with propriety, all ranks would be really equal; but in place of their being sensible of their honor as citizens, they strive after a ridiculous and unworthy affectation of gentility. Hence proceeds that hunting after distinction which is so common in our schools. Therefore it is that every one wishes to become an author, to bring forward new theories, or to bring himself into notice by certain scientific hobbies. Is there not in every gymnasium one or more teachers, who are constantly attempting to prove that they ought to have been called to an university; who are upon their own authority

delivering philosophical lectures, or treating of the details of those sciences which happen to be their favorite studies, but which are quite unsuited for mere boys? Thus one treats of the most minute grammatical trifles; another of symbols; a third employs himself with some old author whose works he intends to edit, and thinks more of the *scholia* than of the school; a fourth having trained up two or three pupils to chatter Greek with him, never troubles his head about the others; a fifth is not ashamed to lecture on logic, and puts on a serious academical face when on that subject. The sixth is probably a botanist, and a particular lover of the cryptogamia; his pupils therefore learn nothing but to practice cryptogamy. The seventh, being an ichthyologist, teaches his pupils to number all the scales of all the species of fish on the coast of China. The eighth having a peculiar liking for mineralogy, fills the heads of the children with information about the most wonderful stones. There are even among the realists, many pedants, who, like the subjunctive-hunter among the humanists, enter into the most detailed expositions of their favorite studies to the children, as if this were their principal business.

'Thus, in consequence of the vanity of the teachers, either the subjects which of right should be taught in the higher schools are anticipated, or the valuable time of the pupils is wasted on miscellaneous subjects which have no business in the school. Mere boys are in this way sometimes made arbiters in literary disputes. Stupid professors, after having read to their pupils what they have written against their opponents, say to them, 'Well, have I not refuted him capitally?' I myself know such a learned blockhead, who read in triumph to his scholars what he had written against me.

'The desire to become distinguished at the expense of the young is shown chiefly in the invention of new methods, and in the creating of artificial difficulties, where there are no natural ones. Even the A. B. C. has not escaped this rage for novelty. One, in order to put something new in the place of the old alphabet (which, however, must also be learned), teaches the poor children to hiss, to whistle, to neigh, to coo, to lisp, to growl, and to grumble like beasts. Another attempts to explain the letters out of the archetypical numerals; a third takes the trouble of making the children unlearn their native German, in order to teach them anew, first Mæso-Gothic, then old High German, next middle High German, and lastly, following consistently the same process of development pursued by the nation, the new High German. These are all facts; the individuals are still alive. And can we wonder at them? The late Funke went so far as to teach children to amuse themselves, thus attempting by artificial instructions to render difficult what came to them so easily by nature. This mania for methodizing has infected every science. Look, for instance, what strange plans are constantly devised by the music teachers, who attempt to change the old notes into signs and other nonsense.'

—Ib. pp. 41—44.

Equally amusing and equally worthy of the attention of our

countrymen, is the account which our author gives of the ridiculous multiplication of the 'objects of education'—far beyond either the time or the average abilities of the pupils. The struggle between what he calls the humanists and the advocates of the *realia* (or, as we should say, between those who contend for the advantages of polite learning, and those who would content themselves with what they consider practically useful) often ended in imposing upon the unhappy youth the necessity of studying all that belonged to the multifarious departments of both. We are not sure that the close study of the following remarks might not be of service to some of the members of the Senate of the London University, who, however admirable their general plan of study, have assuredly erred in rendering certain branches universally obligatory. We could have wished that they had not striven so hard to conciliate, as a German would say, the rival claims of 'humanism' and the '*realia*.'

'The multiplication of objects of instruction and the increase of school hours, even in the public establishments, kept pace with that in the establishments for private education and boarding-schools. Both were produced by the necessity for a different course of instruction from that hitherto pursued. The private institutions, therefore, rivalled one another in flattering the parents, and the public ones were determined not to be behind. The former were at first principally schools for teaching the *realia*; but as soon as the state itself founded real schools, the private establishments adopted the principle of humanism, and endeavored, by becoming universities in miniature, by uniting at once all objects of instruction, to surpass the real schools as well as the gymnasia, which did not teach so much. Yet these latter in their turn rivalled the former, and it was even proposed to elevate all public schools to a kind of universalism. The different favorite sciences of the learned, the manifold claims of the parents, and the indulgence of the state, which was quite pleased at seeing the young sitting behind their desks, produced that superabundance of objects of instruction, out of which no proper selection has yet been made The pedagogues were fortunately divided in their opinion, so that while one tormented the children intrusted to his care with one kind of folly, his neighbor plagued his with another; and thus no child was plagued with both at once. At first they hated one another, and avoided the errors of the others from dislike; by and bye, however, they began to become reconciled, and to adopt each others' errors, thus forcing their unfortunate pupils to experience, at one and the same time, all possible pedagogical fooleries.

'In former times the humanist took possession of one boy, the realist of another; now both take possession of the same boy, and each makes the same claims upon his time and attention, as if it were in his power to devote himself to one alone. Formerly one pedagogue devoted his chief attention to religion, a second to morals, a third to the cultivation of the intellect, a fourth to æsthetics, a fifth to bodily

and social training ;—now there are systems of, and establishments for, education, in which the pupil is taught to learn all at once. All the pedagogical rods have been bound together into fasces, and there is only the axe wanting to strike off the head of the poor boy who is utterly stupified by much learning.

‘ When will the German get rid of his tendency to roam into the boundless? It is true that endless paths lie open to men in every direction, and it would be all very well, did our strength and time allow us, to traverse them all ; but ‘ art is long, life is short ; we cannot become everything :’ the young, therefore, should not be prepared to undertake everything. It is indeed very desirable that the dear German youths should thoroughly understand Greek, in order to appreciate all the graces of ancient Hellas, and the mild lustre and power of its spirit ; I should also like that the good boys all understood Sanscrit, Persian, Arabic, Chinese, &c. ; on the other side, life and practical utility, as well as poetry and dead science, must be attended to ; it would therefore be well that the young, each and all, understood not only French, English, and Italian, but also Polish, Russian, and Turkish. This holds good still more with respect to the *realia*. Each of the boys should learn mathematics and mechanics, chemistry, natural philosophy, natural history, astronomy, geography, as well as the first principles of medicine, surgery, and pharmacy. But, cry out others, are we to neglect the body in the training of the head? Not at all ; the young men must learn to exercise and swim, to ride, fence, dance, dress, carve, &c., thoroughly. But the heart, inquire others, and religion and philosophy? Should not the young be trained up above all in the knowledge of virtue and Christianity? Ought not the heavenly goal, which is exalted far above this earthly life, to be held up to their view? Ought not the human mind to dive into the holy mysteries of the Deity, and to press on to the origin of all existence, in place of sporting on the surface?

‘ Yes, indeed. Why not? All that and some more. But the gentlemen never consider where we are to get time for all this. It would be very well could it be accomplished, but it is impracticable. The gentlemen must therefore make up their minds to lower their standard of education ; they must learn to look not only at what they wish to stuff into the youth, but also at the small capacity of the young, who cannot by any possibility receive everything at the same time.’—*Ib.* pp. 47—51.

We have no space for extracts from the chapters on ‘ History,’ ‘ Natural Sciences,’ or ‘ Political Sciences ;’ though containing much which deserves special mention. By far the larger portion of the work is devoted to polite literature and criticism. As, in our preceding series, we gave Menzel’s judgment on Klopstock, Herder, Lessing, Wieland, and Schiller, we feel inclined to avail ourselves of this opportunity of adding a portion at least of his elaborate character of Goethe, who, if not absolutely the greatest name in German literature, is yet that which has occupied most space in the public eye, and has led to

most discussion. But our space forbids. Nor must the reader forget that Menzel has long been engaged in hot iconoclastic zeal, against the idolaters of Goethe, and that therefore his estimate, though in the main correct, must be taken *cum grano*.

Though we should much like to extend our extracts, and to add to the portraits already mentioned, those of Jean Paul Richter, Hoffman, Chamisso, Tieck, and some others, we find our space nearly exhausted, and must conclude; merely remarking that the observations of Menzel on the principles of poetry and criticism generally, and on the causes which have ushered in each of the rapid revolutions which have distinguished the brief history of German literature, are often conceived in a truly philosophical spirit, and are quite as valuable as the spirited portraits of individual writers with which they are appropriately interspersed.

Though a work like the present can hardly have a very extensive circulation, we do trust that the students of German literature are sufficiently numerous to reward the diligence of the translator and the enterprise of the publisher. It is but just to Mr. Gordon to state, that though he has nowhere controverted the opinions of Menzel on the subjects of religion, philosophy, or literature, he distinctly begs it to be understood that he by no means always agrees with him. We are pleased to see that he fully agrees with us respecting the dangerous latitudinarianism of some of Menzel's remarks in the chapter on 'Religion,' and enters his protest against them. Menzel, while he has done most excellent service against the rationalists, yet seems in some degree, as might be expected, infected with the lax liberalism of his country and his age. His own opinions appear to be nearer those of the Pietists than of any other school; but while orthodox himself, he certainly seems inclined to exercise his charity beyond the limits of non-essential errors; at least we cannot interpret some of his remarks in any other way.

We cordially commend Mr. Gordon's translation to the attention of the public.

Art. III. 1. *Principles of Teaching, or The Normal School Manual : containing Practical Suggestions on the Government and Instruction of Children.* By HENRY DUNN, Sec. to the British and Foreign School Society. Third edition.

2. *The Training System established in the Glasgow Normal Seminary and Model Schools.* By DAVID STOW, Esq. Glasgow.

AT the close of a paper on the subject of Education Fallacies in our February number last year, we intimated that there were many other kindred matters, beside those which were there discussed, on which we should have wished to touch. Some of these we propose to consider now.

In the former paper we were concerned more particularly with the strictly didactic part of education ; in the present we shall confine ourselves chiefly to the discipline, or to the teaching, as affecting the discipline. And here at the very outset to guard against misapprehension, a preliminary remark is necessary. It may be expected that, while the former paper found fault, and very serious fault, with many methods of instruction which are now fashionable, the present will be devoted to a recommendation of what are pleasantly termed the improved modes of management which have in many quarters taken the place of the old and rigid régime. If any anticipate this, they will be disappointed. On the other hand, it may be expected that while the former paper entered into many details of teaching, so this will enter into many details of discipline, and will be occupied in recommending the adoption of this or that new plan, or the revival of one or another old plan. But any who may anticipate this will also be disappointed. We shall in the following remarks endeavor to keep as clear as possible of all detail, in order to avoid as much as possible all cavil. We shall state principles, which will enable to judge of details ; not give details, which might prejudice principles. And this for many reasons. For, as we observed in the article before referred to, since almost all persons do know something of discipline practically, that is, in detail, they are liable to think that, therefore, they *must* know something of it theoretically, that is, in principle. And if we were to begin with details, these might be found to jar on particular cases, whereas if the principle were stated, it would, if true, have a fairer chance, and its development in detail might safely be left. For instance, if we were to commence with recommending the adoption of flogging as an ordinary means of discipline, it is probable that nine out of ten readers would turn over the pages in disgust,

almost as if they had been in fear of a flogging themselves. One person would say, the writer is living in the fifteenth century; another would ask, is this the nineteenth? and although the writer is *not* living in the fifteenth century, and although the present century *is* the nineteenth, yet for all that the effect would not be got over. It would have been too sudden, and would have jarred too much on the existing mode of thinking to be removed by a subsequent process of inferential reasoning. Yet here too we must not be misunderstood: what we have just said is said merely by way of illustration. As a matter of fact, we do not think that flogging ought to be adopted as an *ordinary* means of discipline. But we have already, perhaps, gone too far; for we live in an age when the very mention of the term discipline seems almost to require an apology; and to many, strict discipline is synonymous with severity, not knowing, or if knowing, forgetting, that, in virtue of its strictness, it is actually opposed to severity. It is a lax discipline which, unless it ceases to be discipline at all, is liable to run into severity; for severity is only laxity excited; whereas the very best safeguard against severity is a strict system of discipline. It is so in everything. It is an irregular diet which needs the occasional exhibition of strong remedies, which strict living neither requires nor will bear. Strictness, it has been well said, is in the long run the condition of rejoicing. But this by the way.

The remarks which we are about to make will refer in particular to the discipline of schools; and although many of them will probably be found to bear also on the discipline of families, still it will be necessary to keep in mind that we are speaking primarily in reference not to domestic, but to scholastic, matters. We say this will be necessary, and for the following reason; because the point of view from which one would have to speak would be, in the two cases, entirely different; and what would be seen in one light from one would be seen in another light from the other. And this difference is important to be steadily contemplated: it involves many distinctions. For example, a family naturally is limited, a school not necessarily so; or if limited, its limits are in general much larger; in a family, is to be considered the dependence not merely of subordination, but also of the filial relation; in a school, as such, the dependence chiefly of subordination, though of subordination in several respects; in a family, the children have of course been known to their tutors (in this case the parents) all along from infancy, in a school the children *may* have been known to their tutors (in this case the masters) a very short time; in a family, it is possible from the very *beginning* to train a child to good habits,

in a school, it may sometimes be very difficult ever to bring a child on to good habits ; in a family, it is possible to start from a point, at which in a school it may be next to impossible ever to arrive ; in a family, it is competent to the parents to choose from the very first to train the child to order and truth-telling, and obedience, the root of both ; in a school, it is not possible to pick and choose such as *have* been so trained, and there is a possibility, to say no more, that all may not at first be of that kind ; and while in a school there may be a child, over the management of whom, till an age when many habits, good or bad, have become nearly fixed, the masters may have had no control, in a family this cannot be the case. Thus it is quite clear that the master and the parent are not always exactly in the same position towards a boy, nor a boy towards a master and parent, nor one boy towards another boy. The main difference, for present consideration, between the position of the parent and the master relatively to the boy, is this,—that the system of the parent is answerable for what the child is at the time when he comes into the hands of the master, while the system of the master is mainly and strictly answerable for what the child is after he has come into his hands, only in as far as, at the time when he first came into his hands, he approximated to what the master's system presupposes that the previous training should have made him. No judgment is here expressed on the relative desirableness of a home or a school education, but whoever entertains a doubt on this question, as a general one, might do well to read over the first book of Quintilian's *Institutes* again.* We shall proceed to speak at once of the discipline of schools.

A school is a species of public. That is to say, it is a society under some kind of government. There are subjects and there are rulers. But this must be considered : the connexion between the two is not merely one of authority on the one side and subordination on the other, it is also one of age on the one side and youth on the other, and respectively of knowledge and of inexperience. Now these several notions, besides some others, are all included in the one complex notion of a school ; and they are all important to be considered at each step of an

* The following remarks by the younger Tittmann deserve notice : *Solent plerique scholasticam puerorum institutionem domesticæ præferre ; ipse rarissime fieri puto, ut domestica sufficiat disciplina, quæ quum ob causas multas alias difficilis sit, tum propterea maxime incerta est, quod magistri privati, qui dicuntur, raro tanta veterum linguarum universæque antiquitatis scientia imbuti sunt, ut ultra mediocritatem docti haberi possint, et sæpius excipiuntur ab aliis, qui longe aliam rationem sequuntur, puerumque novæ disciplinæ adsuescere cogunt neque raro totum ordinem institutionis perturbant.*—p. 4, *Præf. Lib. de Synonym. Nov. Test.*

inquiry into this subject. For example, should a pupil be allowed to set at nought an order, this would be inconsistent with the elementary notion of his subordination ; again, should a pupil be treated as if he were an equal in everything except positive status, this would be inconsistent with the notion of the relation of youth to age ; again, should a pupil be argued with as of mature judgment, this would be inconsistent with the notion of the relation of inexperience to knowledge. In each case such a course would be a blunder ; because it would be mistaking one thing for another, and transferring to the one notions belonging only to the other. But although there are many separate notions involved in the notion of the relation of two parties in a school, all may be considered as expressed by the terms master* and pupils. Of these the society, called a school, is composed. Their relation to one another in general has been stated : but now, to consider it more particularly, we observe that in a school the word of the master is the law.

When we say it *is*, we mean of course that it is *de jure*. As a matter of *fact*, in any particular school, it may or may not be so. Now this principle, thus stated, presupposes several things. For example, it presupposes that in a school there is *a* law, some law or other. Without a law there can be no government, strictly so called, and it has before been said, that in a school there is government. When we say that the word of the master is the law of a school, we mean that against the decision of the recognized master there can be, according to the idea of a school, no appeal. It is inconsistent with such idea that the master should also be subject, which, as long as he is master, he cannot be. Hence when, in a school, authority is resisted by a pupil, there are only two alternatives, compulsion or expulsion. For to suppose that, in a school, an order might be given and not obeyed, or a punishment fixed and not submitted to, with impunity, would be to suppose a government which is no government ; which would be absurd : and it is clear that, in as far as such resistance or interference should take place, a school would lose, for the time and occasion, its essential character. We say, for the time and occasion, but we do not say that the effect would stop with the time and occasion. The question, whether of the two, compulsion or expulsion, should be resorted to, is one not belonging to our present subject, and the decision must depend on circumstances. One or other, however, is necessary. But the term we have used above, the

* In Latin, as well as in English, the word for teacher (*magister*) implies authority.

decision of the master, implies something else : and this something must be stated, that we may not mistake one thing for another. It implies that there is only *one* master, that is one head master, as the phrase is, and of course, in any given case, only one decision. Thus the idea of a school, in its simplest form, supposes a monarchical constitution : and in this form it is easiest to conceive it and to speak of the relations it involves. But a school may also have an oligarchical constitution. In this case how can we speak of the decision referred to ? as one, or as manifold ? and how will our general principle be affected by this difference of constitution ? We conceive that, if what has been said above is true, a school, of which the constitution is oligarchical, can only come up to and fulfil the idea of a school, in as far as there is a unity of thought and voice in the governors. For the existence of two equal and contrariant authorities is inconsistent with the notion of a school, strictly considered : and if of two, still more so of more than two. But it may be that, though of an oligarchical *constitution*, it is after all in *effect* only monarchical, everything being left in the hands of one member of the oligarchy : but this of course could be only accidental ; not contemplated in the constitution of a school ; a plan for meeting difficulties and not the development of any formal idea. But it might also be, that a school should have a sort of mixed government, being ultimately subject to an oligarchy, say a committee or a board of governors, but immediately and practically subject to an individual, the master being in fact the plenipotentiary of the oligarchical body. This is a constitution on which it is difficult to speak, being also rather a growth of circumstances than the carrying out of a consistent theory. It may be sufficient to say, then, that in such cases, it is only when the master *is really* a plenipotentiary, that such a constitution can work well ; if his judgment be not confided in and his knowledge bowed to, if his power be shackled and his authority contemned or slighted, it cannot by any possibility prosper, since the whole must lose its essential character. In such a case, if it exists, the oligarchy, or governing body, *should* act simply as a council to the master, to whom he might refer upon any matters of business,* and whom he might consult upon emergencies. This is not the office usually taken, perhaps, by such bodies, but the more nearly it approxi-

* Of course among matters of business may be included the fact of the master's attending or not attending to his work. The governors of a school, whether called a council, or a committee, or a board, or anything else, whether they have ever learnt their Latin grammar or not, can tell whether a man is at his business or not, whether he is regularly at his post or fifty miles away from it. It is from a neglect of such matters of business as this that so many of the old endowed schools have been overrun with abuses.

mates to this, the more nearly will the school, in this point, fulfil its idea. And, as things go, any such body must be deemed fortunate if, and as long as, they are able to retain the superintendence of one, whose character will justify and repay the exercise of the amplest confidence, whose knowledge will make abundant amends for their unavoidable deficiencies, and whose long experience will correct and outweigh, if so be, their visionary, unpractical speculations.

When we said that the oligarchy should act as a council to whom the master might refer, we could not be misunderstood to mean that the master should refer to them for additional influence, to strengthen his hands, or to back his authority. For such reference to them would necessarily imply that they had it in their power to confirm *or* to countermand his orders, to strengthen *or* to weaken, as the case might be, the discipline in force, which would of course be fatal to the very existence of anything worthy of the name of discipline. And the practical absurdities which would be involved in such a procedure, will be manifest at once, when it is considered that in such oligarchical body might be the parent or friends of the very boy on whom the discipline might in any particular case appear to bear hard; and those who know the things which may be done in bodies of men where there is no responsibility felt, because forsooth no individuality recognized, need not to be told what an anomalous position the master and the pupil would be likely to be brought into in possible and very conceivable cases, unless the notion of their true relative standing be fitly mastered, realized, and admitted as a rule of uniform action. Anything like overruling, counteracting, disrespect, suspicion, mistrust, oversight, prying, espionage, exercised by such body on their head master, besides bringing discredit on an institution, must unavoidably disturb the unity of the system, impair the harmony of its results, and introduce disorder and insubordination. Feelings are contagious.

And let it not be supposed that this unity of discipline on which we insist is unimportant, or important only in theory. Unity in discipline is as essential as unity in teaching. It is only by a oneness of plan that a oneness of effect can be produced; and as, if we distract the mind by a multiplicity of studies, we shall produce a weakness and an inability to grasp or master any subject as a whole, so, if we distract the temper by a multitude of opposing or varying rules of discipline, we shall produce a weakness and vacillancy of character, and an inability to act vigorously, with a definite purpose to a definite end. And these things generally go together in education. A distracted teaching will go with a distracted discipline. And it is to the false notions prevalent of late years on these matters,

that we must trace the puny and divided results of modern education. The truth is, the mind can best be formed by one thing, not one numerically, but one, when viewed relatively to the end. Give it many and you perplex it, give it one and you strengthen it. To increase the powers, you must contract the sphere of their operation: the circle must have a centre. To form and strengthen the character, you must confine it to one system, or, which is the same thing, to systems in succession which have a unity of plan. Nothing is more injurious to children than the multiplicity of directions often given to them. The father manages in one way, the mother in another, an elder sister in a third, an aunt in a fourth, and a grandmamma in a fifth, and a nurse in a sixth, so that really the poor child hardly knows which to look to. And when he hears those who have to manage him actually not agreed among themselves as to the proper way, sometimes, perhaps, diametrically opposed to one another, how can it be expected that the child shall obey promptly what is ordered weakly, or ordered doubtingly, or ordered with coaxing, or ordered and counterordered. He has literally no time to be formed upon any system. And hence it is that ordinarily a child may be considered not so much as a sample of this or that course of training, as a mess of all.

In a school the problem is to pursue a plan which shall meet all the evils which previous *mismanagement* has produced. It is a great mistake, and one which can only be made by the most foolish, to suppose that bad habits are in the first instance *learnt at school*. The truth is, they are *brought to school*. They are learnt at home. We must go to a much earlier period than the commencement of children's school life, to find when they began to learn wrong. 'Educatio a lacte cunisque initium ducit.' Have nurses no influence on the character of children? Then why did Quintilian say 'Ante omnia ne sit vitiosus sermo nutricibus?' From the very first dawn of reason children begin to act; their actions daily multiply; 'fit ex his consuetudo, deinde natura.' 'Utinam,' says Quintilian, and his words are equally applicable now, 'utinam liberorum nostrorum mores non ipsi perderemus! Infantiam statim deliciis solvimus. Mollis illa educatio, quam indulgentiam vocamus, nervos omnes et mentis et corporis frangit. Quid non adultus concupiscet, qui in purpuris repit? Nondum prima verba exprimit, et jam coccum intelligit, jam conchylium poscit. Ante palatum eorum, quam os instituimus. In lecticis crescunt; si terram attigerint, e manibus utrimque sustinentium perdent. Gaudemus, si quid licentius dixerint.' We have even heard of nurseries and school-rooms being carpeted. 'Quis non adultus concupiscet, qui in purpuris repit?' The

present, it cannot be denied, is a soft and indulgent age. It is an age of cushions and easy chairs. It abounds in weak views and puny theories. Our forefathers were a hardy race; they could think strongly and act strongly. We, as an age, can do neither. But let us not be misunderstood. There is nothing in all this that we should be a whit more opposed to than we should to the teasing and worrying mode of management which is sometimes adopted. This system is only a lame substitute for great principles of discipline, and certain positive forms of obedience. It is perhaps worse than any other in many respects, inasmuch as it frets and irritates the temper, and does no good to counterbalance the evil. Children are only provoked and teased by being hunted up every five minutes in the day. It does them no good whatever; and prevents their doing any. It is sometimes called looking after children; a little looking before would sometimes do better. Children do not dislike a firm hand and a regular discipline: on the contrary they like it. What they hate is a weak, uncertain discipline, or a teasing, pettifogging discipline. Boys, like horses, prefer a rein they can feel: boys, like men, despise an impotent government. One reason why children like a firm strong discipline is that they can have more liberty; and it is a fact that they do have more: and liberty without license for mischief is one great end of government.

Touching rewards and punishments little need be said. To justify the use of them, it is enough that our nature looks for and requires them, and that, whether we intend them or not, exist they will; for circumstances will act as rewards or punishments respectively in spite of our neglect, so that, by omitting to regulate them ourselves, we do not abolish them, but only surrender them to the control of chance or caprice. In the administration, however, of these instruments for good or evil, great care is needed that they lean not more to the evil than to the good. For what in one nature does good, in another does harm; and nothing can well be thought of more hurtful to the mind or to the body, than an indiscriminating use of the same regimen for all. Again, it is to be observed that in paediatrics as in medicine, small doses exhibited at short intervals are far more efficient than larger ones at once. As it is of little importance how weighty or valuable in itself a reward to children is, compared with the feeling with which it is given and received; so it matters not that a punishment should be weighed out in exact proportion to an offence according to any abstract standard viewed apart from circumstances, so much as that, being given in a right spirit, it should work amendment in the offender. A small punishment will often mark the character of an action as well as a large one, and so will a small

reward. What ought to be looked to in both cases, is the approbation or disapprobation of the master, which ought to be the child's best index of right and wrong. Rewards and punishments in fact are only the outward expression, the visible manifestation of such approbation or disapprobation, respectively; and as such they ought to encourage or (in the good sense of the word) provoke to better deeds. For, as among men the best incentive to virtue is, next to the smile of a clear conscience, the esteem of the wise and good, so it should never be forgotten in the management of children, that what they should be taught to look for as the daily and almost hourly earning of their good doings is the praise of those upon whose care and kindness they must of necessity depend. 'Trahimur omnes laudis studio et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur.' This love of approbation, too, is nearly allied to that sense of honor which, by the common judgment of mankind, is one of the best spurs to honorable exertion. 'Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι, says Demosthenes, τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μέγιστην ἀνάγκη, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι. Hence the importance, too, of keeping the feeling of honor high in children; and there is no greater danger of lowering or destroying it than by an injudicious mode of punishment.

Punishments are better the more they are of a negative kind. They should consist rather of prohibitions from pleasure than of positive inflictions of pain. Rewards, too, should rather lead the child on to regard the judgment of the master than confine him to themselves. They should act as conductors of the master's approbation. It may further be said, that punishments should be prompt and soon over, that they may not wear the spirit. They should not, more than is possible, preclude from open air and exercise; nor should they be ordinarily in any way severe, but rather certain, prompt, and discreet.

There are some persons, however, who consider all emulation as wrong, and therefore disapprove of all rewards for good conduct and all stimulus to improvement. The best excuse we have to offer for them is, that their inexperience will account for their lack of knowledge; it may also be observed, that their theory would do little harm till tried, and that a short trial would show its folly. To be consistent, however, they ought to object to all punishments too, which are the natural correlative of rewards. Punishments are bad things no doubt (so *may* rewards be, though that is not so clear); but diseases want cures; and however bad the cure, it is seldom so bad as the disease. Emulation, too, is not envy, though it may sometimes be very near to it; but next door neighbors are often the greatest strangers, like Ovid's, *nemo tam prope proculque*.

There is scarcely any part of the whole subject [unclear]

which we can pursue for any length without finding it run up in time into almost every other part. The methods of discipline and the methods of instruction are, as we observed before, intimately connected, and accordingly it cannot be out of place to return here to the subject of authority and persuasion, which we referred to slightly in our last paper, but which deserves to be further considered. The point which we wish to notice more particularly now is, the opposition which is sometimes supposed to exist between what is called ruling by persuasion and ruling by authority. Now, when these two things are represented as antitheses one to the other, we suspect that there is some great fallacy lurking somewhere or other. The term 'ruling by persuasion' is, to our apprehension, somewhat ambiguous. Persuasion (it should be *suasion*, persuasion is not a correct term) may be either successful or not successful: in other words, *suasion* may become persuasion, or it may not. Now, if I try to persuade you to do a thing, and succeed in persuading you to do it, I rule by persuasion; but if I try to persuade you to do a thing, and do not succeed in persuading you to do it, do I *then* rule by persuasion--do I rule at all? I use *suasion*; but do I rule? Certainly not: if I use nothing more than *suasion*, and you are not persuaded, I do not rule; it is then you who rule, since you, having the option in your own hands to do or not to do, choose not to be persuaded, and therefore (by the hypothesis) not to do. When, therefore, ruling by persuasion is set in contrast and opposition to ruling by authority, we do not distinctly understand what is meant. Is it meant that persuasion is always successful with children; that you can always be sure of persuading them to do what it is right for them to do? If this is meant, we understand it, and have only to try the experiment on any fair average of children, and await the result; but there is probably no person, come to years of discretion, who would maintain this. Is it meant, then, that when persuasion is not successful, one does yet in such case still rule by persuasion? Is it not clear that, *in spite of* persuasion, one does not rule? How, then, can this be called ruling by persuasion, when it is not ruling at all? This is the difficulty we see in the very term ruling by persuasion. But is there not a similar ambiguity in the term ruling by authority? We think not. The person who tries to persuade merely, and, by the hypothesis, uses nothing more than persuasion, leaves the option to do or not to do, with the child; whereas the person who rules by authority reserves to himself the right of ordering or not ordering a thing to be done. Here then is no such break down, as in the mere persuasion theory; the child has not the power to question and dispute the propriety of the thing to be **done**: it is not put to him in that way. It is 'do this, and he

'does it;' he takes 'no' for an answer. What, then, is the practical difference between the two methods? We believe it to be nearly this. He who rules by persuasion merely, ought, by his theory, to give in when he cannot persuade; but yet his very office, and position, and comfort, and general sense of propriety, force him at times to insist on his authority, as he is obliged to call it, and thus necessarily appears to the child unjust, inasmuch as he obliges him to do what *he* does not think just, which he has himself allowed that he ought not to oblige him to do. At the very least, by shifting the *ground* of obedience, he must appear capricious. On the contrary, he who rules by authority trusts uniformly to his *own* judgment, never to the child's; he has only one ground on which he rests the child's obligation to obey, namely, his own knowledge and judgment of what is right. But knowing that he has the authority, and that the child acknowledges and owns it, he is seldom obliged to exert it abruptly. He can *afford* to use the tone or even language of persuasion, because he knows, and the child knows, that there is, and is acknowledged to be, authority to back it. In the one case authority is rejected and persuasion fails, in the other authority is maintained and persuasion, if used, succeeds.

But there is another view which may be taken of this subject. Persuasion and authority are in fact the same in this, that they both express a desire to have something done; and they differ in this, that persuasion leaves it to the child, while authority reserves it to itself, to say whether the desire shall be complied with or not. If, then, the judgment of the child is the safer to trust to, undoubtedly mere persuasion is better; but if on the other hand the judgment of the parent or master is the safer, undoubtedly authority is preferable. To take a very commonplace example, a master who should *entreat* a large number of boys to be quiet, and try to *persuade* them to be so, they knowing that he will not go *beyond* persuasion and entreaty, whether they are quiet or not, may be said to be attempting to rule by persuasion. A looker-on would probably think it anything but ruling. On the contrary, a master who should request to have silence, the boys knowing that he will go beyond a request, if they are not silent, may be said (*quoad hoc*) to rule by authority, though apparently using the words or tone of persuasion. Ill-informed persons suppose that the persuasion system is kinder than the other; but it is no such thing: it is weaker, but not kinder. Real kindness is discreet, and relies on sound judgment, but does not humor and truckle to the whimsies of those who cannot judge. Children cannot know what is best for them; and to treat them as if they did know is anything but kind, because anything but wise. They

two or three more principles which generally accompany the state of things on which we have been remarking. Such principles are some of those which we treated in the former paper, as, for example, that the study of the dead languages is useless, or not so useful as many other things; that it is of no use to work for working's sake; that it is undesirable to overload the memory with mere words, as people talk, with poetry, oratory, and so forth, and that it is better to impart facts, *useful* facts in science and natural history. These and such like favorite dogmas are the universal concomitants of a weakened and effeminate system. They are the plausible outside put upon plans which would produce nothing but shallowness and conceit. The truth is, that a strong, firm discipline, and a strong, broad system of classical institution form the very best base on which can be raised the superstructure of a great national character.

Such warnings as these are more especially needed now, when we hear so much of English notes to classical books, of literal translations, whether interlinear or marginal, of self-instructing manuals, of easy explanations of abstruse subjects, of epitomes, compendiums, and so forth; now when the most empirical methods find a place in our schools, and are actually encouraged where it might have been expected they would have been most stringently proscribed. The cribbing books, as boys call them, which are now so widely used, are among the worst signs of the classical education of the day.

There is a great deal, perhaps, which *may* be said against Latin notes to Latin and Greek school books; we do not deny it: but that which *may* be said, is not that which is said. If Latin notes do harm, we are quite certain that such English notes as we generally get do more. We shall find out in course of time, perhaps, that the scholars who were formed when there were no notes but in Latin, were not inferior to those who have been produced by the prosody-made-easy methods of the day. It would possibly be unfair to intimate a suspicion that some who have written notes, have written them in English because easier to *them* to write, rather than because easier to the pupils to read. We believe there was not near so much rubbish written in Latin notes as there is in English. Our own opinion is that if a boy cannot read, for example, Heyne's notes to Virgil or Döring's to Horace (we are not saying that Heyne's or Döring's notes are all that they ought to be), he has no business to read Virgil or Horace at all. He ought to go through his Delectus again.

One of the great objections, and a very serious objection, to English notes (and the same will apply to American notes), is that they are so *easy to read*: they may be read so quickly;

there is so little delay in the perusal, so little dwelling of the eye, and therefore of the mind, so little thought needed for reading English notes; they may be read almost between sleeping and waking, read while coming up to the lesson, or read, say stealthily glanced at, while going through the lesson. And we all know that what is easiest to read is often the most difficult to remember, especially when we get at once to the result without ourselves going through the process of working it out. This again is another great objection to the English and American note system now in vogue, that it precludes the pupil from exercising the mind in *finding out* the thing to be found, in arriving by his own strength at the point required, in solving the problem for himself; from this, the most gratifying and wholesome, because the most exercising and most gymnastic, part of learning, the pupil is constantly debarred. For a single glance at a few pages of, say, Anthon's Horace, will convince any one that it is not the *difficult* things which a *studious* boy could not find out if he *tried* (supposing him fit to read the author at all), it is not these merely, or these mainly, which are explained, as they call it, but the *easy* things which a *lazy* boy *would not try* to find out. Lessing said that if he had the choice offered him between truth and the investigation of truth, he would unhesitatingly choose the latter; and though the terms in which he expressed this decision have something like an air of levity, yet there is after all a certain basis of reality and soundness beneath it. There is nothing more delighting and invigorating to the mind, because nothing calling its powers into more healthy exercise, than the pursuit and discovery of knowledge: this of course is trite enough, and every one would admit it in general terms, every one would agree to it—*until* it was to be applied to a practical case. But such a system as we are remarking on, proceeds in entire neglect of this principle; such a system, we should say, so far from whetting the appetite by a chase, does away with the chase, and chokes the mind with food which it is unable to digest. A mental obesity is the natural result of such a diet, and, if the complexion counterfeits the hue of health, it will be only the hue, for it cannot be more than skin-deep. Far different the result of a healthy regimen, which affords exercise proportioned to the strength, excites a strong and natural appetite, and imparts all along the tone and vigor which will enable the frame to cope with the exercise and the food.

Connected with this subject, though perhaps indirectly, is another of some interest. We allude to what is commonly called the love of reading in children. Some persons, we conceive, lay far too great a stress on this peculiarity, as if it were a certain, necessary, and unmixed good; as if, this being secured,

all was right. Our own opinion is directly opposed to this view. We believe that the love of reading is very often and in multitudes of cases, the mere love of laziness; and if Bishop Butler could say with justice in his day that there was no time spent in greater idleness than the greater part of that which is spent in reading, what must we say now, if we would state the case as it really stands? We believe that there is nothing more injurious to the habits of thought than the indiscriminate reading which is now in fashion,—nothing which tends more directly to impair the tone of the mind and the vigor of the intellect. Reading for mere amusement generally, and that by no long process, becomes reading what *ought* not to amuse, but to disgust. An incorrect and un-English style, false ornament, and still false morality, are the base on which most of those works are formed which are addressed to the large body of the reading public. They take for granted, or even formally state, and with an air of philosophy (we say an *air*) are fain to defend, elucidate, and render attractive to the mass, the most pestilent theories and opinions. If mere knowledge ordinarily only puffeth up, what must be the effect of that knowledge which is far more of evil than of good? If literature is at best but a sea in which the navigator must pilot himself watchfully, if he would escape shipwreck, what must be the fate of those who would launch forth on its billows without compass and without rudder, or having rudder and compass, yet regardless of both? We feel that this is a subject of the greatest importance now, greater than at any previous era in the history of the world; now, when every one has reading enough within his reach to fill him with error and vice, as well as, if he chose, with real knowledge and that humility which, in its true character and highest forms, it is invariably found to engender. For our own part we prize in the young a love of activity and work far more highly than the mere love of reading. The love of work may be turned to good account, for work may be found in many walks of professional or of commercial life, but the mere love of reading may turn to no good account at all; it may be accompanied by none of those *other* qualities which tend mainly to determine the character of the mind. It may indeed give that general knowledge, which might far more fitly be designated general ignorance; that imperfect, one-sided, isolated, smattering, skin-deep, superficial kind of knowledge which has no root, no stability, no coherence; a kind of knowledge which will make talkers, and nothing more. Literature, apart from the pursuit and study of some one department, is much better let alone. One subject well studied is better than a smattering of a hundred—for ourselves we infinitely prefer activity and regularity in business to the ‘*strenua inertia*’ of the circulating-library

gourmand. Great readers, it has been said, are generally great eaters. But they do not always digest all they read any more than all they eat. There is a mental as well as a bodily dyspepsia.

There is not, as there is commonly supposed to be, any necessary connexion between a wholesome intellectual culture and a (mere) love of reading. The greatest divines, and lawyers, and poets, and philologers have not always been distinguished, when boys, for their love of reading; while on the contrary, children who are most remarkable for this same love of reading, very frequently turn out anything but specimens of high or sound intellectual cultivation. It is no uncommon thing for a boy, most fond of reading, to become a sailor, or anything else most foreign from the supposed objects of his interest and regard. But the truth is, that such result, say, the desire of going to sea, for example, is often only a development in another direction of the very same temper which shows itself in the love of (listless) reading. It is a temper frequently of desultoriness, aversion to regular employment and fixed work: sometimes also a temper of adventure and an eagerness for travel or discovery. How many thousands of boys, for example, has *Robinson Crusoe* sent to sea? We are not saying that *Robinson Crusoe* is a bad book for boys, or that going to sea is always bad (for sailors there must be, and we are as a nation almost born with a love for the sea, remarkably in contrast to the American youth); we are only pointing out what are the obvious tendencies and results of certain methods of treatment—intellectual, moral, and prudential. There is no material difference, in this view, between reading the tale of *Robinson Crusoe* and the tales of Cooper and others; yet no one can doubt that the tendency of them is to breed in the mind a passion for adventure and travelling, and what they call seeing the world. And this being the case, a boy only needs the concurrence of two or three other circumstances to bring him to fix his mind finally on the nautical life. Such circumstances may be, for example, the inability (from want of opportunity or means) to travel and see the world in any other way, or the indecision of himself previously, and of his friends, as to what occupation he shall be put to. But this is only by way of illustration of the general subject. What we wish to bring out to view is, that the love of activity and of regular work is a much more promising sign in children than the love of passive reading and amusement. A boy who does his work well and plays well, learns hard and reads hard, takes his game at cricket or at black ball in turn with his fifty lines of Virgil or his page of Cicero, is in the one what he is in the other, alert, quick, and earnest, is the type of the future man as education should make him. And this again

brings us round to the old subject of Greek and Latin. How miserable is the view of those who would exclude from a school course such useless exercises as they call them, as verse-making and copious Latin composition, and would substitute for them the more 'interesting' (!) and 'useful' (!) *observation* of facts of natural history and physics, and so forth. Yes; instead of learning, they would have observation; instead of doing, they would have mere looking; instead of *work*, they would have amusement. They would turn study into play, and play into the appearance of study.* We regard the exercise of making Latin verse one of the most various, most comprehensive, most strengthening exercises by which a lad can be disciplined to mental work. True; he must work; it cannot be done without; he must make mistakes, and find them out and correct them, and avoid them in future; he must use his memory, his judgment, his taste; mere staring at objects will not answer the end. And this is one of the great advantages of Latin and Greek as subjects of school instruction, that they do afford scope for work, real, hard work, and that the process of acquiring them is thus made a fit preparation for any kind of intellectual labor afterwards. Even those who, from any circumstances, do not gain much actual knowledge or information, as it is called, in the course of learning Latin and Greek, do get at any rate the *power* of acquiring it. And power is the end of training. Knowledge comes by the way. Nor is a short time enough for this purpose. We will say broadly, that Latin and Greek, if they could be learnt in a short time thoroughly, would forthwith lose nearly all their fitness to the end for which they are mainly taught. If they could be acquired in a few weeks or months, they would no longer be suitable as *training* studies. Training requires time; it is time which makes character, moral or intellectual. The 'seven or eight years,' of which Milton spoke, are most meetly spent in following one path of learning, and the 'miserable Latin and Greek,' as he calls it, if acquired, as he *says* it might be, 'in one year,' however 'easily and delightfully,' would of necessity be almost wholly useless for the purpose of training and disciplining the mind. It would leave the work to be done by something else. It would give haply a little knowledge, and a little power, and a little pleasure, but it would do next to nothing towards seriously forming the mind to intellectual labor, or to work of any kind whatever.

Another great advantage of Latin and Greek which we may

* The objection to the working Greek and Latin system often comes from those who (as if to show the inconsistency of error) would favor any plan for making a *game* 'instructive,' as it is called.

just touch on, is this; that the field of classical literature is limited, and may be studied completely. 'The completeness of the study,' says a distinguished living scholar, 'would have the effect, which nothing but a complete study of a *limited* quantity of subject-matter can give; the effect of disciplining the mind to exactness, of forming it to a full comprehension of the value of *thoroughly knowing a subject*, and at the same time of convincing the student how *difficult* it is *fully or adequately* to comprehend even a *limited* amount of subject-matter,—a conviction never reached by those who ramble unrestrained over a boundless space, and so have not leisure sufficient to learn how *little* they actually see of the infinite which passes before their eyes.'

The proper study for youth is one whose *surface* is limited, but whose *depth* may be thoroughly explored. The ground should not be large, but they should plough it well. It is not rambling over it, but digging it through and through, which forms a strengthening exercise.

We must not lay down our pen without saying a few words on the books which have served us for a motto on the present occasion. Mr. Dunn's work has the rare merit of having been written by a man who understands practically the subject which he handles. The promises of the title-page are amply fulfilled in the subsequent pages of the book. It abounds with wise counsel and good thoughts; and any teacher who can read it without learning something new, or feeling strengthened in what he knew before, must be either already well nigh perfect or else incorrigibly bad.

Although we do not pledge ourselves to all the opinions advanced in Mr. Stow's work, we have no hesitation in saying, that it will be found very useful by all persons engaged in the establishment or management of schools for the lower orders, and will be read with pleasure by all who are interested in the business and prospects of popular education.

Art. IV. *The Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare. Parts I. to XXXI.*
London: Charles Knight. 1839—41.

ILLUSTRIOUS as is the reign of Elizabeth, in no respect is it more so than in the host of poets who shed brightness on that glad morning. Peele, Lyly, Sidney, Marlowe, Green, Sylvester, Drayton, Spenser, Shakspeare,—all sang together in sweet harmony, and first among them all must the last named be placed. That he wrote for the stage has with one class been made an

objection against placing him in the list of our poets ; and forgetful of his volume of sweet poetry—in which some twenty of his sonnets alone would place him on an equality with any one of his contemporaries,—the poet who belongs to all time, the poet of universal man, has been viewed by some, but as the text-book for the actor, but as a source of amusement to play-going people.

Now this most unjust notion has arisen simply from forgetting that dramatic poetry is as essentially poetry, as epic or didactic ; that because it is capable of scenic representation, it by no means follows that *that* is the form for which it was expressly intended ; and that to censure highly poetical productions merely because they have been so used, argues as little wisdom as to object to many valuable things because a use may be made of them which we conscientiously disapprove. Such views as we have stated, were those of ‘precious Master Stubbes,’ whose vagaries have contributed more to cast unmerited obloquy on the early Puritans than any abuse of their enemies ; and who, mistaking want of taste for Christian zeal, classes ‘plays and ‘music,’ curled hair and starched ruffs, among the especial snares of the evil one, and who recommends ‘Fox’s Book of ‘Martyrs’ as the only legitimate ‘recreation’ for Christian men. Not so thought a greater, a more consistent Puritan than he, Milton—who viewing even the ‘stary-pointed pyramid,’ as too mean for Shakspeare,

‘ Who to our wonder and astonishment,
Hast built thyself a livelong monument,’

would offer a living, breathing homage that should last through all time.

‘ For whilst to the shame of slow endeavoring art,
Thy easy numbers flow, and that each heart
Hath from the leaves of thine unvalued book
Those Delphic lines with deep impression took,
Then thou our fancy of itself bereaving,
Dost make us marble with too much conceiving ;
And so sepulchred, in such pomp doth lie,
That kings for such a tomb would wish to die.’

From the enthusiasm of this homage we may well conceive the entranced enjoyment with which the young poet pored over the precious folio collection of Shakspeare’s works ; and how intensely he felt that the dramas of this astonishing writer were never intended merely to supply characters for Burbage or Alleyne to enact, or scenes which the mere playwright might furnish out with boards, paint, and canvas ; but as magnificent poems, exhibiting every trait of human nature,—all its strength

and all its weakness ; as bringing before us scenes of long past time clothed in hues of reality ; or revelling in dreams of surpassing loveliness, with ‘ little dainty Ariel,’ and Titania and her elfin company,—scenes and beings which no stage could adequately represent, and no actor shadow forth.

In contemplating the unapproached superiority of Shakspeare as a dramatist, we must remember that when he came to London, the only direction in which his genius could be profitably employed was as a writer for the stage. In Elizabeth’s reign, prose literature, if we except Sir Philip Sidney’s quaint but poetical *Arcadia*, and one or two short tales by Greene and Lodge, was unknown ; and poetical literature, if we except songs and sonnets, was, until the appearance of the exquisite ‘ *Faery Queen*,’ almost confined to the dramatic class. Indeed, the eager interest manifested during this period for dramatic poetry, and the great superiority of the plays produced, in a moral, no less than a poetical point of view, to those of later days, is the most remarkable feature in the literary history of those times.

The cause for this may be found in the fact that, of all the ancient amusements and usages so fiercely proscribed at the Reformation, theatrical performances alone were not only permitted, but encouraged. The advantages which the miracle plays had conferred on the people by familiarizing their minds with the great outlines of Scripture history, through a medium which was not then considered as profane, were not lost sight of by the reformers. They readily perceived that the stage, even in that rude form, might become a powerful auxiliary ; and in the interludes of ‘ *Pardonere and the Frere*,’ ‘ *God’s Promises*,’ ‘ *New Custome*,’ and that extravagant attempt at the historical drama, Bale’s ‘ *Kyng Johan*,’ we have characteristic specimens of the use they made of it. The theatre thus became a sort of authorized place of entertainment ; and the aid of the play writer was sought, not only by amusement-seeking folk, but by grave and learned divines, who heeded little the ribaldry in which the writers indulged, provided shrewd blows were given to ‘ fat friars and rich abbeys.’

During the whole reign of Elizabeth, the attachment of the people to theatrical amusements increased ; but from the list of subjects which the early records of the drama presents, we think it likely that as many pressed to the theatres to obtain historical knowledge, as for mere pastime. So great was the taste for historical plays during this period, that it would be difficult to find a stirring incident or a conspicuous character, either in ancient or modern history, which had not been taken as a subject. Still, the historical drama, such as *we* judge it, was with the single exception of Marlowe’s ‘ *Edward the Second*,’ un-

known. These attempts were little more than Plutarch, or Grafton, or Hollingshed copied out 'dialogue wise,' and interspersed, sometimes with exquisite bursts of true poetry, sometimes with the vilest trash; but all faithfully reflecting the prejudices, religious or national, of the age. Now this state of things actually rendered it more difficult for Shakspeare to strike out a different path in dramatic literature than if he had had to form a new one altogether. The public taste approved the existing plays; many of their worst faults (as we learn from contemporary writers), especially their ribaldry, were considered as especial excellencies, and the calm and dignified language which the young dramatist assigned to his heroes, was likely to appear tame indeed to those who had been accustomed to have their 'ears split' with the 'sound and fury, signifying nothing,' of 'Jeronymo,' or 'Tamburlaine.' But strong in that genius which never has been surpassed, Shakspeare boldly struck out in his own path, and showed the world of what dramatic poetry was capable. And what vivid paintings of the past has he given us, instead of the dim, distorted outlines of his predecessors; what finely executed portraits of those who for centuries had been dust and ashes; what bright scenes in faerieland, and in far-off enchanted islands!

But marvellous as are his powers, most marvellous is his freedom from all prejudice. Although belonging to a most bigoted age, cradle-rocked in religious strifes, seeing men around him zealous to the death for every notion they adopted, and fiercely denouncing their opponents as unworthy of existence, Shakspeare from the heights of his great mind calmly looked on, and took no part, save to vindicate the common rights of humanity. Even the Jew,—that object of mysterious horror in that age of dread of supernatural influence, in the hands of Shakspeare became almost an object of pity, and when Shylock exclaims 'hath not the Jew eyes? hath not a Jew 'hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?' how finely does he claim for the outcast the common rights of man. But there was a class, of Christians too, which in his days were objects of hatred and almost of fear—the Puritans; and many a sarcasm was launched at them by his contemporaries, and one of his most successful rivals, Ben Jonson, in his 'Alchemist,' held them up to indignation, and in his 'Bartholomew Fair,' to unmitigated scorn. But did not Shakspeare join in the popular feeling? did not he, whose plays were admired by Elizabeth, and who enjoyed his property in the Globe by express command of James, did not he hold up to ridicule, at least, a sect that had been proscribed by royal authority? No; Shakspeare wrote for all time; and therefore no mean attacks upon a persecuted sect were made by him;

and the only allusion to Puritanism which we meet with in all his thirty-seven plays, is by the 'foolish knight' Sir Andrew Aguecheek, who 'would as lief be a Brownist as a politician,' 'Tell us something of the steward,' says the sack-loving Sir Toby—

'*Maria.* 'Marry, sir, sometimes he is a kind of Puritan.'

'*Sir Andrew.* 'Oh! if I thought that, I'd beat him like a dog.'

'*Sir Toby.* 'What? for being a Puritan? thy exquisite reason, dear knight.'

'*Sir Andrew.* 'I have no exquisite reason for't; but reason good enough.'—*Twelfth Night*, act 2nd, scene 3rd.

Can quiet satire go further?

But there was another religious sect, more bitterly hated than the Puritans, and hated too by them—the papists; and their superstitions, and real or pretended delinquences, had furnished the stage for three parts of a century with a never-failing theme of abuse. Did Shakspeare here join in the popular feeling?—he certainly did not withdraw from the subject, for in the first and the last of his historical plays he boldly met it. When his *King John* appeared, there were already two plays on the subject, that of Bale and one of a later writer; but while both of these exhibit the ecclesiastical power as trampling upon every right, and John forsooth, as 'more sinned against than sinning,' Shakspeare has presented John in his true colors, as cowardly and cruel; but although the king gives his name to the play, it is 'the fate of Arthur,' as Mr. Knight most correctly says in the work before us, 'which is the great connecting link that binds together all the series of actions in 'the *King John* of Shakspeare;' and the general principle brought out is political rather than religious,—political too in a sense which has far closer relation with the views of the patriots of the coming generation, than with the servile notions of the age of kingcraft.

'This England never did, nor never shall,
Lie at the proud feet of a conqueror,
But when it first did help to wound itself.
Now these three princes are come home again,
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them. Nought should make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true.'

But how did he treat the last of his historical series, 'Henry 'the Eighth?' that story of the divorce of Queen Katharine and the fall of Wolsey; those events which made direct way for the Reformation? Even as Shakspeare always did—calmly, unprejudicedly; neither glossing over the faults of Wolsey, nor

denying him the sympathy which was due to his sorrows; throughout all that difficult period, so grossly distorted by the wilful perversions of the historians appointed by royal authority, keeping close to his great axiom,

‘ Nothing extenuate, and nought set down in malice.’

How nobly does Wolsey stand forward in the earlier scenes, ambitious and intriguing as he unquestionably is, in contrast with the low-minded nobles of Henry’s court; of ‘ what coarse ‘ metal’ are Norfolk and Suffolk moulded, in comparison with ‘ the right triumphant lord high cardinal,’ butcher’s son though he were; and yet, at the very time when this play was first presented to public notice, hostility against the Catholics was at its height, for the Gunpowder Plot had been discovered but a few years before. But heedless of popular opinion, Shakspeare exhibits this great but dangerous man in true colors; and in the last scene of his appearance, in his deep repentance, commends him to our admiration and pity.

‘ Mark but my fall, and that which ruined me.
Cromwell, I charge thee fling away ambition;
By that sin fell the angels; how can man then,
The image of his Maker, hope to win by it?
Love thyself last: cherish those hearts that hate thee;
Corruption wins not more than honesty.
Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace,
To silence envious tongues. Be just and fear not:
Let all the ends thou aim’st at be thy country’s,
Thy God’s, and truth’s; then, if thou fallest, O Cromwell,
Thou fall’st a blessed martyr.—Serve the king,
And—Prithee lead me in:—
There, take an inventory of all I have
To the last penny; ’tis the king’s: my robe,
And my integrity to heaven is all
I dare now call my own. O Cromwell, Cromwell,
Had I but served my God with half the zeal
I served my king, he would not in mine age
Have left me naked to mine enemies!’

But there was another character in this play which popular feeling would have willed to be rendered most odious—Queen Katharine, the papist, the Spaniard, and the mother to ‘ bloody ‘ Queen Mary;’ and George Peele, in his ‘ Famous Chronicle of ‘ King Edward the First,’ apparently to increase the national hostility to Spain, had exhibited one of the most excellent of our queens, the gentle Elinor of Castile, as the most blood-thirsty virago; and the audience at the Red Bull, and at the Fortune, vehemently applauded this perversion of well known history. But did Shakspeare do so? No; although the rival of

Queen Katharine was Anne Boleyn, the protectress of the Reformers, and the mother of Elizabeth.

All along, the high-minded, devoted Katharine, proud indeed, as the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the aunt of Charles the Fifth might well be, but still keenly alive to the claims of justice, most attached to her brutal husband, kind and considerate even toward her 'poor wenches,' the serving maids, challenges our homage and our love. Where, save in the 'Henry the Eighth' of Shakspeare, shall we find (although grave lawyers and zealous divines had abundantly illustrated the subject) during two long centuries, a just view of the causes that led to the English reformation?

The historical plays of Shakspeare, especially that series which exhibits the contests of the houses of York and Lancaster, have of late years excited much attention. The interest which is now felt in *authentic* history, and which has prompted the publication of so many contemporary works, has naturally directed inquiry toward these noble dramas, from which so many have derived their most vivid historical impressions; and while many a critic on one side has pointed out Shakspeare's gross inaccuracies, many a one on the other, not content with what we should think were a sufficient excuse—that he obtained the best information he was able—has stood forth in vindication of the apocryphal and partizan chronicles of Hollingshed and Hall, as though, because Shakspeare referred to them, they must of necessity partake his homage. Now we think justice is best done, both to the genius and moral power of Shakspeare, by showing how finely finished a picture he has given, even from the coarse and ill-drawn outline from whence his first idea was borrowed; and how, even while he takes an incorrect view of a character, because an incorrect copy was placed before him, he ever uses it to deepen the moral of the scene.

That Shakspeare's mind evidently dwelt with great interest on the wars of the Roses, not merely the circumstance of the connected series of plays which bear the name of Henry the Sixth proves, but the fact, now placed by Mr. Knight, we think, beyond all doubt, that the two older plays called 'The Contention of Lancaster and York,' were also early productions of his. This interest was probably awakened by very early associations, for, to quote from Mr. Knight's dissertation on these plays,

'When William Shakspeare was about five years of age a grant of arms was made by the College of Heralds to his father. The father was unquestionably engaged in trade of some sort in Stratford-upon-Avon; but he lived in an age when the pride of ancestry was not lightly regarded, and when a distinction such as this was of real and

permanent importance. The grant was confirmed in 1599; and the reason for the confirmation of arms is stated with minute particularity in the 'exemplification' then granted by Sir William Dethick and the great Camden:—'Know ye that in all nations and kingdoms the record and remembrance of the valiant facts and virtuous dispositions of worthy men have been known and divulged by certain shields of arms and tokens of chivalry; the grant and testimony whereof appertaineth unto us, by virtue of our offices from the queen's most excellent majesty and her highness' most noble and victorious progenitors: wherefore, being solicited, and by credible report informed that John Shakspeare, now of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick, gent., whose parent and great-grandfather, late antecessor, for his faithful and approved service to the late most prudent prince King Henry VII. of famous memory, was advanced and rewarded with lands and tenements, given to him in these parts of Warwickshire, where they have continued by some descents in good reputation and credit,' &c., &c. It is not difficult to imagine the youthful Shakspeare sitting at his mother's feet, to listen to the tale of his 'antecessor's' prowess; or to picture the boy led by his father over the field of Bosworth,—to be shown the great morass which lay between both armies,—and Radmoor Plain, where the battle began,—and Dickon's Nook, where the tyrant harangued his army,—and the village of Dadlington, where the graves of the slain still indented the ground. Here was the scene of his antecessor's 'faithful and approved service.' In the humble house of Shakspeare's boyhood there was, in all probability, to be found a thick squat folio volume, then some thirty years printed, in which might be read, 'what misery, what murder, and what execrable plagues this famous region hath suffered by the division and dissension of the renowned houses of Lancaster and York.' This, to the generation of Shakspeare's boyhood, was not a tale buried in the dust of ages; it was one whose traditions were familiar to the humblest of the land, whilst the memory of its bitter hatreds still ruffled the spirits of the highest. 'For what nobleman liveth at this day, or what gentleman of any ancient stock or progeny is clear, whose lineage hath not been infested and plagued with this unnatural division?' In that old volume from which we quote, 'the names of the histories contained' are thus set forth:—I. 'The *Unquiet Time* of King Henry the Fourth. II. 'The *Victorious Acts* of King Henry the Fifth.' III. 'The *Troublous Season* of King Henry the Sixth.' IV. 'The *Prosperous Reign* of King Edward the Fourth.' V. 'The *Pitiful Life* of King Edward the Fifth.' VI. 'The *Tragical Doings* of King Richard the Third.' VII. 'The *Politie Governance* of King Henry the Seventh.' VIII. 'The *Triumphant King* Henry the Eighth.' This book was 'Hall's Chronicle.'—*Introduction to Histories*, p. lxxx.

It was thus, doubtless, that from early youth his mind dwelt upon this period of our history; and thus in eight of the noblest historical dramas has he given us the rise and fall of the house of Lancaster, and closely following on that, the fall of the proud line of Plantagenet.

To estimate the grandeur, but above all, the *moral power* of these dramas, they should be read, not one by one, or at intervals;—far less in disjointed order, but in regular succession, as though they were one finished work; for the eight are linked together by numerous and important incidents, each telling on the other, and the whole series forms one grand epic of retributive justice.

Mr. Knight, with whose estimates of each play we have generally been much pleased, points out, indeed, the close connexion,—the oneness rather, of the three plays of Henry the Sixth and Richard the Third; but it is the strife of Bolingbroke and the second Richard that is the cause, although fifty years had passed away, of the heart-burnings, and discontents, and intrigues which are exhibited throughout the three plays of Henry the Sixth. View these latter, without reference to the earlier, and we marvel why a king so just, so mild, so conscientious, should suffer so grievously during his whole reign, and at length meet a violent death. For the reason of this, we must turn to ‘Richard the Second,’ and in Bolingbroke’s violent seizure of his crown, and connivance, if not actual participation in his murder, the mystery of that innocent king’s sufferings is made clear. The iniquity of Bolingbroke is visited not on him, or on his immediate successor—but on ‘the third and fourth generation;’ and to work out this one principle, ‘God’s revenge against murderers,’ is the object which is sternly kept in view throughout.

This fine dramatic epic commences with Richard in the fulness of a power, which he knew not how to use, banishing his cousin Bolingbroke, and refusing to ‘old John of Gaunt, time-honored Lancaster,’ the boon of once again seeing his son. The death of John of Gaunt, and the seizure of his estates, follow, and we feel that Bolingbroke is justified in his first step. But popular discontent runs high against the king, and Bolingbroke, who on his landing had solemnly sworn that he had returned but to claim his hereditary possessions, sees the crown within his grasp, and hastens to clutch it. From henceforward he is in the ascendant,—and the deposition, and imprisonment, and death of Richard follow. But even before the last act of the tragedy is completed, we perceived the difficulties and vexations with which Bolingbroke is surrounded, and in his anxious inquiry after his son,—that son that is to be his successor, but who is ‘as dissolute as desperate,’ we are led to expect coming troubles.

The next portion of this fine poem opens with the lamentation of the new king that ‘intestine broils’ have not suffered him to fulfil his intention of journeying

‘As far as to the sepulchre of Christ;’

and then his sorrow at the continued profligacy of his son, brings to remembrance the opposite character of young Hotspur, and his grief and indignation break out in these passionate lines—

‘ Oh that it could be proved
That some night tripping faery had exchanged
In cradle clothes our children where they lay,
And called mine Percy, his Plantagenet !’

The next scene shows us this unworthy son carousing with his profligate companions at the Boar’s Head, and this introduces to our contemplation one of the finest historical characters, we think, in all Shakspeare’s plays.

The question whether Henry the Fifth was actually the profligate youth which Shakspeare has represented, has been fiercely contested up to the present moment; and as Sir Roger De Coverly remarked on another subject, ‘so much may be said on both sides,’ that we really find it difficult to decide upon it. All the authorities with which Shakspeare was conversant, agree in representing him as turbulent, profligate, and low-minded; but he, with that deep and minute insight into character which beyond every other dramatist he possessed, while exhibiting him as profligate, has elevated him in mental power far above his carousing associates; for Shakspeare well knew that however the moral character might be changed, the mental could not; and that no vulgar mind could conceive or embody sentiments so noble as those which the chivalrous king in the play that bears his name was to put forth. In the selection of ‘Hal’s’ companions, Shakspeare has shown great skill. They are all reckless, bent on dangerous enterprises, and thus the excitement their society produces, is a pleasant contrast in the eyes of the young prince to the gloom and stately formality of his father’s court. But the moral power of Shakspeare is equally shown, for who among them all possesses a single quality to demand respect? The amiable villains, the high-minded housebreakers—the highwaymen who, but for crimes which they are forced to commit, stand on such high vantage ground, above sober, quiet church-going people—those fictitious monsters with which our modern literature teems, find no favor with Shakspeare. Poins, Peto, Bardolph, Pistol,—Falstaff himself, despite his inimitable wit, and apparent *bonhommie*, what are they all, but mean, selfish, low-minded profligates;—characters which it is as impossible that any one reader should desire to imitate as that he should wish to possess Bardolph’s red nose, or Falstaff’s ‘mountain of flesh.’

But although the prince is for a season to be obscured by these ‘envious clouds,’ he is ere long to shine forth; and by what slow

and judicious measures is his conversion effected. The praises which his father bestows upon Hotspur, though they irritate him, awaken nobler feelings in his mind; and though in the next scene we find Falstaff regaining his ascendancy over him, still we perceive that there is a chord in his heart that can vibrate to noble emotions. The approach of actual warfare, the reality of that excitement, the shadow of which he had so long pursued, first arouses him, and in his chivalrous defiance of Hotspur, the first lineaments of the hero of Azincour may be traced. The battle of Shrewsbury finely brings out the antagonist characters of 'young gallant Hal;' and the commonplace, shrewd, and worldly 'fat knight;' and when in the heat of battle the prince asks—

‘What, standst thou idle here? lend me thy sword;
Many a nobleman lies stark and stiff
Under the hoofs of vaunting enemies,
Whose deaths are unavenged,’—

and Falstaff replies by bragging laughingly of his valor, and giving the bottle of sack instead of his pistol, when the prince flings it back to him, exclaiming,

‘What! is’t a time to jest and dally *now*?’

we feel that the link that bound the prince to him is snapt for ever—there is no common feeling between them. And thus, at the close, how finely does young Henry lament over the ‘brave Percy’—

‘This earth which bears thee dead,
Bears not alive so bold a gentleman,
Adieu, and take with thee thy praise to heaven!
Thy ignominy sleep with thee in the grave,
But not remembered in thine epitaph.’

But the fat knight lies near, counterfeiting death; ‘Poor Jack, farewell,’ says the prince, his pity mingling with his contempt,

‘I could have better spared a better man;—
Oh! I should have a heavy miss of thee,
If I were much in love with vanity.’

Old habits and old associates are not, however, easily broken off, and this Shakspeare well knew; and thus we find in the following play, that the prince has again been inveigled into companionship with his former friends. But we perceive a change has passed over him. He jests with Poins, but it is forced jesting; ‘I could be sad, and sad indeed too,’ he says; and though for the last time he visits the Boar’s Head, still it

is with a scarcely overcome reluctance, and he 'feels himself much to blame,

' Thus idly to profane the precious time,'

and his jests with Falstaff are mixed with sarcasms.

The death-bed of that father who had so unjustly won the crown, completes the change. The solemn presence of a dying man ; his melancholy foreboding that

' The fifth Harry from curbed license plucks
The muzzle of restraint, and the wild dog
Shall flesh his teeth in every innocent.'

His sad recollections of the 'bye-paths and indirect crooked 'ways,' by which he obtained the crown, and his earnest desires that his penitent son may wear it in 'more fairer sort,' all combine to bow down the wild but most susceptible spirit of the prince, and to bring his follies to his bitter remembrance ; and when he leads forth his father to that 'Jerusalem chamber' where he is to die, we feel that his conversion is completed. Then,

' Consideration like an angel came
And whipt the offending Adam out of him.'

How finely does Henry, now no longer the 'madcap prince,' but the king, appear in the fifth act :—his noble address to the lord chief justice.

' You did commit me :
For which I do commit into your hand
The unstained sword that you have used,
With this remembrance—that you use the same to bear
With the like bold, just, and impartial spirit,
As you have done 'gainst me. There is my hand.'

All the commentators (and Mr. Knight seems more than half inclined to follow them) consider that the king deals hardly with his former companions. For this severity we would only quote the first couplet of some of the finest lines Shakspeare ever wrote.

' He who the sword of heaven will bear,
Must be as holy, as severe.'

He must, therefore, stand apart from all imagined connivance with those whose vices he abhors ; and thus, unless the king had *publicly* disclaimed Falstaff and his companions, their matchless cunning would have persuaded the world that he still secretly patronized them, and the moral exhibited in the king's changed character would have been incomplete. But he does

not cast them off to starve;—in the same speech he assures them of a competent provision—

‘That lack of means enforce you not to evil:
And, as we hear you do reform yourselves,
We will according to your strength and qualities,
Give you advancement.’

What a tempering of mercy with justice is here!

Bolingbroke has died repentant; his heir, now all that he could have wished him, has succeeded; and the brilliant scene of that son’s conquests in France opens to our view. At first glance, the play of ‘Henry the Fifth’ appears so episodic as scarcely to claim to be considered as one of the series—but on closer inspection we shall find that it links together in masterly manner the rise and the fall of the house of Lancaster. Foreign warfare was recommended by Bolingbroke as a wise mean of keeping men’s minds employed; and as affording a field for the exercise of that busy valor which might otherwise aid in maintaining unwelcome claims. And thus—and it is a strictly historical fact—never was a war more popular than that with France, and never was a monarch so beloved as our fifth Henry. But the glory of that period deepened the gloom of the succeeding reign; and the contrast of the matchless prowess and intellectual activity of the father, rendered the quiet temper and imbecile mind of the son, a hundred times more distasteful to his subjects. And like a skilful painter, who tempers the darker shades of his picture by a gleam of clear sunshine athwart the foreground, does Shakspeare steep this whole play in light and gaiety. No tragic incident, although the whole subject is war, no mournful foreboding, is suffered to intrude, but all along we are borne triumphantly from victory to victory, until the recognition of Henry as monarch of France and England closes the play. How fine a contrast is thus afforded to the gloomy scenes of the future! how does that bright morning bring on the storm and the whirlwind!

We cannot pass on without remarking with what consummate skill Shakspeare has exhibited the now moral, the religious Henry. Although willing to fight, yet, when inquiring the archbishop’s opinion, how solemnly he adjures him to ‘weigh well the argument;’ how anxious is he that justice, strict justice, shall be done to his foeman,—how merciful toward the conspirators—

‘Touching our person we seek no revenge;’

and with what kindly feeling does he talk to the soldiers the night before the battle. How earnest too his prayer,

‘O God of battles ! steel my soldiers’ hearts !
 Possess them not with fear ! * * *
 Pluck not their hearts from them to day, O Lord !
 Oh, not to day ! Think not upon the fault
My father made in compassing the crown ?

Here, indeed, the crime that is yet to be avenged rises before us, and connects the first play with the last by that one allusion.

But Henry can be also the light-hearted, playful companion; for Shakspeare well knew that a man in casting off his vices, has no need to cast off his natural character. Hypocrites always affect a change of manner, and therefore Richard the Third comes before us Prayer-book in hand, and talking homilies; but the upright, transparent, chivalrous Henry of Monmouth retains all his youthful spirit and gaiety, for he has parted with nothing but his vices. The premature death of this gallant king is reserved for the first part of ‘Henry the Sixth,’ where the corpse lying in state, and the mournful eulogies of prelates and nobles, form a suitable introduction to the scenes of discord that are to follow—

‘Posterity, await for wretched years,’—

is indeed the appropriate motto.

Viewed in reference to history, Shakspeare’s four last plays exhibit far greater inaccuracies than the earlier, and all these may be traced to Hall and Hollingshed; but it is a curious fact, and one that forcibly exhibits the master power of genius, that each character in Shakspeare is so life-like, that we can scarcely believe that his portraits are untrue.

The contests of the Duke of Gloster and Cardinal Beaufort begin that strife which ere long is to fill the land with blood; and it is worthy of notice that each—Gloster, with his impetuous pride, and Beaufort, with his profound policy—is most correctly drawn. It is when Gloster is represented as murdered, by direction of Suffolk, and with the express connivance of Queen Margaret and Beaufort, that history ends and apocrypha begins.* Still, these apocryphal inventions have aided in ‘pointing the moral,’ even more forcibly, of this grand drama of retribution. The murder of Gloster makes way for the claims of York; the death-bed horror of Beaufort and the summary mur-

* William Wyrcestre, Hardyng, and Abbot Wheathampstede, all contemporaries and Yorkists, and the last a most intimate friend, record the Duke of Gloster’s death without the slightest insinuation that it was otherwise than natural. Wheathampstede, too, had the body in his possession, for the Duke was buried at St. Alban’s abbey; he had therefore ample means of instituting an inquiry, had he deemed one necessary.

der of Suffolk, fix our attention upon the main point—the doom that is hanging over the house of Lancaster; and the gentleness and conscientious feeling of the king is made so to bow to the stern will and fierce resolves of Margaret, that we perceive he *must* be hurried on to ruin. How fine a character Shakspeare would have made Margaret of Anjou, had authentic history been at hand to guide him, we may easily imagine when we contemplate the deep maternal devotion of Constance, and the queenly bearing of Katherine; but his guides exhibited her as an upstart French woman, (and yet she was daughter to a king, and niece to the King of France,) and represented her as subtle, intriguing, and violent, though of most changeful purpose, ‘as is the nature of women,’ say they right learnedly. Now, if Hall and Hollingshed, actuated by national hatred, thus drew her, we cannot censure Shakspeare, who, as we have already remarked, so nobly showed, in his Queen Katherine, his superiority to all national prejudice, for painting her as they taught him. But although these writers threw discredit on her talents, in this respect Shakspeare has not followed them. He knew that the woman who maintained for so many years, and against such an array of power, the cause of the Red Rose, could be no common person; and thus the whole range of his characters scarcely presents one so commanding in intellect, as ‘Anjou’s heroine.’

But if we regret that Shakspeare should have mistaken the *moral* character, (for the intellectual is not too high,) of Margaret, even more may we regret that he should have followed the virulent nationality of his guides, in his delineation of one of the most poetical and pure-minded beings which the wide page of history presents to us—Joan of Arc,—that enthusiastic girl (and where was there ever a master-intellect that was not enthusiastic?) who, in childhood, slept by the fountain of the fairies, and fancied she had witnessed their revels, but whose earnest thoughts in after years dwelt upon the miseries of the English invasion, until she saw visions of saints and angels, adjuring her to arise and save her father-land. She, who led on her marvelling countrymen from conquest to conquest, only to receive at their hands the doom of a sorceress—the stake and the faggot. Still, as in the case of Margaret of Anjou, Shakspeare has given to ‘la pucelle’ a force of character, an elevation of thought, which proves that he could well appreciate the intellectual, though not the *moral* power of this extraordinary woman. As Mr. Knight well remarks,

‘In all the previous scenes Shakspeare has drawn the character of the Maid with an undisguised sympathy for her courage, her patriotism, her high intellect, and her enthusiasm. If she had been the defender

of England, and not of France, the poet could not have invested her with higher attributes. It is in her mouth that he puts his choicest thoughts, and his most musical verse. It is she who says

‘ Glory is like a circle in the water,
Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself,
Till, by broad spreading, it disperse to nought.’

It is she who solicits the alliance of Burgundy in a strain of impassioned eloquence which belongs to one fighting in a high cause with unconquerable trust, and winning over enemies by the firm resolves of vigorous understanding and an unshaken will. The lines beginning

‘ Look on thy country, look on fertile France,’

might have given the tone to everything that has been subsequently written in honour of the Maid. It was his accurate knowledge of the springs of character, which in so young a man appears almost intuitive, that made Shakspeare adopt this delineation of Joan of Arc. He knew that, with all the influence of her supernatural pretension, this extraordinary woman could not have swayed the destinies of kingdoms, and moulded princes and warriors to her will, unless she had been a possessor of very rare natural endowments. She was represented by the Chroniclers as a mere virago, a bold and shameless trull, a monster, a witch ;—because they adopted the vulgar view of her character,—the view, in truth, of those to whom she was opposed.’—*Introduction to Histories*, p. lxxxii.

And how finely does her influence in the French contest tell upon the main subject. The loss of France, the quarrel of York and Suffolk, the marriage of Henry with Margaret, may all be traced to the mission of ‘ la pucelle.’

But France is lost; and the men trained up on her plains to warfare, are from henceforth to turn the plains of England into battle-fields, and to fight brother against brother. At this point—in the pause, as it were, preceding the contest—how finely is the scene between Vernon and Basset, in Temple Gardens, and the plucking of the ominous roses, imagined; and how closely is this, the fifth play of the series, linked with the first, by the appearance of ‘ dying Mortimer,’ led forth from his prison-house as it were, but to bequeath his wrongs, and their avengement, to ambitious York. How, in the second part, does the ambition of the Duchess of Gloster lead to her husband’s death—the first retribution on the house of Lancaster; and the death of Gloster to that of Suffolk, the great prop and stay of the feeble king. And how does the rude and ferocious enterprise of Jack Cade, with his promises that there shall be ‘ seven halfpenny loaves for a penny, and the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops,’ and his rage against ‘ the clerk of Chatham, who has ‘ a book in his pocket with red letters in’t,’ show the wildly agitated state of society, when the very dregs should thus work up.

Cade is soon despatched: for the very violence of a mere popular insurrection ensures its defeat; but a more powerful foeman, and backed by a more powerful force, is in the field. The falcon has spurned the closed fetter-lock:—York is in arms, and in arms for the crown! Then comes all the wild fury of civil war; father arrayed against son; son against father; brothers seeking each other's death; and through all we see the gentle, religious king mourning the strifes which he had no share in promoting, and exhibiting nought but weakness, where the sternest decision was demanded.

At length York is defeated and slain; and this scene, the worst we think in the whole series, exhibits the greatest perversion of history. We have before remarked on the incorrect view which Shakspeare took of Margaret. Indeed no other historical character has been so hardly dealt with. She is represented as intriguing with Suffolk, although her bitterest enemies never charged her with licentious conduct; as insulting the Duchess of Gloster, although the Duchess had been a prisoner at Kenilworth, for two years before she set foot on the land; as participating in Gloster's murder, although the whole current of authentic history proves that no murder was committed; and in this scene she appears indeed as the 'she-wolf of France,' cruelly insulting her fallen enemy, and stabbing him with her own hands. This is the more remarkable, since neither Hall nor Hollingshed, though sufficiently virulent against her, are authorities for this scene. Hall, with more accuracy than he mostly exhibits, expressly says, that 'Clifford came to the place where the dead corpse of the Duke of York lay, and caused his head to be stricken off, and set on it a crown of paper,' and *then* presented it to the queen. Hollingshed says, 'some write, that the Duke was taken alive, and, in derision, caused to stand on a molehill, on whose head they put a garland, instead of a crown, made of segges or bulrushes,' and that eventually his head was cut off, 'which, as ye have heard, was presented to the queen.'

That York was killed in the battle, we have, however, the unexceptionable testimony of the parliament rolls, which state, that the Lancastrians, after York and Salisbury '*were dede, made them to be heded;*' and that Margaret did not return from Scotland until after the battle, we have the direct testimony of Wyrcestre. What therefore should have induced Shakspeare to increase the odium cast upon Margaret, by incidents which not even his historical guides supplied him with? We think the reason may be found in his rigid determination to follow out the great principle of retributive justice.

Henry is in these plays represented as faultless; all along he is 'sinned against.' York, on the contrary, has not one redeem-

ing trait; he is crafty, dissembling, ferocious : throughout. What then could reconcile the reader to the hard fate of Henry, and the triumph of that bad man's sons, but the recollection that both York and they had suffered severely, if not at his hands, still at the hands of his nearest relation. And thus the murder of Rutland, and that of York, are again and again referred to by Edward and his brothers, in vindication of their conduct; and thus, while vengeance is slowly working out the doom which the murder of Richard has imposed on the house of Lancaster, that doom is accelerated by the crimes of its chief representatives.

'One by one,' to use the words of Mr. Knight on this part of our subject, 'are the partizans swept away by the steady progress of that justice which rides over their violence and their subtlety.'

'The great actors of the tragedy are changed. Edward and Richard have become the leaders of the Yorkists, with Warwick, the 'king-maker,' to rest upon. Henry has fled to Scotland; Margaret to France. Then is unfolded another leaf of that Sibylline book. Edward is on the throne, careless of everything but self-gratification; despising his supporters, offending even his brothers. Warwick takes arms against him; Clarence deserts to Warwick; Richard alone remains faithful, sneering at his brother, and laughing in the concealment of his own motives for fidelity. Edward is a fugitive, and finally captive; but Richard redeems him, and Clarence again cleaves to him. The second revolution is accomplished. The 'king-maker' yields his 'body to the earth' in the field of Barnet; Margaret and her son become captives in the plains near Tewkesbury. Then comes the terrible hour to the unhappy queen—that hour which she foresaw not when she gave the 'bloody napkin' to the wretched York—that hour whose intensity of suffering reached its climax of expression in 'You have no children.' But Richard is fled

'To make a bloody supper in the Tower.'

The three that stab the defenceless Edward equally desire another murder; but *one* is to do the work. It is accomplished.' — *Introduction to Histories*, p. lxxxviii.

The doom pronounced on the house of Lancaster is fulfilled. 'The third and fourth generation' have paid the price of their predecessor's crown; and Edward of York is on the throne, and his brothers have divided the rich inheritance of Warwick between them, and 'our stern alarms are changed to merry meetings.' But has vengeance had her 'perfect work,' while the blood of the meek and pious Henry, and his gallant young son, cry from the ground? No, and therefore in the very midst of their reckless joy, Margaret, the wife, the mother that fought so unavailingly, steals ghost-like from her hiding-place

in France, to prophesy that the yet incomplete vengeance of heaven shall be perfected. Well may Hastings say

‘ My hair doth stand on end to hear her curse.’

And how rapidly does retribution on the house of York follow. Clarence, who aided in the murder of young Edward, dies, and by the will of his own brothers. His death gives the death-blow to the sensual, selfish king, whose agony of mind leads him to say

‘ O God ! I fear this vengeance will take hold,
On me and you, and mine and yours, for this.’

But the giant criminal to whom these words are addressed, laughs at the prophecy.

With the death of Edward, the fulfilment of Margaret’s curse on the subordinate actors in the tragedy of her son’s death begins. Rivers, Dorset, Hastings, all are swept away ; the ‘ poor-painted queen’ is not only thrust from her state, and sees another ‘ decked in her rights,’ but her *two* sons have been murdered. If the blood of Richard the Second has been fearfully avenged on the house of Lancaster, more fearful still has been the vengeance on the house of York. But there is one mighty murderer who has risen higher with every crime, and who now sits on his brother’s and nephew’s throne, none daring to move lip against him.

Then—and it has always seemed to us the most sublime of all Shakspeare’s scenes, Elizabeth comes forth wildly bewailing her misery. The aged Duchess, bowed down by even greater sorrows,—for if she is grandmother of the murdered princes, she is also own mother to the murderer,—echoes her lamentation, and then, once more, and for the last time, Margaret, like an avenging spectre, which cannot rest until the whole work of retribution be accomplished, appears, and challenges a superiority in woe.

‘ *Q. Eliz.* ‘ Ah, my poor princes ! ah, my tender babes !
My unblown flowers, new-appearing sweets !
If yet your gentle souls fly in the air,
And be not fix’d in doom perpetual,
Hover about me with your airy wings,
And hear your mother’s lamentation !

Q. Mar. Hover about her ; say, that right for right
Hath dimm’d your infant morn to aged night.

Duch. So many miseries have craz’d my voice,
That my woe-wearied tongue is still and mute.
Edward Plantagenet, why art thou dead ?

Q. Mar. Plantagenet doth quit Plantagenet,
Edward for Edward pays a dying debt.

Q. Eliz. Wilt thou, O God, fly from such gentle lambs,
And throw them in the entrails of the wolf?
When didst thou sleep when such a deed was done?

Q. Mar. When holy Harry died, and my sweet son.

Duch. Dead life, blind sight, poor mortal-living ghost,
Woe's scene, world's shame, grave's due by life usurp'd,
Brief abstract and record of tedious days,
Rest thy unrest on England's lawful earth, [*Sitting down.*]
Unlawfully made drunk with innocent blood!

Q. Eliz. Ah, that thou wouldst as soon afford a grave,
As thou canst yield a melancholy seat;
Then would I hide my bones, not rest them here!
Ah, who hath any cause to mourn but we? [*Sitting down by her.*]

Q. Mar. If ancient sorrow be most reverent,
Give mine the benefit of seniory,
And let my griefs frown on the upper hand.
If sorrow can admit society. [*Sitting down with them.*]

[Tell o'er your woes again by viewing mine:—]
I had an Edward, till a Richard kill'd him;
I had a husband, till a Richard kill'd him:
Thou hadst an Edward, till a Richard kill'd him:
Thou hadst a Richard, till a Richard kill'd him.

Duch. O, Harry's wife, triumph not in my woes;
God witness with me, I have wept for thine.

Q. Mar. Bear with me; I am hungry for revenge,
And now I cloy me with beholding it.
Thy Edward he is dead that kill'd my Edward;
The other Edward dead, to quit my Edward;
Young York he is but boot, because both they
Match not the high perfection of my loss.
Thy Clarence he is dead that stabb'd my Edward!
And the beholders of this frantic play,
The adulterate Hastings, Rivers, Vaughan, Grey,
Untimely smother'd in their dusky graves.
Richard yet lives, hell's black intelligencer;
Only reserv'd their factor, to buy souls,
And send them thither: But at hand, at hand,
Ensues his piteous and unpitied end.'

—*Richard the Third, Act 4th, Scene 4th.*

And how do these three desolate women invoke vengeance on that head which none but heaven can reach: how does the record of Richard's successive crimes bring all the murderous details of the former dramas to mind, and thus, ere the final scene, press upon the reader's attention, the grand principle of the whole—'God's revenge against murderers.'

The cry has ascended to heaven, and when Richard sets forth with his mother's parting curse upon his head, we feel that his days are numbered. Then comes the hurrying, the anxiety of the battle-eve: at length the armies are hushed in repose; and

then the shadowy company rise in succession, and pour their maledictions on the head of the great criminal.

'Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow!' is repeated with knell-like emphasis, and we marvel not that that hardened mind which has dallied with crime until all human influence has lost its power, should feel so intensely a visitation of unearthly beings; should so quail before a summons from that invisible world which he is so soon to enter. The battle of Bosworth field is fought; Richard is slain; York and Lancaster are alike avenged, and the sceptre wielded by fourteen successive Plantagenets passes to a new dynasty. Where shall we find so noble a dramatic history, or so solemn a close!

We have well nigh exceeded our limits, or we would compare the Richard of Shakspeare, not only with the chronicles which he followed, but with authentic history. In Hall and Hollingshed (and they both follow the romance of Sir Thomas More, as much romance we verily believe as his *Utopia*) Richard appears the actual 'raw-head and bloody-bones' of nursery fame, — a distorted monster, well fitted with Bluebeard and the 'Ogre that ate men,' to frighten little children, but little children only. The silliness of this Shakspeare at once perceived; and thus he has invested his Richard with marvellous intellectual qualities. A judgment that points ever steadily at its aim, an intuitive insight into character, a versatility of talent possessed by no other, and an energy of will that never falters, be difficulties or dangers what they may. This was the man 'raised up out of the wild turbulence of the long contest,' and well fitted to perform the work assigned him, for we view him with a feeling almost akin to that with which we contemplate the fallen archangel.

There have been many attempts of late to vindicate the character of Richard, but we think they have failed. Although we may well exonerate him from the murder of Henry the Sixth, who more probably was killed by poison, and from the murder of his wife, who died of lingering disease; and we may add, from the murder of Clarence, since on that mysterious subject nothing has hitherto been discovered that connects Richard either with his impeachment, or with his death (in whatever way that death took place); still, the sudden disappearance of his nephews, coupled with the determined manner in which he seized the crown, goes far to prove, we think, that he had a hand in their death. His execution of Lords Dorset and Rivers; of Lord Hastings in so summary a manner; and of the Duke of Buckingham, all prove too his sanguinary character. His reign was certainly a reign of terror; and the eager joy with which Henry Tudor was welcomed, must have arisen, we think, from the people's knowledge of this.

That he was a hunch-back, seems to us, after all, the most apocryphal part of his story, for that he was a gallant warrior is allowed by his bitterest enemies; and yet he must have worn *plate-armor*, weighing from thirty to fifty pounds; he must have rode and managed a powerful war-steed, and poised a lance heavier than most modern gentlemen could lift, and fourteen feet long!—surely, if a crook-back could do this, a cripple might turn rope-dancer. That Richard was less handsome than his brothers, and shorter, is evident from his portraits, in which also, we may perceive that the features are slightly drawn awry. It seems, therefore, not unlikely that there might be some slight deformity of person, which Tudor-policy magnified into an actual hump. This has, however, always appeared to us a proof of Richard being no ordinary man, since, while the regular monarchs of a country are represented, in loyal histories, as being all ‘tall proper men,’ those bold adventurers who have ‘achieved greatness,’ are mostly painted (probably on the same principle which has given Satan his horns and cloven feet) as possessing some horrible blemish. Thus, the almost classical beauty of Napoleon could not prevent him from being stigmatized as an ugly dwarf; thus the noble brow of Cromwell was passed over, to dwell upon his ‘fiery nose;’ and thus the valiant leader of the vanguard, at Barnet, and the hero of Bosworth, has been handed down to posterity as a wretched hunch-back. We wish Shakspeare had not followed this vulgar error; but at the period when he wrote, the hump, we know, was considered as much the property of Richard, as the white locks of King Lear, or the beards of his witches.

We must conclude; but it would be unjust to Mr. Knight not to make especial mention of his ‘Pictorial’ edition, now before us. The plan is excellent, and it has been well followed out. As illustrations of the various plays, we have views of the chief places, portraits of the historical characters, and representations of furniture, armor, dresses,—the chopine and masque of the lady, the laced glove and plumed hat of the gentleman, the tall standing cups and saucers of the ‘christening gifts,’ even the bill and lantern of the ‘ancient and most quiet watchman.’ Although from the principle of the illustrations there is less room for the introduction of imaginary sketches, still we have some, instinct with Harvey’s accustomed grace, and displaying great poetical feeling. The groups of fairies in ‘Midsummer Night’s Dream,’ the frontispiece to ‘Henry the Eighth,’ with the vision of angels appearing to the dying queen, and others. But above all, have we been pleased with those delightful little vignettes, which bring past customs and past sports so vividly before us, ‘the spinsters and the knitters in the sun;’ the ‘morris dance;’ the Christmas revels; and

those exquisite sketches of truly old English scenery—the old town of Windsor, reposing beneath the shadow of its regal castle, the quiet sunshiny street, with its graceful market-cross, the ancient houses with their quaint carving, and their picturesque gables shooting up into the clear sky, and the distance closed in by the lordly towers of old Westminster palace, or some noble conventual church, rich with pinnacle, spire, and foliaged cross surmounting all. And well pleased have we been with those portions of the literary illustrations which Mr. Knight has written—the introductory and supplementary notices. We like his enthusiastic admiration of our great poet, and the earnestness with which he vindicates him from every attack; above all, the fine discrimination which these notices display, and the truly poetical feeling which they breathe throughout. We look forward with interest to Mr. Knight's promised life of Shakspeare, and the publication of his poems, which will complete this work; we shall then return to the subject, and, in connexion with his poems, contemplate the imaginative dramas of Shakspeare.

Art. V. *The Courts of Europe at the close of the last Century*, by the late HENRY SWINBURNE, Esq., Author of 'Travels in Spain, Italy,' &c. Edited by CHARLES WHITE, Esq., Author of 'The Belgic Revolution,' &c. In two Vols. London: Colburn, 1841.

MR. SWINBURNE was the youngest son of a numerous and very ancient Catholic family, resident in the county of Northumberland. He was born in May, 1752, and completed his studies at the monastic seminary, at Lacelle, in France. His mind was richly cultivated, his information was varied and extensive, and his attainments, in ancient and modern languages, were of a much higher grade than is common amongst our gentry. His circumstances, in the early part of life, were independent but not wealthy, and his taste for travelling was evinced by a visit which he paid to the most celebrated cities of Italy and France. In the French capital he was introduced to the lady whom he subsequently married, whose manners and highly-cultivated mind, added to much personal beauty, contributed largely to the happiness of his life. For a short time the young couple resided at Hamsterley, in the county of Durham, but their manners and habits not harmonizing with those of their provincial neighbours, they resolved to proceed to Italy, after visiting the south of France. Though not contemplated in his ori-

ginal plan, Spain was included in Mr. Swinburne's journeyings, and furnished materials for one of the two works which secured him a high place amongst the intelligent travellers of his day. The letters comprised in the volumes now before us, most of which were addressed to his brother, Sir Edward Swinburne, were written during these travels, and possess in consequence all the freshness and vivacity which mark the epistolary communications of an acute and well-informed observer. They are written from most of the principal capitals of Europe, and abound in interesting anecdotes, illustrative of the character of the chief actors in European politics, in the latter part of the last century. Their style is chaste, vivacious, and graphic, indicative at once of a cultivated intellect, and of a susceptible and benevolent heart, less ornate and elaborate than those of Walpole, yet infinitely preferable as indicative of the character of the writer. A few extracts will best serve to acquaint our readers with the nature of the work. The following, from Paris, under date of April 30th, 1774, furnishes a sketch of Louis the Fifteenth and his family, from which an insight may be gained into the circumstances which were rapidly hastening the tragedy which followed.

‘ On Tuesday I set out for Versailles early, pursuant to the directions I had previously received from Lord Stormont, our ambassador : and having nothing but mere curiosity to gratify, with no fear of disappointment, I made a tolerable day of it. The Duke of Dorset was the only Englishman presented with me. We met in the *Salle des Ambassadeurs*, and there made acquaintance. After a little waiting, the ambassador escorted us to the prime minister's levee (the Duc d'Aiguillon). If he said anything to me, it was so little and so low, that I do not recollect a word of it.

‘ In his antechamber the envoys of Europe were assembled, decorated with ribbons of all colours, and crosses and keys of all metals. Among the rest the famous Aranda, late president of Castile ; but now, to the astonishment of everybody, ambassador to the court of France, by his own request. He was the king of Spain's right hand when he planned the expulsion and destruction of the Jesuits, and his coming here seems to forebode some mischievous designs hatching in Spain against the peace of Europe, perhaps of England ; yet some think Aranda only chose the journey, to take off the shock of an approaching disgrace.

‘ About eleven, the introducers gave notice of the king's levee being ready, and so, in company of a German baron, we trudged up stairs, and surprised his most Christian majesty in his waistcoat : for none but the family ambassadors may see him in buff.

‘ After staring at us, talking about the opera with some few of the crowds of courtiers, and saying about one minute's prayer with his cardinal, he drew towards us, who were ranged near the door in rank and file. All he said was, ‘ *Est-il fils du vieux Duc de Dorset, que j'ai connu autrefois?* ’ and so marched off. However, as they talked much

to others who stood near us, I can describe them better from this view than from the subsequent one.

'The Dauphin is very awkwardly made, and uncouth in his motions. His face resembles his grandfather's, but he is not near so handsome, though he has by no means a bad countenance. His nose is very prominent, his eyes are grey, and his complexion is sallow. He seemed cheerful and chatty, and I think his aspect bespeaks a good-natured man. The second brother is a pretty figure, and so is the third, only his mouth is rather wide, and drawn up in the middle to the top of the gums.

'They are not yet quite formed as to legs and strength, and have all a good deal of that restless motion, first upon one leg and then upon another, which is also remarkable in some members of the English royal family.

'The questions they ask seem very frivolous and puerile. I believe they find their time hang very heavy on their hands, for they ran with great glee to tickle one of the king's valets de chambre, as he was carrying out the king's dirty clothes.

'Our next trot was to the Dauphin, who said nothing. The same silence reigned at the levee of his brothers, as to our share at least. The Comtesse de Provence is a little dumpy woman, and but a plain piece of goods; her sister, the Comtesse d'Artois, is rather prettier, having a fine skin and tolerable eyes, but her nose is immense, and her toes are turned in. Poor thing! she seemed quite frightened, and could hardly speak.'—vol. i. pp. 8, 11.

Mr. Swinburne was the last person presented to the Grand Monarque. Louis took to his bed on the following day, and died shortly afterwards, through the unskilful treatment of his disorder. The awful farce, usual on such occasions, was acted over in the case of the dying monarch. A life of licentiousness was closed by a verbal profession of repentance, and state priests were present to administer the pledges of absolution and eternal peace. 'The natives,' says Mr. Swinburne, 'seemed in great spirits at this death-bed repentance, but whether they gave credit to such a thorough change, is what I cannot pretend to assume. The viaticum was carried to him with all the pomp imaginable.' We pass over the letters written from Spain and Naples, in which many traits of national manners are depicted, and some royal portraits are sketched, with an unflattering but truthful pencil. Proceeding to Vienna we are introduced to Maria Theresa, and her son Joseph the Second, whom we must take leave to introduce to our readers, simply premising that our extracts are taken from several letters, and are designed to exhibit not a full-length portraiture, but distinct points in the characters of these illustrious personages. To those who are acquainted with the part the Empress and her son acted in European politics, these extracts will not be without deep interest.

‘The Duchesse de Noailles has left Rome to return to Paris, having finished her journey, undertaken for the purpose of speaking to the pope on the subject of the Jesuits. Mr. Jenkins tells me he has seen a letter from their principal at Vienna to Ricci, (the general of the Jesuits,) who had great confidence in the justice and piety of Marie Therese, and thought she would prove a buckler to the order in their distress, and resist the attempts of the French cabinet for its destruction. His correspondent answered his hopes thus: ‘Depend not upon her, for if every drop of blood of the Jesuits were demanded, and necessary for the marriage of her daughters, she would without hesitation spill it!’

‘The empress has such an internal fever and heat of blood, that she cannot bear to have the window closed at any season of the year. Sometimes the wind is so strong during the night, that it throws down the chairs in her room, blows the curtains against her face, and awakens her. Her son, the emperor, is extremely chilly, notwithstanding all her children were brought up in so hardy a manner, that their attendants were almost starved. The emperor still sleeps upon a bed of skins.

‘The empress is generous even to prodigality, and would be miserable if she knew of any one in want that it was not in her power to relieve. The Duke of Saxony, and his wife the Archduchess Christina, drain her prodigiously. The emperor calls him his *dear* brother-in-law.

‘Our friend Madame d’Ulsfield has given us many particulars of the empress’s life. The day of her appearing before the Hungarian nobles, they were in a large hall, where a balustrade was put up to keep off the crowd. She came in deep mourning, with her infant son in her arms, and began a Latin speech, but as she pronounced the first words of it,—viz. ‘*Afflicto rerum statu*,’ the tears suffocated her, and impeded her utterance. The whole assembly with one movement rose, and, with their fingers upraised, called out, ‘*Moriemur pro reginâ Theresâ*.’

‘When Francis died, she was given to understand, from caballing courtiers, which equally exist in all countries, that Joseph would probably seize the reins of empire; and being now emperor (having been elected king of the Romans previous to his father’s death), would not consent to be subservient to his mother. She therefore felt uneasy and uncomfortable; but he soon put an end to her fears, for, the first time they met, he threw himself at her feet, saying, ‘*Je serai toujours votre fidèle Joseph, le plus dévoué de vos sujets*!’

‘The empress is loved by the people, as well as admired. When she lay dangerously ill of the small-pox, Joseph met an old marshal on the stairs, coming from the anteroom of her apartment, where he had been to inquire how she was. He was in a flood of tears, on having learnt that her recovery was despaired of. ‘Am I then such a tyrant,’ said the emperor, ‘that you dread being governed by me?’ ‘No, sir,’ said the soldier; ‘but we know what we lose.’

‘The most earnest wish of their mother was obtained when she succeeded in making her youngest daughter queen of France. The

Archduchess Antoinette was at fourteen extremely pious, and well-inclined in every respect; and when the marriage was arranged, Maria Theresa, whose religion did not prevent her giving way to superstitious propensities, visited a nun of a neighbouring convent, who was considered able to see into the future. She expressed her anxiety for the soul of her pious, good child, now about to be separated from her for the rest of her life, and going to so depraved a court as that of Louis Quinze. The answer she received was this: '*Elle aura de grands revers, et puis elle redeviendra pieuse.*' Struck by the thought of her good child ceasing to be pious, which was implied by these words, the empress burst into tears, and was with difficulty restored to calmness. She, however, was not sufficiently credulous, or provident, for the happiness of her young daughter, to put an end on that account to the negotiations for the archduchess's marriage.

'The empress is extremely imposed upon by hypocrites of all sorts. Many an officer has gone to her chapel, and made all the grimaces of a bigot and zealot, which has attracted her notice, and procured him promotion; after which he has never appeared there again. She gives money to all the soldiers that do duty about the palace, and on extraordinary occasions to the officers, and throws about ducats among the poor people when she drives about the streets. She was formerly very rigorous, and as bad as an inquisitor, having ladies and gentlemen carried off for the least irregularity of conduct; which, as King Croquignolet says of the fillips, exacted for his nose, '*fatiguoient beaucoup le pauvre peuple.*' However, at present, her fervour has abated considerably. Her affairs are wretchedly managed, without intelligence or ceremony. She gives of late much money to priests to distribute in alms, and of course the poor get little or nothing in comparison of what they had when she herself bestowed her charity, without the medium it now passes through.'—Ib. pp. 229, 341, 349, 353.

Of the emperor we meet with the following notices, which are strictly in keeping with the estimate we have formed of his character from other sources.

'We again met the emperor at Madame de Berghausen's, where he was extremely merry and talkative; ridiculed the story of the king of Poland's assassination, and talked of Mrs. Macauley and her hatred of kings. He said he understood she had fainted away whenever they were named, and asked if she put three stars whenever she was obliged to mention one in her history. He spoke with horror of *lettres de cachet*, and arbitrary unformal condemnations; and I make no doubt, from all he seems to think, and from what others say of him, that his accession to power will be the means of bringing liberty and happiness throughout his dominions, at least if he has moderation and head enough to begin with prudence; but that is still a problem. Of his intentions there is no doubt,—of his success a great deal. He will have much to cope with. The friars and priests detest and abuse him, and there is a strong party of them. They give out that he has no friendship, constancy, or warmth of heart, and that he is totally incapable of a generous feeling: in short, they know not how to speak ill

enough of him. *Mais je n'en crois rien* :—it is something that a despotic potentate should wish for freedom and liberty among his people, and such a hobby-horse can but be beneficial, if only to put it into the heads of others ; for as Laville, when he married, told us as an excuse, '*qu'il faut faire une fin ;*' I say, *vice versâ*, '*qu'il faut à toutes choses un commencement.*'

'The emperor came one night since his return to Madame Berghen's, and the society was not rendered a bit more formal by his presence. He entered into the amusements, and was very good-natured, but did not stay long. He is always thinking of politics, and one evening at the play looked out of his adjoining box to tell Mrs. S. that the Dutch were taking the part of the French in the most glaring manner ; and that if Pitt (Lord Chatham) had been alive, he would have declared against Holland six months ago.'—*Ib.* pp. 357, 359, 364.

The partition of Poland—that standing disgrace of European statesmen—was effected about the time of Mr. Swinburne's visit to Vienna. 'The whole court' we are informed, 'was assembled in an antechamber, in order to proceed regularly to the chapel, and hear a grand *Te Deum*, composed for the occasion.' Many of the Polish nobility repaired to Vienna, in compliance with an imperial mandate, and vied with each other in the servility with which they worshipped the Austrian usurper. An interesting anecdote, however, is related of one whom our author, with an un-English sympathy with the oppressor, terms 'sulky and shy.' Of the justice of this description our readers shall judge for themselves.

'All the Poles were presented to Joseph on his return from Russia—that is to say, those whose property was included in his share of Poland. Most of them were dressed in the French fashion, and acquitted themselves respectfully of their homage. A few were in the Polish habit ; among the rest an old man, grave, sullen, and backward. Perceiving that he did not approach, the emperor went up to him, addressing him in a courteous manner. The Pole remained sulky and shy. Joseph asked if he amused himself at Vienna. 'Very little,' was the reply. 'I wonder at that,' said the emperor, good-humouredly, 'for there never was such a vast number of your countrymen here as there are at this moment.' 'Nay,' said the Pole, 'I have heard that about a hundred years ago Vienna was peopled with Poles !' * The emperor, who tells this story himself, declares he was quite confounded at this speech, and totally unable to say another word ; but he was so pleased with the man's boldness and *amor patriæ*, that he felt almost inclined to shake hands with him.

* Alluding to the year 1638, when John Sobieski, king of Poland, marched to the relief of Vienna, then besieged by the Turks, whom he attacked and routed, and thus not only liberated that capital, but Hungary, which had been overrun by the Ottomans.

‘Madame de Salmour told me that, when she was Madame de Lubinski, she knew the king of Poland, and that he was so fond of Corregio’s Magdalene, one of the forty pictures he bought of the Duke of Modena; that wherever he went, this picture accompanied him in a case, and was hung up in his apartments.’—*Ib.* pp. 348, 349.

From Vienna Mr. Swinburne returned through Brussels to England, and the following, respecting Wilkes and the Prince of Wales, is too tempting to be omitted. It is taken from a letter dated London, May 19th, 1785.

‘We had a turtle dinner at Wilkes’s yesterday. I had met him the day before on the parade, and the warmth of the weather and walk had carried off all the powder from his bald pate. He is a great complimenter, and would stand talking to me with his hat in his hand. A drummer and his son passed us, and as I was going their way, I overheard their discourse. ‘What a queer-looking bald fellow that was,’ said the boy: ‘Don’t you know him?’ replied the other; ‘’tis Johnny Wilkes, and that bald head has more brains in it than all our regiments put together, drummers and all.’ I told this to Wilkes, and it made him chuckle. He was very amusing, and told me several droll things.

‘In 1783-4, the House of Commons went up every day with an address to the King, praying to remove Pitt and his ministry. The King always received them on his throne, and gave them an answer. One of these days, at the club, George Selwyn had been asking the Prince of Wales some questions, to which he did not choose to reply otherwise than by ‘Pshaw! nonsense!’ Not long after, as they were both leaning on the balcony looking at the speaker going to court, the prince said, ‘I wonder what will be his majesty’s most gracious answer.’ ‘I cannot tell,’ answered George Selwyn, ‘what may be the gracious answer of his *present* majesty,—but I can tell what will be the answer of our *next* gracious sovereign.’ ‘Well, what will it be?’ said the prince. ‘Nonsense!’ he replied.

‘The other day, at a dinner, in company with the Prince of Wales, Wilkes, being called upon for a toast, gave ‘the King, and long life to him!’—‘Since when have you become so loyal, Wilkes?’ said the prince, laughing. ‘Ever since I have had the honor of knowing your royal highness,’ said he, with a respectful bow.

‘When the prince was a little boy, having been very troublesome in his father’s room, and several times turned out of it by him, he returned at last, and thrusting his head into the doorway, screamed out, ‘Wilkes and Liberty!’—*Ib.* pp. 397, 399.

Our traveller did not long remain in England, but, having obtained an official appointment, he returned to France, where the revolutionary frenzy was now rapidly attaining its height. Mrs. Swinburne had remained in Paris during the temporary sojourn of her husband in England, and was so kindly regarded by the unfortunate Queen Marie Antoinette, that her son Henry

was installed among the king's pages. The following, from Mrs. Swinburne to her husband, under date of May 10th, 1789, presents a melancholy view of the once gay and light-hearted queen.

'I hope you received my letter, to say Harry was arrived safe and well. Monsieur de Beauveau presented him to the Prince de Lambesc, and he was almost immediately installed among the king's pages. The education he will there receive is considered to be in every respect excellent. There is great strictness; but, in my opinion, the elder pages have too much power over the younger ones, who are treated like fags at Eton. I had an audience of the queen two days ago; she is very much altered, and has lost all her brilliancy of look. She was more gracious than ever, and said, '*Vous arrivez dans un mauvais moment, chere Madame Swinburne. Vous ne me trouverez point gaie; j'ai beaucoup sur le cœur.*

'She is very low-spirited and uneasy about her son, who, by all accounts, lies dangerously ill, and is not likely to recover. She inquired kindly after all our family, and assured me she should consider Harry as under her care, and also spoke of our business, which Madame Campan had told her was my reason for now returning to France.

'*Je crains,*' said she, '*que dans ce moment je ne pourrai vous être d'aucune utilité; mais si les tems deviennent meilleurs, vous savez que je n'oublie jamais mes amis.*'

'Apropos of that, I find it was by her desire that the Luzernes have shown us so much attention.

'The whole tenor of her conversation was melancholy, but she said little about public affairs; her child's illness seemed uppermost in her mind. The tears, which I with difficulty restrained in her presence, gushed from me as soon as I had quitted the room. She told me she should like to see me again soon. Poor thing! her kindness and sorrowful manner made me more interested and enthusiastic about her than ever.'—Vol. ii. pp. 78, 79.

Mr. Swinburne's letters at this period contain numerous characteristic notices of the state of public feeling in the French capital. The misgovernment of centuries was working out its natural issue, and fearful was the penalty exacted from the rulers of that day. Like our own Charles, they were utterly incapable of guaging the new power which had sprung into existence, they stood upon the precedents of a by-gone age, and madly risked the substance of royalty in a vain attempt to preserve its trappings. The subject is tempting for extracts, but our space is already pre-occupied, and we must therefore restrict ourselves to the following, in which much good sense and acute observation are mingled. It was written at the close of 1796.

'What a new race is now in possession of the surface of France!—But I think that in a generation or two, *à quelque chose près*, the

people will be just like their predecessors. It will require great efforts to re-establish an *appearance* even of morality, decency, and probity, which was nearly the sum-total of what existed before. At the present crisis, immorality is at its height. Education and laws well enforced may bring things back to order; but I look upon the younger part of the generation—I mean such as were about seventeen at the beginning of the revolution—as irretrievable. Very little can be expected even from those who are now of that age. Future good citizens and men of honor can only be hoped for, from the number of those who are now ten years old.

‘ I think there is such a lassitude in the whole nation, such a horror of being forced to fresh exertions of any kind, that those who at present rule will find it an easy matter to prevent any serious revolution or return of monarchy. It is the nature of the French to make vigorous efforts while full of enthusiasm; to push everything to extremes, and then to be quite tired of the struggle, and suffer their neck to be bowed again to some yoke or other; provided, as formerly, they may amuse themselves with roaring in your ears the splendor of the court, and the glory of the monarch; or, in the present system, the liberty, indivisibility, equality, and unity of the republic.

‘ On most of the walls they have scratched out the finale, *ou la mort*, and on the Palais Bourbon, where the five hundred are to meet, there is put instead of it *Humanité et Justice*.

‘ The imbecility of all the princes is a great bar to a return to royalty, and I really think the present system will take root, if no unexpected convulsion happens. The rulers are much hated, and treated with a disrespect of language never used but in the latter days of Louis XV. They seem to be afraid of venturing out. *Au reste*, there is employment enough for them at home; for the finances are in a very exhausted state.

‘ Carnot has gained ground wonderfully, by all accounts, and promises to increase in power and reputation of genius.

‘ The republic requires to fall into the hands of some able charioteer. At present money is so much the deity of every man’s worship, and those who acquire it lavish it so profusely in the gratification of every passion, that one can form no guess when any great and good man is to make his appearance. But if the present powers can but keep the country quiet, the vast bulk alone of the empire will settle itself into consistency and order by its own weight. Thirty-six millions of men will not long continue in an uncomfortable situation, where the force is in their own hands; and by degrees, that regularity and order necessary for the existence even of a gang of robbers must overpower anarchy and vice, or perish.

‘ You will laugh, perhaps, at all this political *tirade*;—but I am quietly seated by my fireside, waiting for a person to go and see Mr. Boyd’s house and furniture, from which I have got the seals removed; and I put down my ideas as they arise, by way of conversation with you.

‘ You must expect, in the course of correspondence, many variations in my opinion, because every day presents objects in a different light,

and I describe them as I see them at the moment. Hereafter, perhaps, a comparative view may lead to the truth.'—*Ib.* pp. 165 — 168.

To the lovers of court gossip and of personal anecdote intermingled with the grave reflections of an acute and intelligent mind, these volumes will prove highly acceptable. They present a lively and graphic sketch of a state of things which has now become matter of history, but from which may be gathered the lessons of a deeper philosophy than suit either the capacity or the taste of the common herd of politicians. When will men learn to discover in the follies of princes and the corruptions of their courtiers, the seeds of those convulsions which shake the fabric of society and extinguish the happiness of a whole generation! To the weakness and vices of rulers may be traced the ignorance and frenzy which occasionally perform such fearful tragedies, and shape out with ominous celerity the appropriate ministers of public vengeance. The reign of terror, with its Robespierres and Dantons, sprang as naturally out of the effete licentiousness of the old French monarchy, as did the military usurpation of Buonaparte from the anarchy and murders of the revolution.

Art. VI. *Poems by the Lady Flora Hastings.* Edited by her Sister. Blackwood and Sons. 1841.

A WORK like the one now before us seems scarcely to come within the range of criticism. A collection of poems composed at various periods by a high-born and accomplished lady, whose early death awakened a general sorrow; and this collection, now presented to the world by an affectionate sister in the hope of 'dedicating whatever profits might be derived from it, to the service of God in the parish where her mother's family have long resided,' is evidently no work upon which the critic, however honest, could pronounce a severe verdict. The hand that has written will write no more; praise or blame must be alike unheard, and a stern though wholesome exposure of faults (if such there should be) is useless to the dead, while it is worse than useless, for it is cruel, to surviving and attached relatives.

The task of the critic, however, is not solely, nor even chiefly, that of censure. His nobler, and it should be, his more congenial office, is to point out latent talent, and to claim from the world that meed of admiration for the gifted, but perhaps un-

known writer, which that writer is fearful of claiming for himself.

When this volume first came into our hands, we will frankly own we felt an unwillingness to review it, since, while from what we had heard of Lady Flora Hastings, we were well assured that her poems would be characterized by high moral feeling, and a certain gracefulness of style, the natural result of an accomplished mind, we had no reason to think that we should find anything more than that common iteration of commonplace thought which seems to be the peculiar feature (with but trifling exceptions) of our aristocratic poetry.

How was it, then, that at a time when Lady Blessington and Lady Charlotte Bury were 'coming out' with something new every quarter, no one ever heard of 'Poems by the Lady Flora Hastings?' How was it that in that receptacle for 'even the 'smallest contributions' of right honorables, the 'Keepsake,' not a single copy of verses by the daughter of one of our most illustrious nobles, Lord Moira, the friend of poets, ever found a place? When we remembered how fashionable an accomplishment is verse making, and how very moderate a degree of talent is required by fashionable critics, we really feared that sisterly admiration had prevailed over a more sober judgment, and had prompted the affectionate editress, as is too often the case, to offer to the broad glare of the world, compositions only fitted for the gentle light of the family fireside. With these thoughts we opened the elegant volume; but with a surprise similar to that of Coleridge when he read the spirited lines of the Duchess of Devonshire on crossing Mont St. Gothard, did we read the following beautiful stanzas, nor could we help exclaiming with him—

' O lady nursed in pomp and pleasure,
Where learnt you that heroic measure ?'

They are from a fragment entitled 'The Dying Sybil.'

' The child of rapture, all was bliss to me.
I loved to watch the brooding thunder-cloud
Casting its dark hues o'er the scenery,
And hear its voice, so awful and so loud.
Proudly I gazed and smiled while all the crowd,
With craven brow and eyes averted, turn'd ;
And every trembling knee was lowly bow'd,
While I—the dastard fear indignant spurn'd,
And bless'd the levin brand, even when it fiercest burn'd.

' And at the midnight hour I could descry
Fair forms, invisible to vulgar ken,
Moving athwart the star-bespangled sky—
Each form some bright orb's brighter denizen ;

And I have listen'd, till methought again
 I heard the music of their silver lyres
 Breathe through the woods, and wake the silent glen ;
 While yon blue vault, glowing with liquid fires,
 Echo'd the music of those bright celestial choirs.

‘ All, all is beauty ! from the smiling glade,
 Or harvest, prompting the glad reaper's hymn,
 To Scythian woods' inhospitable shade,
 Or Thracian mountain with dank vapors dim.
 For every scene alike, or gay or grim,
 Reveals a tender Parent's guardian care :
 Wood, mountain, vale, and river speak of Him ;
 All climes, all nations in his bounty share ;
 His ear is bent alike to every suppliant's prayer.

‘ Is it not bliss, where'er the eye can rove,
 To feel the hand of heaven ?—to find no spot,
 No desert region, no sequester'd grove,
 Where the Divinity inhabits not ?
 To feel, whate'er has been our wayward lot,
 That still we hold communion with the Power
 Whose word is fate ?—whose goodness ne'er forgot
 The meanest insect of the summer hour,
 Whose hand directs the sun, and paints the meadow's flower ?’
 — pp. 28, 29, 31, 32.

How different is this from nine-tenths of the poetry which is heralded by pompous announcements, and which finds its place on every drawing-room table. The facility, too, with which the writer manages one of the most difficult,—the most difficult, we had almost said,—metres in our language, without diffuseness on the one hand, or abruptness on the other, is singular. But not the least remarkable characteristic of the writer is, the extreme facility with which she seems to have composed not only in almost every metre, but in almost every style. How condensed is the following poem, although written in a measure which, from its peculiar easiness, is scarcely ever free from redundancy.

‘ LA NOTTE ED IL GIORNO.

‘ Around our globe with ceaseless flight
 Move the twin sisters, Day and Night ;
 Intent to bear to every clime
 The mandates of their father, Time ;
 And pour with equal-handed grace
 His blessings on the human race.
 Day bathes the earth in dews of light,
 Night brings its visions yet more bright.

The op'ning flower, the wild bird's song,
To Day, glad joyous Day, belong ;
While Night, with step more staid and calm,
Brings slumber's soft Lethean balm.
When day hath suffer'd aught of care,
Night sheds her soothing poppies there ;
If Night hath brought us aught of sorrow,
Day shall lead on a brighter morrow.
When Time's allotted course is done,
His wings unplumed, his hour-glass run,
May Day be merged in brighter day,
And fade in heaven's own light away ;
And all Night's fairest visions be
Changed to more bless'd reality !'—pp. 211, 212.

The following, too, in a different metre, presents the same severe simplicity, the same beautiful condensation of style. What single word in either of them could be omitted ?

‘ THE RAINBOW.

‘ Soft glowing in uncertain birth
'Twixt Nature's smiles and tears,
The Bow, O Lord ! which Thou hast bent,
Bright in the cloud appears.
The portal of thy dwelling-place
That pure arch seems to be,
And, as I bless its mystic light,
My spirit turns to Thee.

‘ Thus, gleaming o'er a guilty world,
We hail the ray of love ;—
Thus dawns upon the contrite soul
Thy mercy from above ;
And as Thy faithful promise speaks
Repentant sin forgiven,
In humble hope we bless the beam
That points the way to heaven.'—pp. 45, 46.

From these two specimens we should think Lady Flora Hastings was an admirer of the Italian school of poetry, for, strange as it may appear to those of our readers who are but superficially acquainted with Italian literature, we can assure them that its poetry is remarkable for its condensation. That a contrary opinion has prevailed among those who are only conversant with Italian poetry through the medium of translations may be readily accounted for by the fact, that from the reign of James the First to comparatively yesterday, Italian literature was not merely neglected, but scorned. Addison led the way, and in his ridicule of the Italian opera, consigned the literature which boasted a Dante, a Petrarch, an Ariosto, and

a Tasso, to the contempt of Englishmen. Pope followed ; nor was it wonderful that a poet who could praise

‘ Exact Corneille, and Racine’s noble fire,’

had no sympathy with those who wandered amid fairy land, or with him, the mightiest of modern poets, who made

‘ Both heaven and hell co-partners of his toil ;’

and when, toward the close of the last century, a taste for Italian literature began to show itself, a frivolous age contented itself with admiring and translating the feeble elegancies of Metastasio, while the magnificent poems of an earlier day were left unheeded, probably because not understood.

But not merely does Lady Flora Hastings appear well versed in Italian literature, she has given in this volume a noble specimen of her knowledge of German literature, in her translation of Schiller’s mystical and wild, but splendid ‘Song of the Bell.’ We regret that we cannot give an extract, since it would illustrate the peculiar character of German poetry ; but such compositions cannot be appreciated piecemeal, and much disadvantage have German writers sustained from their works being presented in detached extracts.

The following is a noble poem, and we must give it entire. Seldom has that motto received a more beautiful illustration.

‘ THE CROSS OF CONSTANTINE.

‘ ‘ Conquer in this !’—Not unto thee alone
The vision spake, imperial Constantine !
Nor, presage only of an earthly throne,
Blazed in mid-heaven the consecrated sign.
Through the unmeasured tract of coming time
The mystic cross doth with soft lustre glow,
And speaks through every age, in every clime,
To every slave of sin and child of woe.

‘ ‘ Conquer in this !’—Aye, when the rebel heart
Clings to the idols it was wont to cherish,
And, as it sees those fleeting boons depart,
Grieveth that things so bright were form’d to perish.
Arise, bereav’d one ! and, athwart the gloom,
Read in the brightness of that cheering ray—
‘ Mourn not, O Christian ! though so brief their bloom,
Nought that is worth a sigh shall pass away.’

‘ ‘ Conquer in this !’—When fairest visions come
To lure thy spirit to a path of flowers ;
Binding the exile from a heavenly home,
To dwell a lingerer in unholy bowers ;

Strong in His strength who burst the bonds of sin,
Clasp to thy bosom, clasp the holy cross !
Dost thou not seek a heavenly crown to win ?
Hast thou not counted all beside as loss ?

‘ ‘ Conquer in this ? ’—Though powers of earth and hell
Were leagued to bar thee from thy homeward way,
The cross shall every darkling shade dispel,
Chase every doubt, and re-assure dismay.
Faint not, O wearied one : faint not : for thee
The Lord of Righteousness and Glory bled,
And his good Spirit’s influence, with free
And plenteous unction, is upon thee shed.

‘ ‘ Conquer in this ! ’—When, by thy fever’d bed,
Thou see’st the dark-wing’d angel take his stand,
Who soon shall lay thy body with the dead,
And bear thy spirit to the spirit’s land :
Fear not ! the cross sustains thee, and its aid
In that last trial shall thy succour bring ;
Go fearless through the dark, the untried shade,
For sin is vanquish’d, and death hath no sting.

‘ ‘ Conquer in this ! ’—Strong in thy Saviour’s might,
When bursts the morning of a brighter day,
Rise, Christian victor in the glorious fight,
Arise, rejoicing, from thy cell of clay !
The cross, which led thee scatheless through the gloom,
Shall in that hour heaven’s royal banner be.
Thou hast o’ercome the world, the flesh, the tomb :
Triumph in Him who died and rose for thee !’

—pp. 225—227.

The strongly religious tendency of many of these poems is very pleasing. We perceive that among the highest circles, and in close contact with royalty itself, the religion that ‘ willeth that all men should be saved,’ has lifted up her voice, and not in vain ; and when we find in the poems of a lady in immediate attendance on the mother of our sovereign, so many allusions, not merely to religion generally, but to those peculiar doctrines which fashionable literature and fashionable writers would scout as puritanical or methodistical, we rejoice, for it proves to us the spread of religious principles in a sphere which we have been perhaps too long accustomed to consider as almost beyond their influence. In selecting from these interesting poems, it is difficult to determine which to leave out ; we have, however, almost exceeded our limits, and recommending this elegant volume to our readers, we will conclude with the following beautiful lines, which seem to have been written by this gifted lady almost as a prophecy of her own fate—

‘That doom heaven gives its favorites,
Early death.’

‘THE SWAN SONG.

‘Grieve not that I die young.—Is it not well
To pass away ere life hath lost its brightness?
Bind me no longer, sisters, with the spell
Of love and your kind words. List ye to me:
Here I am bless’d—but I would be *more free*;
I would go forth in all my spirit’s lightness.
Let me depart!

‘Ah! who would linger till bright eyes grow dim,
Kind voices mute, and faithful bosoms cold?
Till carking care, and coil, and anguish grim,
Cast their dark shadows o’er this faery world;
Till fancy’s many-color’d wings are furl’d,
And all, save the proud spirit, waxeth old?
I would depart.

‘Thus would I pass away—yielding my soul
A joyous thank-offering to *Him* who gave
That soul to be, those starry orbs to roll.
Thus—thus exultingly would I depart,
Song on my lips, ecstasy in my heart.
Sisters—sweet sisters, bear me to my grave—
Let me depart!’—pp. 96, 97.

Art. VII. *Stanley or Peel! Who shall lead us? An Address to Conservatives.* By a Conservative Member. London: Whittaker.

WHAT have the Whigs done? What have they failed to do? These are very natural questions at a moment like the present. But it is not our intention just now to attempt an answer to them. To state our judgment on those points fully and discriminately would require some space, and a stronger blending, perhaps, of the language of complaint with the language of approval, than may be strictly expedient in the existing posture of affairs. No liberal politician can need be told that it is in the nature of his principles to expand with circumstances. We do not desert those principles, but are acting in the strictest accordance with them, when we insist on their wider and bolder application, according to the growing intelligence, wealth, and moral power of the people. The liberalism of the parliaments assembled in 1640 and in 1688, was good in its time. But we are desirous it should be distinctly

understood, that in expressing our admiration of the efforts made by the patriotic men of those times, we are far from meaning to justify the policy of those timid and halting statesmen who seem disposed to make the liberalism of the past their sole gauge as to the extent to which such principles should be carried in the present. The true language of such principles is—diffuse the elements of liberty, diffuse them increasingly, largely, to the full extent in which the people are capable of bearing them. That the advocates of these principles in high places have been beset for some time past with formidable difficulties is admitted ; but that many in their number, and some from whom better things were to have been expected, have been much wanting in the bold and onward spirit so consistent with their professed principles, is a point on which we can have no doubt. The measure, however, in which such persons have been at fault, has no necessary place in our present argument. It is the *historical* aspect of the great struggle between the liberal and the illiberal that we wish to make prominent. We wish the great liberal party, both in the past time and the present, to be viewed, not in this or that particular section of it, but broadly and generally ; and the conclusion we mean to establish is—that the men opposed to that party, or indifferent to its fate, are either the deliberate enemies of English liberty, or men who know not as they ought whence that liberty came. The history of liberalism, and the history of English liberty, are identical. The latter is the pure immediate offspring of the former ; and the enemy of liberalism, on the broad basis, is, whether aware of it or not, the enemy of English liberty, on the same scale. If we must be told by such persons, that they are the friends of all our existing liberties, but opposed generally to the party who have unquestionably given them existence ; we must be allowed to say that having examined the sort of reasoning by which this class of politicians contrive to reconcile themselves to their course, we have found it wanting ; and that we mean, as the effect of this article, to convict the parties who indulge in such idle talk, of gross inconsistency, and of deep political ingratitude.

Two sets of political principles have divided our nation into two great parties. This strong line of demarcation, with a weight preponderating, sometimes on the one side and sometimes on the other, has come down with the stream of our history, for now somewhat more than two hundred years. Time, accordingly, has been afforded to ascertain the natural effect of the two systems, on the men embracing them, and on the community. Supposing the two systems to have continued in substance the same, which we think we shall be able to demonstrate before we conclude, there ought not to be room for much hesitation, on

the part of any intelligent and honest man, as to the side which he should choose in the great dispute between the Whig and the Tory. The experiment in regard to the two systems has been fully made. Space has been given that men might know them by their fruits. Enough, as we think, has happened, to render it certain, that as these systems vary in the relative strength of their adherents, we verge toward liberty or slavery—rise to the position of the great, or sink toward the level of the meanest. We do not make this assertion unadvisedly. We mean to demonstrate its truth from facts—facts which accumulate at every step in our history, until their weight and multitude become overwhelming.

I. But what is Toryism ?

Doubtless it is a matter not always easy to define. It can change its demeanor, lower its tone, and disguise itself under soft and harmless names, as occasion may demand. It is not too much to say, that there is a consciousness in it that scrutiny, in regard to any pretension founded upon what it is in itself, will not do. When seen as it is, it must be loathed by any people possessing only moderate intelligence, and the smallest passion for liberty. It rests, accordingly, not upon itself, but upon what is adventitious to itself, and moves abroad amidst a world of false appearances. Its great trust is in its policy, not in its principles. Its views in regard to popular perception and popular feeling, do not admit of free exposure, and they are reserved accordingly, as a kind of freemasonry, for the ears of the initiated. Solon founded his claim to the gratitude of the Athenians, on the good laws which he gave them, and made his boast, that his code was so manifestly just, that every virtuous citizen must count obedience a privilege. Toryism is not that—it is anything but that. It has no confidence in popular intelligence or virtue, and is disposed to expect more from the ignorance than from the knowledge of the people. It aims at power and emolument ; but it would obtain these through the court favor of the few, as the result of the brute passiveness of the many. It looks upon offices as made for men, rather than upon men as to be fitted for offices. It courts popular favor so long as it may be obtained after the old feudal fashion ; but advancement by popular suffrage, on the ground of personal merit, is felt as a social degradation—as something beneath the dignity of a gentleman. Its concern is not to establish good laws, but to perpetuate a submissive community. It would be strong, not in the intelligence of the people, but in their abjectness. If it yields to a pressure from without in such matters, it is always late, reluctantly, and with a bad grace—in resentment more than from principle. If it forbears and fosters, it is in the spirit of a despot, who knows that there is no wisdom in

the policy which cuts down the tree to get at the fruit. It thus inverts the just ordinance of heaven, by accounting the nation as made for its rulers, and not the rulers as made for the nation. It has its shades of difference, no doubt, in different men, from its more rabid forms, in which we see it ripe for every excess, to the more moderate, in which it becomes blended with elements the opposite of its own. But in the main, its nature is as above described; and the great body of its adherents have not only always acted, to the extent of their power, in accordance with its spirit, but, as we fear, would so act again to-morrow, if in circumstances to admit of their doing so. Toryism may dissemble, it does not change. It may embrace many, at particular junctures, who do not imbibe its spirit to the full, but these are the exception and not the rule—an inconsiderate remnant, to be cast off without scruple, if the palmy days of this party should again return. We scarcely need add, that Whigs and Tories have this in common, that they profess to uphold the monarchy and the constitution. But with the one, the leaning is, as we have seen, toward arbitrary power; with the other, toward popular liberty; and the institutes which are to the Tory too much as an end, are of value with the Whig only as means to an end—that end being the public advancement. Hence the Tory party has always rested itself mainly on the strength of the landed interest, and has looked with jealousy on the order of society, and the passion for liberty, commonly generated in cities. Thus the tendency of the one is to keep things as they are, of the other to effect their improvement. This timid clinging to things as they have been, is adapted, in general, to feeble and passive intellects. The opposite system is commonly based on larger views, animated with a higher courage, and carries with it the fresher impulses of humanity and hope.

II. It will appear, then, that we regard Toryism, in its main principles and tendencies, as an inversion of the intelligent, the just, and the humane in social policy; and the first count in our indictment against it is, that throughout our history it has always betrayed a disposition towards oppression, in proportion to its power.

The principles which became known by the names of Whiggism and Toryism in the age of Charles the Second, were the same in substance with those which separated the parliamentarians and royalists from each other in the time of Charles the First. During the reign of the latter prince, the space preceding the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1641, especially the interval from 1629, was one of marked Tory ascendancy, and, in common with all such periods in our history, was disgraced by some of the grossest forms of oppression. The king imposed taxes on his own authority, under the name of loans,

and punished men more severely for refusing to pay such arbitrary exactions, than the law would have done for refusing to pay taxes levied by due authority of parliament. By court influence, an opinion was obtained from the judges which swept away at a stroke the whole body of statutes designed to give security to the persons of Englishmen, the bench being made to declare, that the said statutes might be observed or dispensed with, on the part of the king and his council, at their pleasure. The power to imprison indefinitely, was left at the disposal of the government, to be exercised in regard to any such persons, and upon any such grounds, as should appear to them expedient! In the train of these proceedings came the various illegal and oppressive methods of raising money—as the compelling of certain classes to make their eldest sons knights, purely that they might be obliged to pay the fee exacted on such occasions; the revival of the obsolete forest laws, for the purpose of extorting heavy and unjust fines from a large class of landholders; the granting of monopolies, by which almost every branch of trade was subject to permanent injury, that it might be converted into a source of irregular and immediate profit to the government; the issuing of royal proclamations, on all kinds of subjects, which were made to carry with them the force of statutes; the blow directed against the very existence of parliaments, in the matter of ship-money; the prosecutions in the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, the one conducting itself as a sort of inquisition in the state—the other acting too much in the manner of the Holy Office in relation to the Church, crushing all freedom of worship, depriving many of the most excellent of the clergy of their livings, and awarding to others hopeless imprisonment, ruinous fines, and almost every kind of torture short of death, such as exposure in the pillory, cutting off the ears, and burning the forehead and the cheeks with hot irons! In Scotland, too, the case of Lord Balmerino, and the manner in which the new Book of Common Prayer was attempted to be imposed upon the people, are sufficient to show that in that kingdom Charles deemed his own will the only law—and that he could exercise that will in a manner as contrary to humanity as to wisdom.

Now how did the good Tory politicians of those times relish these proceedings, which virtually put all law in abeyance, set up a single will in its place, and menaced the utter extinction of English liberty in all ages to come? On this question we have the answer of one of the most honest of historians, who reports to us in this respect what he had himself seen and heard. ‘The serious and just men of England,’ says our authority, ‘who were no way interested in the emolument of these oppressions, could not but entertain sad presages of

‘ what mischief must needs follow so great an injustice ; that
‘ things carried so far on in a wrong way, must needs either enslave
‘ themselves and their posterity for ever, or require a vindication
‘ so sharp and smarting, as that the nation would groan under
‘ it. Another sort of men, and especially lords and gentlemen,
‘ by whom the pressures of the government were not much felt,
‘ who enjoyed their own plentiful fortunes, with little or insen-
‘ sible detriment, looking no farther than their present safety
‘ and property, and the yet undisturbed peace of the nation,
‘ whilst other kingdoms were embroiled in calamities, and
‘ Germany sadly wasted by a sharp war, did nothing but
‘ applaud the happiness of England, and called them ungrateful
‘ and factious spirits who complained of the breach of laws and
‘ liberties. The kingdom, they said, abounded with wealth,
‘ plenty, and all kind of elegancies, more than ever. That it
‘ was for the honor of a people that the monarch should live
‘ splendidly, and not be curbed at all in his prerogative, which
‘ would bring him into the greater esteem with other princes,
‘ and more enable him to prevail in treaties. That what they
‘ suffered by monopolies was insensible, and not grievous, if
‘ compared with other states. That the Duke of Tuscany sat
‘ heavier upon his people in that very kind. That the French
‘ king had made himself an absolute lord, and quite depressed
‘ the power of parliaments, which had been there as great as in
‘ any kingdom, and yet that France flourished, and the gentry
‘ lived well. That the Austrian princes, especially in Spain,
‘ laid heavy burdens on their subjects. The courtiers would
‘ begin to dispute against parliaments in their ordinary dis-
‘ course, and hope the king should never need any more parlia-
‘ ments. Some of the gravest statesmen and privy counsellors
‘ would ordinarily laugh at the ancient language of England
‘ when the word—liberty of the subject was named.’*

So readily, good reader, could the Tories of that age find out excuses for being reconciled to the assimilation of the free government of our noble country to the servile models supplied by France, Tuscany, and Spain ! But the meeting of the Long Parliament put an end to this reign of Toryism. Twenty years of comparative adversity now awaited it. At the close of that period it rose again to power. Men said that the exiled Charles Stuart had profited greatly by his signal trials ; and it was hoped that the party restored with him had not been without learning something in the school of experience. But the prince of whom so many fine things had been reported, proved to be a hopeless profligate ; and the party from whom so much better

* May's History of the Long Parliament.

things were hoped, became too much intent on avenging the past to think of mending their ways for the future. The grimace of conferences between the bishops and the delegates from different sects, about toleration, and the granting ease, according to the royal promise, 'to tender consciences,' ended in the Act of Uniformity, which the magnanimous prelates, and that full image of Toryism, Clarendon, had so devised as to shut up the Puritan clergy to the alternative of subjecting themselves to the miseries of want, by a relinquishment of their livings, or of becoming conformists at the cost of their reputation as honest men. Two thousand of the beneficed clergy made the better choice. Then came, in succession, the Corporation Act, the Conventicle Act, and the Five Mile Act—all framed to restrict the possession of civil offices, in every grade, to Episcopalians, utterly to suppress freedom of worship, and to put an end even to private intercourse between the ejected clergy and the flocks from the oversight of which they had been so cruelly expelled. By these means also it was secured, that no nonconformist minister should obtain subsistence in the capacity of a schoolmaster; and the manner in which all these objects were prosecuted for many a long year, and in the case of hundreds and even thousands of men of whom the world was not worthy, was so harassing and oppressive, as to add, in a multitude of instances, the loss of life itself to the penalties of fine and imprisonment.

This was the second period in which it pleased providence that our nation should be left to the tender mercies of Toryism. Space was thus again afforded to it, that it might do after its own heart, and these are the things which were then done. Men were again permitted to judge of this system, and of the party adhering to it, by their fruit, and were left without excuse if they should ever trust in either again.

Towards the middle of the reign of Charles the Second, the principles of our free constitution began to regain something of their former power, both in the senate and through the nation. The Duke of York, the heir presumptive to the throne, was a Tory, a Catholic, and a bigot. Charles himself had been a party with the duke in a series of secret negotiations with the court of Versailles, the object of which was the destruction of the whole fabric of English liberty, and the setting up of the Catholic religion in the place of the Protestant. The Whigs were not acquainted with these intrigues in their whole extent, but they knew enough to force upon them suspicion and alarm, and to warrant vigorous precaution. Hence the Exclusion Bill, which went to put aside the Duke of York, on the ground of his being a Catholic, and as such incompetent to act as the head of an ecclesiastical establishment strictly Protestant. The

power of the principles embodied in the Exclusion Bill was deeply felt for a considerable period in every department of the government, and through the nation. But, after a while, it became manifest that the Whig leaders had pushed their principles too far in advance of the spirit of the times. Reaction began to show itself in some quarters. Those who had not changed, but had been awed into comparative silence by the force of the popular sentiment, now resumed much of their wonted speech and action, and the third reign of Toryism in our history came on—and a reign of terror assuredly it was!

In the language of Lord Russell, the devil was again 'loose,' and the scent of blood was not distant. The first direct attack made was on the city of London. The citizens had given great offence by their uncourtly proceedings in relation to the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Bill, and by their remonstrances in favor of parliaments and liberty. In common with London, all the cities and boroughs of the kingdom were regarded as so many normal schools of agitation; and as the tide began to turn in favor of Toryism, its evil spirit strengthened with its strength, and it formed the daring purpose of seizing on the charters of the capital and of the corporate towns, and of converting all corporations into so many engines of tyranny, by subjecting them to the control of the court and the government. The pretences of the crown lawyers in support of these proceedings, were only so much aggravation of the outrage—the addition of insult to robbery. Genuine Toryism has no pity. Remonstrance and resistance were vain. The corporations of the kingdom were all worse than demolished, inasmuch as the immunities meant to subserve the interests of freedom, were retained as a machinery to be employed permanently against it. The court, for its own purposes, had already filled the bench with men who had been a disgrace to the bar; and it now gained full power, in the nomination of sheriffs, to choose its own jury in every state trial, as well as its own judge. Some appearance of attention to legal methods of proceeding was still kept up, but the disguise was too thin to deceive any one. The power which ruled was a merciless despotism, and the garb of legal forms was a gratuitous piece of hypocrisy. Our courts of justice became so many dens of iniquity. Corrupt judges, intent on shedding blood, there practised their collusions, and perpetrated deeds at which humanity turns pale. Shaftesbury evaded the power of that season; but its clutch came fatally upon poor College, and on such noble natures as Russell and Sydney. In each of these cases, the spirit and the forms of justice were set at naught, and the executions which followed were so many veritable murders. But what mattered it?—revenge is sweet—let them hate so they fear; thus muttered the spirit of that hour as

it did those deeds. Parliaments were suspended ; the king and his council ruled everything. Tory sheriffs packed Tory juries at the royal bidding ; the judges were no less obedient ; and all the chartered securities of freedom were gone ! In this grave of the constitution, Toryism found its paradise. In this charnel-house of freedom, it began to make merry and be glad. Every vile epithet was applied to the men who had recently shown any zeal for liberty. The measures of the government—so paternal and humane—were applauded to the skies, and the camp of the zealots of lawless power was a scene of revelry by day and by night.*

The death of Charles occasioned no break in this reign of Toryism. In his speech from the throne the new king apprised the two houses that he was not indisposed to humor them with some show of liberty, but that his continuing to do so would depend on their being careful to use the concession according to his pleasure. The docile commons, consisting almost entirely of Tories, heard this language with an edifying submission ; and there is reason to believe would have remained silent to the end of their days, if the king could have been content to make them slaves, without at the same time attempting to make them papists. It surely was no marvel, that Monmouth and Argyle, remembering, as they did, the passion for freedom which seemed to pervade England only a few years before, should have distrusted these appearances, and have persuaded themselves that the one thing needed to rouse our countrymen against this servile yoke, was that some bold effort should be made to open before them the prospect of resisting it with success. What followed is well known.

Monmouth and Argyle were deficient in some of the qualities necessary to the success of such enterprises as those in which they engaged. The higher classes thought of Russell and Sydney, and were afraid. The capital was closely watched. The corporations through the kingdom consisted of sworn Tories.

* Speaking of a wedding party in the city which occurred just at this time, Evelyn says, ‘ There was the Lord Mayor, the sheriff, several aldermen, and persons of quality ; above all Sir George Jeffries, newly made lord chief justice of England, with Mr. Justice Withins, who danced with the bride, and were exceeding merry. These great men spent the rest of the afternoon until eleven at night, in drinking healths, taking tobacco, and talking much beneath the gravity of judges that had but a day or two before condemned Mr. Algernon Sydney, on the single testimony of that monster of a man Lord Howard, and some sheets of paper, taken in Mr. Sydney’s study, pretended to be written by him, but not fully proved, nor the time when, but appearing to have been written before his majesty’s restoration, and then pardoned by the act of oblivion—it was thought to be very hard measure.’ 1. 508. Throughout the haunts of the party similar scenes prevailed.

The helot herds in the provincial districts remained in subservience to their lords; and the insurgents, in consequence, consisted of a remnant of intelligent townsmen, chiefly nonconformists from the west of England. On the suppression of these ill-conducted efforts, Toryism might have conciliated by clemency, but, true to its nature, it chose rather to strike by terror. The proceedings against Mrs. Lisle, Mrs. Gaunt, and the sheriff Cornish, show the contempt of humanity and decency to which corrupt lawyers may descend, when they can persuade themselves that they have, in the language of Toryism, a firm government to fall back upon as their protection. The military and other executions in the west, are the foulest blot in English history. So merciless and brutal were they, that the horror excited by them lasted for generations. The bigotry of the king may have prompted him, in a measure, to these proceedings; but the sheer Toryism of the tools about him, sufficed to make them the willing instruments of his pleasure, and sufficed to dispose an English parliament to silent acquiescence!

As the designs of the king upon the Established Church became manifest, even the Tories deemed it expedient to court the alliance of the Protestant Nonconformists. The result was the ascendancy of Whig principles during the period of the revolution. But the Protestant high Church feeling which served to bring a large portion of the Tories into the measures of 1688, was a spurious liberality at best, and was not of long continuance. It was not, however, until towards the close of the reign of Anne, the daughter of James the Second, and grand-daughter of Clarendon, that Toryism again became sufficiently powerful to do after the ways of its own heart. Its care to signalize such happy intervals with appropriate achievement was not wanting at this juncture. Its good deeds on this occasion, and to which, we must add, certain place-loving Whigs lent too much assistance, were the passing of the Occasional Conformity and the Schism Bills. From the time of the restoration, many of the Presbyterian nonconformists had been accustomed to commune at the altars of the Established Church, and were in consequence qualified, even by the provisions of the Test Act, to hold civil offices. The Occasional Communion Bill was framed to exclude these persons from all such trusts. The Schism Bill restricted the work of education to certificated churchmen, who were never to be seen in a conventicle under severe penalties. The clergy alone could appoint these persons to their office, and the object of the bill was plainly to enfeeble and crush the body against which it was directed. These measures readily secured large majorities in the Commons, composed as that house then was, for the most

part, of persons who are described by Bishop Burnet as belonging to a gentry the most ignorant in Europe. The far better spirit of the Lords was opposed, during more than seven years, to the first of these bills. Both, however, speedily passed, when the queen threw herself upon a Tory government. Bolingbroke, who took the lead in these proceedings, was well known to be an infidel; but his high Church friends forgot his infidelity in their admiration of his intolerance.

Happily for the country, this fourth reign of Toryism was of short duration. The accession of George the First put an end to it, and to the Occasional Communion and Schism Bills. The next ascendancy, indeed, of this party is so late as the times of George the Third, who, amidst the excitements occasioned by the American War and the French Revolution, threw himself into the arms of the ancient enemies of his house, and gave them a sway which they retained with little intermission during more than half a century. Through that period the passion of the English people for liberty widened and deepened beyond all precedent in our history since the age of Charles the First; but the great office of the successive Tory governments was to curb and suppress it, as a species of monster which menaced the overthrow of everything civil and sacred. To every law of intolerance or coercion those governments clung with the utmost tenacity, as to the beauty and bulwark of the constitution. Disaffection still spread, but the strong hand was the constant remedy. The most sacred provisions of the constitution were put in abeyance, and temporary enactments of the most arbitrary nature were readily passed, to keep that formidable antagonist, a discontented people, in due subjection. Prodigal expenditure brought a monstrous debt, a monstrous debt brought almost ruinous taxation, and to this day Toryism has been strong enough to cause the evils entailed by these measures to fall, not on the great landholders, who imposed them and have profited by them, but upon the laborious and the poor, who have gained nothing from them but suffering.

It thus appears, then, that since the accession of Charles the First, there have been five distinct periods during which the party professing the principles of Toryism has been in possession of the government of these kingdoms, and that during each of those periods Toryism has demonstrated, by its formal and iterated acts, that intolerance and tyranny are of its very nature. It has been tried, once and again, and the result has always been the same. Its policy has never been permitted to display itself without showing that it has respect to a class, at the cost of the community; to a sect, at the cost of the nation. Its temper, when in full possession of power, and liable, as it always is at such times, to the impulses of revenge, has been

shown to be lawless, merciless, dreadful! We speak not now of individuals, but of the system, and of that in its general spirit and effect, as exhibited on the broad surface of our history, and in this view, we speak only the truth in uttering these heavy accusations against it. The ascendancy of Toryism has ever been the ascendancy of tyranny—of tyranny commonly despising the very forms of freedom, and often a stranger to all pity. But we shall see more to this effect as we proceed.

III. Such, then, has been the development of the spirit and tendencies of Toryism in the times of its strength; our next charge against it is—that in its times of weakness it has resisted attempts in favor of popular freedom to the utmost, never concurring in such measures until resistance has become vain, or when some sinister purpose of the moment might be served by such a course, so that the great scheme of English liberty, and all its ennobling effects on our character and position as a people, owe their existence entirely, under providence, to that class of men in our history who have professed liberal principles. Our appeal here, as in the former case, is to facts.

On the accession of Charles the First, the strong spirit of liberty which pervaded England found appropriate utterance in the several parliaments convened during the interval from 1625 to 1629. The great achievement of those parliaments was, the Petition of Right—a statute framed to give security and force to some older statutes, having respect to the two great branches of civil liberty—the safety of property, and the liberty of the person. The preamble stated, that of late the subject had been frequently called upon to make contributions to the crown under the name of loans and privy seals, and had been punished for refusal. These exactions it declared to be contrary to the law and franchise of the realm, and it laid down anew the great constitutional maxim—that no Englishman should be liable to tax in any form except as imposed by common consent in parliament. On the liberty of the subject, the Commons of 1629 expressed themselves to the sovereign as follows, in the fifth clause of their petition: ‘Divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause allowed; and when for their deliverance they were brought before justice, by your majesty’s writs of *Habeas Corpus*, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty’s special command, signified by the lords of your privy council, and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with anything to which they might make answer according to law.’ These proceedings they declared to be ‘against the tenor of the good laws and statutes of the realm, to that end

‘provided,’ and their prayer is that no man’s liberty may be invaded ‘except by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.’

Charles and James had been accustomed to break through all these chartered immunities at pleasure, and their sound Toryism, and that of the men who served them, displayed itself in the effort and artifice with which they opposed themselves to every movement designed to substitute a government by law on such points, in the place of a government by the king’s will. The court arguments in those days were precisely those of Tory politicians in our own. It was often vain to resist openly, but to elude by management was rarely deemed impossible. The answer returned by Charles, when professing to pass the Petition of the Commons, was in an evasive form of speech, different from that which the constitution had provided in such cases; and when he had so far subdued his repugnance to the matter of the statute as to express his approval in the usual form, his majesty descended to command that the copies of it printed with the approved answer, should be destroyed, and that copies containing the rejected answer should be issued. Yes, and as though this were not enough, Charles was concerned to assure the parliament that he should not account himself bound by anything he had done, to alter his administration in future from what it had been in the past! In these proceedings we have a fair sample of the manner in which every vestige of English liberty has been wrung from the tenacious grasp of Toryism. It has never loosened its hold on a single element of arbitrary power until compelled. Even then, it has not failed to heap its anathemas on the head of those who have extorted the concession; and its comfort has been in the hope, that a convenient season for regaining it may possibly come round.

The passing of the Petition of Right was followed by the twelve years during which England was governed without a parliament; and those conservators of a government by prerogative, who had sustained the king in resisting that Petition of Right, sustained him of course in his open and protracted violation of all its provisions, and would no doubt have been very happy if they had been allowed to consign all statutes on those vulgar topics—liberty of the subject, and the security of property, to oblivion. It has always been the favorite notion of Toryism, that the people should be content to possess personal liberty, and to hold their property secure from spoliation, as a matter of favor from their betters, without indulging in foolish talk about such things as matters of law and right.

On the meeting of the Long Parliament, the men who had supported a government by prerogative through so long a period, became aware that a juncture had arrived when opposi-

tion to the popular influence would be vain. One abuse, accordingly, after another was swept away. One provision after another, for the better government of the kingdom was made. But in English history intense feeling in one direction occurs only at intervals, and has never been of long continuance. In this instance the trial of Strafford called forth the first signs of division and reaction; and no sooner was there the slightest prospect that resistance to the movement in favor of popular liberty might be made with success, than it was made. The 'Army Plot' in England, the 'Incident' in Scotland, and the attempt to seize the five members, speedily followed. It was thus manifest that what had been conceded in weakness, would be seized upon again in the first moments of returning strength. Distrust of the king became rooted, incurable. Conditions which his opponents regarded as necessary to their safety, were rejected by him as an insult to his royal dignity. We do not mean to vindicate every article in the proceedings of the Long Parliament, either in the early or later period of its history, but, viewed generally, we regard those proceedings as wise and patriotic, as designed mainly to place the power of the crown within such limits as might render it compatible with the liberty of the subject. Their demand was, that the provisions of the Petition of Right should be indeed law, and that whatever restraint it might be necessary to impose on the civil or ecclesiastical powers of the state, in order to that object, might be imposed. The demand, it must be remembered, was not so much for new laws, as that the old should be made secure, so as to become the rules of government, and not a mere mockery. Spain, in its convention under the name of the Cortes, and France, in its States-General, had their popular assemblies, but in those kingdoms the power of the crown, by a process strictly similar to that which Charles and his more zealous adherents were bent on pursuing, had put a complete end to such assemblies, and in so doing an end to all popular liberty. That the same effect did not follow in this country from the same cause, must be attributed solely to the counteraction supplied by the spirit which animated the Long Parliament. To the extraordinary men, imperfect truly, but still great and noble-minded men, who gave their days and nights to the toil of the senate, or unsheathed their swords at Marston Moor and Naseby, we no doubt owe it that the political atmosphere of London has not become as that of Madrid, and that the palace of St. James' has not had its Bastille in common with Versailles. It is true Charles, in the papers which he issued at York, professed to rest on the concessions which he had made to the parliament; and, to gain followers, condescended to express himself a good deal in the language of a sound parliamentarian, much as our

modern Tories are pleased to take up the language of reform. But so intent was he, and the most favored of his advisers, on a strong government rather than a legal one, that the more moderate of his partisans saw nearly as much to apprehend from the prospect of *his* complete ascendancy, as from that of his opponents.

It is admitted that the civil war did not end in an immediate and permanent system of liberty. Such a result is rarely to be expected from such a course. Nothing is more natural than that the struggles of faction should follow upon the overthrow of despotism: and this latter state may be denounced as worse than the former. But the end is not yet. New powers have not the advantage of old prescription, and may be comparatively innocent in resorting to strong measures as means of safety. If the exigences of the infant commonwealth and protectorate generated frequent displays of tyranny, the bold expansive spirit natural to such governments gave existence, upon the whole, to an amount of liberty much greater than had existed previously in England, and greater in some respects than has existed since. Its very tyranny was, for the most part, manifestly for the sake of liberty—for the protection of the weak against the strong; and its effect in turning the thoughts and passions of the people so generally toward such questions, was to render it more than ever improbable that the England of future generations should be otherwise than free. There was confusion, there was arbitrariness, but there was progress,—advancement in knowledge, in manliness of thought, in social justice, and in sympathy with everything affecting the national honor. In regard to religion, after placing much to the account of fanaticism, we are satisfied that England has never been so pervaded with scriptural piety as during the short period of her commonwealth.

With the restoration came, as we have seen, the second memorable reign of Toryism. It was a season in which the adherents of that system *could* be intolerant and oppressive, and they were so. Nonconformists prayed for toleration, and pleaded the royal promise, but prayed and pleaded in vain. The defence set up commonly was, that the toleration of the Protestant must bring with it the toleration of the Catholic. The real difficulty arose from the innate intolerance of Toryism in regard to all forms of religion but its own. As the Whigs became more organized and powerful, they made some progress in regard to the management of the revenue, the rights of the Commons as to disputed elections, the forms of impeachment, the liberty of the subject, and similar questions. But vain were their efforts to procure a more lenient treatment of the Protestant nonconformists. The power

possessed by the Tories during the greater part of the reign of Charles the Second, and the manner in which it was employed, not only to perpetuate every existing form of servitude, but to demolish the most valued provisions of liberty, are sufficiently indicated in the conduct of that party on the matter of the non-resisting test. In a session of parliament in Oxford in 1666, an attempt was made to pass a bill which would have imposed the oath of non-resistance upon the whole nation. Even this measure was lost by three voices only, and those from three members who made their appearance in the house for the first time on that day. But the grand struggle on this question was in 1675. In that year a bill was brought into the upper house by the government, which contained the non-resistance oath, and also an oath to oppose any attempt to alter the constitution in Church or State. These oaths were to be exacted from all clergymen, schoolmasters, and officers of state, from all persons holding office in corporations, and from the members of both houses of parliament. The debates on this iniquitous bill lasted seventeen days, often extending to an unusually late hour in the evening, sometimes until midnight. Charles himself made his appearance in the house day after day, taking his place by the fireside as a listener. In the end, the measure was carried in its most obnoxious form. It had been thought, that the Tory strength in the Commons might be sufficient to sustain such a bill even there; but the bold topics of argument which the debate in the Lords had elicited, were such as had not been listened to in that house since the early days of the Long Parliament—and in consequence it was not deemed advisable to push the matter further. This affair is only one in the lengthened series, demonstrating that if Englishmen are not slaves, they owe it to the weakness of Toryism, and not to its strength,—to the want of potency in its arm, and not to any want of the servile in its temperament. Our liberties are no boon from by-gone Toryism, but a possession wrested from its hard grasp by men capable of painful watchings, severe labors, and resistance—even unto blood, in the cause of far other principles.

The conduct of the seven bishops in refusing to lend themselves to the cause of false religion, as they deemed it, at the bidding of the king, was much to their honor. But much more to their dishonor, and to the dishonor of the clergy generally, was the manner in which they had employed themselves for a long time past in filling all the pulpits of the kingdom with their doctrine as to the duty of passive obedience. To resist the supreme magistrate, in any case, was to sin mortally. Was not this to encourage the king in those arbitrary courses, to which, as every man knew, his inclinations so strongly tended? Was it not in effect to

tell him, that there was neither law nor usage with which he might not dispense with impunity? Was not this to give license to the oppressor, by placing the heaviest chain on the oppressed? Was not this to degrade religion from her place as the friend of humanity and freedom, and to make her a mere tool to be wielded at pleasure by the cruel and despotic?

During the new flow and excitement of the popular feeling connected with the revolution, the Tories, lay and ecclesiastical, were comparatively silent. But with the change of the sovereignty—no trivial shock to Tory notions—came the no less difficult matters for that party to digest contained in the Declaration of Rights and the Bill of Rights. In these documents, all the great points of civil freedom, in favor of which so much had been written, and done, and endured through the last fifty years, were distinctly exhibited, recognized, and established. But what Tory could fail to see that by this course of affairs the very principles which he had been so long accustomed to denounce as those of the 'great rebellion,' and as the absolutely treasonable tenets of Whiggism, had become the law of the land: while the professors of those tenets had the prospect of acting for no small interval as the principal advisers of the crown. Hence came settled disaffection, and the difficulties which embittered the reign of William the Third, and cramped his generous policy.

But the Whigs soon fell from the exclusive favor of the new sovereign. Their misfortune, however, in this respect, was their honor. They hazarded the displeasure of the crown, but it was on a point deeply affecting the permanent liberties of the people. This point was, in their appropriation of the supplies, as an annual grant, which since that period has given the House of Commons so powerful a control over the executive, as to render it impossible that any government should stand without the suffrage of that assembly.

But whether in office or out of office, the Whigs were the steady friends of the new king; while not a few of their opponents were imploring the return of the late monarch, and anticipating from such a prince, restored by means of thirty thousand French bayonets, a more just government than they were subject to under William! The detection of a Jacobite conspiracy to cut off the king by assassination, filled the land with indignation, and operated as so great a discouragement to the disaffected, that their policy underwent some change. But the change was not such as to mend the reputation of Toryism. The policy of the party now was, to annoy where they could not hope to subdue. To distress a constitutional king, if they could not bring back a legitimate one. To become even champions of freedom, but only that its immunities might be turned

against itself. Thus if they favored the measures of the Whigs designed to give increased power to the Commons in regard to the government, it was mainly because they hated the man in possession of the throne, and the principles which had given him possession of it still more; and if they concurred in deliberations to soften the law of treason, it was at a moment when their own connexions were the parties on whom the severities of that law were most likely to fall. The improvements in regard to the law of treason passed in 1695, and such was their novel clemency, that Burnet described the Bill as intended to make men as safe as possible in all treasonable practices. How would the Tory faction have stared if one of their fraternity had proposed while Russell and Sydney were perishing under the barbarous influence of this law, that something should be forthwith done to render it more just, humane, and favorable to the accused? We have seen that it is by acts of a very different complexion that Toryism has been concerned to signalize the day of its power. Magnanimity of this sort is not at all to its taste.

In regard to the vital question—the liberty of the press, a similar combination of Whigs and Tories took place, and for the same reasons. Hitherto all writings tending to possess the people with an ill opinion of their rulers, were liable to action from the attorney-general. But from the revolution, the Whigs chose rather to contend with the enemy at his own weapons, than avail themselves, as they might have done, of the protection to be derived from such a state of the law. Such too, was the violence of party spirit in this and more subsequent reigns, and the gross form of the personalities and calumny with which the political press was charged, that the utmost license of this sort in our own time may be described as moderate in comparison with it. If excess could have justified stringency, it might assuredly have been justified then. It seemed to be the ambition of Tories, to display the utmost insolence of power, in their condition of weakness; and of the Whigs, on the contrary, to cede to the weak, advantages which have been almost invariably withholden by the strong. Certain lawyers, indeed, were disposed to adhere to the restrictive system as they found it, but there were illustrious exceptions among them; and juries, imbued with the spirit of the Whig ascendancy of the times, began to insist on their right to judge as to the law as well as the facts of the cases brought before them, and the collisions which thus arose between the panel and the bench, did much to facilitate the subsequent improvements in our law of libel.

It is to this Whig reign especially that we must look for the era of our religious liberty. So long as the Anglican Church—meaning by that expression the great body of her Tory members, lay and clerical—could regard the ecclesiastical establish-

ment as secure, nothing was further from her thoughts than any system of comprehension or toleration. In a pamphlet of 1681, well known at the time, the writer says, 'Liberty of conscience and toleration, are things only to be talked of, and pretended to by those that are under; but none like or think it reasonable that are in authority.' This was the genuine language of high Church Toryism, and the conduct of that party had always been to this effect. But in the reign of William the Third, the Toleration Act legalized and protected the places of worship used by Protestant Dissenters. That bill passed without much difficulty, 'but not,' says Mr. Hallam, 'without the murmurs of the bigoted Churchmen.' Some of that party would have restricted the perilous experiment to seven years; and the pamphlets published by them show how far they would have been from allowing such a measure to pass at all if they could have prevented it.

But if the Tories were weak on this point, there were some others on which they were strong; and their power to be intolerant always led to intolerance. William would have substituted the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, as a qualification for civil office, in the place of receiving the sacrament in the Church. But the cry was raised of an intention to favor papists, and the measure was rejected in the Lords by a large majority. Twelve Whig peers protested against that decision. It is probable that William would gladly have repealed the Test Act altogether, and have tolerated the Catholic worship, trusting to more honorable ties as means of securing the allegiance of his subjects. But no Tory could have approved of such a policy, and even the Whigs had much to learn on that subject. The act passed in 1700, against the growth of popery, is disgraceful evidence of the narrow prejudice which still prevailed on some of the points of religious liberty; though in this instance the law was so far neutralized by the better feeling of the judges and of the nation, as to have become almost a dead letter from its birth.

The same party manifested its zeal, and with similar success, in opposition to an attempt made to enlarge the basis of the Established Church, so as to take in some moderate nonconformists. On this subject, it was considered proper to submit the scheme proposed to the clergy in convocation. But their reverences were pleased to conduct themselves in a manner so uncompromising, and with such studied insolence, that the friends of this project allowed it to drop altogether, rather than expose themselves to the calumnies with which the conclave of bigots constituting the lower house of convocation was prepared to assail them had they persisted in it.

In the Act of Settlement we have another acquisition from

the joint though widely different feeling of Whigs and Tories. Such of the latter as concurred in it, did so because it was thought to secure the Established Church by restricting the succession to a Protestant. To the Whigs it was especially valuable as demonstrating the power of parliament in the disposal of the crown; and as it carried with it some new and important limitations on the prerogative. One of the most important of these limitations was that which gave independence to the judges, by providing that they should not be removable in future except on conviction of some offence, or upon the address of both houses of parliament. This measure has not freed the judges from all bias, but it has diminished their liability to a corrupt bias immensely. Our modern Tories, in the spirit of adulation which so easily besets them, have often ascribed this improvement to the times of George the Third.

With the reign of Anne came the excitement against the principles of the Revolution, in which that important personage Sacheverel made so conspicuous a figure; and toward the close of this reign the mixed kind of administration, which had hitherto in some degree prevailed, gave place to a decided Tory government. Among the fruits of this change was the peace of Utrecht—a hurried compact, by which France was saved, beyond her utmost hope, from that verge of ruin to which she had been reduced by the valor of British soldiers, and of the confederates, under command of Marlborough. France, accordingly, might well be grateful to the Tories of England in that reign; but our allies had too much reason to deplore the pusillanimity and treachery of that party; while in our domestic history they are to be remembered chiefly on account of their zeal to abridge the liberties of Protestant nonconformists, and by their known sentiments and secret plottings in relation to the exiled Stuarts, which were such as to expose the succession of the House of Hanover to alarming hazard, almost to the last moment. If the Established Church at that time had served to make the people christians, as certainly as it did to make the clergy Jacobites and Tories, it would have been the most successful institution our world has ever seen.

The Earl of Shrewsbury, in one of his letters to William, suggests that it would be well for his majesty to bear in mind concerning the Tories, that he was not *their* king. George the First had occasion to know that this significant hint was hardly less applicable to himself than to his illustrious predecessor; and it was in consequence strictly natural that on his accession a ministry of Tories should be succeeded by a ministry of Whigs. We do not mean to justify everything that was done in the impeachment of the Tory ministers Oxford and Bolingbroke; nor are we concerned to say whether the punishment of

the rebels in favor of the Pretender in Scotland was greater or less than the occasion demanded; but we maintain that in judging of these facts, and some others, attention should be directed to the virulence and unscrupulousness of that disaffection which the Tory party had diffused through the country, without any grievance to allege, and simply because the friends of the Church, as they were called, were not permitted to be in office. The zeal of the clergy in blowing up this flame was most conspicuous and pernicious.

It is in the strength of this disaffection, and in its manifestly factious character, that we find the real explanation of a measure which has been used, perhaps, beyond any other, as a reproach on Whig consistency—viz., the extending of this first parliament under the new king, from three years to seven, by means of the Septennial Bill. The great reason of that act no doubt was, that the Whigs would have lost power in a new election. We may admit that the Septennial Bill was a factious proceeding of a Whig government; but at the worst, it was merely the work of one faction employed in counteracting the most unprincipled machinations on the part of another; and, for a time it gave power to a party which had justice on its side, as opposed to one which had not.

In this violence of Tory feeling, strengthened as we admit it was by the foreign origin and foreign predilections of the king, we have the secret of the peerage bill, and of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, by which the Whigs further incurred the reproach of inconsistency—of professing liberal principles, and ruling by arbitrary means. But with what means, and to what end would the Tories have ruled, if they could have possessed themselves of power? Let the proceedings of the lower house of convocation, which were so bad as to have put an end to its sittings for ever, answer that question. While the reins of government were still distant, those insolent priests did not scruple to condemn the exercise of private judgment, to deny the right of toleration, and to set up pretensions as to their relation to the civil power, which would have made that power the mere creature of their pleasure—kings and queens being, as we are still taught by our Oxford Catholics, nursing parents—not to the Church, in the way of patronage, but *for* it, in the way of servitude.

We do not deny that in the train of this gradual settlement of the great questions of civil and religious liberty, came the struggles of faction. Far be it from us to attempt a vindication of selfish partisanship, carried on by court intrigue and parliamentary corruption, in either Whig or Tory. It is more important here to observe, that these two great parties had never been so distinctly marked as under the Georges, and that while the one was obliged to utter the language of freedom, in reply to the

charge that the possession of place had rendered them indifferent on that subject, the other often took up the same tone to the full, as affording them their only hope of success against their rivals. In either case, whether from strife or good will, the rights of freemen were proclaimed as above all price, and the public had reason to rejoice in the gain which accrued to it from these angry contentions. Of the change in the relative position of these parties which came about in the reign of George the Third, and of its effects, we have spoken elsewhere.

Enough, we think, has been said to show that the liberties of Englishmen have been preserved and augmented purely by the influence and power of those principles which are historically known as the creed of Whig politicians; and that the great vocation of Toryism has been to destroy, suspend, or abridge those liberties, to the utmost extent within its power; never ceasing to resist the efforts of the friends of liberty until resistance has become vain, or until it has learnt to believe that the principles of freedom might be best subverted by seeming for a while to have adopted them. We speak now, not of this person or that, nor of this measure or that, but of the broad average temper and conduct of English Toryism, from the accession of Charles the First downwards; and we do not scruple to say, that had that party been suffered to prevail in our history, the cradle of English liberty would have been its grave, and these kingdoms would have been made hardly less subservient to the will of the Stuarts, than France was to that of the Bourbons. The honest language of the past is, that our boasted liberties are ours, not *from* Toryism, but in *spite* of it; that they are a good torn from the grasp of Toryism; that on more than one occasion Toryism has all but destroyed them; that with Whiggism arbitrariness has been the exception, while with Toryism it has been the rule; and that the abettors of that system have never ceased to practise their mischiefs against liberty on a small scale, when they have not dared to resume them on a larger one.

IV. Now we are not insensible that modern Tories may deny the justice of these heavy accusations brought against their party, and their political creed on the ground of the current of facts exhibited in the preceding pages. But we cannot admit, in the main, that there is any foundation for such a denial.

1. It will no doubt be said, that Toryism, in common with everything else, is liable to change from time and circumstances, and that nothing can be more unfair than to impute to the men of the present age, errors belonging to men of a past age. Our answer is, that the occasions are abundant on which the Tories of the present day do make these errors of the past their own by adopting them. Who can be acquainted with our historical and general literature without knowing that the greatest saints

in the calendar of Toryism, are, with little exception, the greatest tyrants in our history during the last two hundred years! Strafford and Laud, Clarendon and the Stuarts; these are the true objects of the Tory worship; and why such labored vindications of the tyranny of those men, if that tyranny be hated? On the other hand, who are the men upon whom the genius of modern Toryism has heaped every sort of calumny, or whom it has left to perish without mercy? They are such men as Pym and Hampden, Eliot and Vane, Russell and Sydney. What are the seasons in the past on which the eye of the Tory rests with the greatest complacency? Are they not those in which English liberty, if sought for, could hardly be found? And from what spaces in the past do such men turn away with the loudest professions of disgust, either at what was done, or at the men who did it? Are they not always the spaces in which the scale turned in favor of liberty—as in the times of the Long Parliament, of the Exclusion Bill, and of the Revolution? If these facts do not indicate a substantial identity between the Toryism of the past and the present, how is identity in such a case to be more certainly ascertained? It is clear, in the main, that these men worship what their fathers worshipped before them, and that they hate what their fathers hated. Their sympathies are manifestly the same, and their enmities the same. Admit that there may be exceptions—where is the rule? Admit that there may be some abatement as to the amount of arbitrary purpose—how frightful the resemblance still!

2. But the answer of the supine Whig, and of the moderate Tory, to all this, will probably be, that supposing it all to be true, the utmost to be apprehended from a Tory ascendancy now is, that a stop will be put to the reform movement, and that affairs will be made to retain, on the whole, the posture they have assumed. We must confess that we see little reason to indulge in the satisfaction felt by some of our neighbors on this point. We demur strongly to the use of the term *Conservative* by the Tory party. Their aim, if consistent, will not be to conserve, but to destroy. They account popular liberty a delusion—a vulgar, hypocritical, pernicious delusion. It is raising the people above the submissive habits proper to them, to meddling habits in public matters which can only do them harm. With such views of liberty, they cannot mean to become its conservators, except from the pressure of necessity. In regard to all the ancient arbitrariness of the constitution, they are naturally conservatives; in regard to the great scheme of popular rights, which has now become a part of it, they are as naturally destructives; and we fear that it is only in this restricted and insincere sense, that the term *conservative* is understood by the initiated Tory. Those who desire and to neu-

tralize the provisions of liberty, tell us plainly that they only want the power in order to destroy them—and what evidence of this nature can be more ominous than that supplied by the open and avowed practices of the Tory party in our corporations, in our county elections, and in all other connexions where a coercive influence may be exerted? How natural is all this! Tories have hated English liberty in all time; at some seasons they have hewn down the noble tree, even to its roots; when it has put forth signs of life again, they have done their utmost to impede its growth; and when it has continued to grow, as in spite of them, they have never failed to manifest their loathing of it, as an obtrusive and unsightly appearance, bearing fruit like the fabled apples of Sodom, fair to look upon, but treacherous within. It so happens, however, that now *these* are the men who must be regarded as especially careful to ‘conserve’ this sort of constitution! We have no patience with this palpable fraud. Conservation!—yes, such as the wolf bestows upon the lamb.

3. It may be said, indeed, that the Tory party at present includes a large portion of moderate men, who would not commit themselves to any extravagant course, and without whose concurrence, the other section of the party, feel as it may, must be comparatively harmless. It is not always wise, we suspect, to trust thus largely to the supposed wisdom of moderation. Let us suppose that the reins of government have passed into Tory hands. Strong measures will then be deemed necessary in relation to Ireland, and other departments of the empire. Every new appearance of disaffection will of course become a new pretext for a more strengthened coercion; and should such appearances thicken, as most assuredly they will, ample excuse would thus be afforded for a ready abandonment of all pledges about resting on the Reform Act, or on any other act. In such case, we can easily suppose that our moderate Tories would regret the course things were taking, and wish the Hotspurs at the head of affairs to hold in the rein a little; but they would not fail to see that their choice was, between bearing with such excesses from a Tory government, or allowing it to be displaced by a government of Whigs and Radicals, flushed with victory, and intent on larger changes than ever. History is not uninstrusive as to the extent to which the forbearance of such moderate persons may lead them, when shut up to so unpleasant an alternative. We are willing to believe that the foulest oppressions disgracing the annals of Toryism have been the work of a zealot minority in power, rather than of the whole party. But experience has shown that the guilt of a passive connivance may be as fatal to the cause of liberty as that of actual participation. While Russell and Sydney bled on the scaffold, the policy of such men as Temple and Evelyn was to be silent, and in quietness to

hope for better days ! Even the doings of Jeffries and his compeers, in their 'Bloody Assize,' failed to elicit the slightest expression of complaint from the moderates of those times. At this moment we have a loud outcry, even from some Tory Churchmen, against Oxford popery. But suppose things should take such an issue as to make the choice to be—between the ascendancy of a party who would give over the pulpits of the Establishment, for the most part, to Puseyism, and such an ascendancy of liberalism as might serve thoroughly to liberalize the Establishment, or to throw the nation possibly upon the voluntary principle. Would it be safe to lean upon our moderate men in such a juncture ? Regret the alternative before them they no doubt would, but how prolific and protracted would they be in excuses for delay and forbearance, even in such a case, seeing that the consequence of resisting the evil effectually would be such as we have named ? In all great exigencies of liberty, civil or religious, there is danger of finding these moderates a broken reed. It is to the fear and passiveness of this class, that the immoderate have been indebted for their power to do all their unjust and cruel deeds. Those deeds in our history have always been eventually checked, and the time of retribution has come, but in the interval our most sacred liberties have been trodden under foot, and the best blood of England has been shed. We have no wish to make progress by means of intervals so marked in the future.

4. We are far from meaning, by anything we have said, to justify discouragement on the part of the advocates of liberal principles. It is, indeed, far from pleasing to observe the manner in which the enlarged franchise, which owes its existence to Whig liberality, has been turned against the reform party. In the majority of cases, we attribute this result to the various coercive expedients resorted to for that purpose by the wealthier classes. But in not a few cases it has sprung from a selfishness, an ingratitude, or an idle vanity, little short of a deep stain in our national character. In this respect, however, the advocates of liberal principles have had to share in the experience common to those who have distinguished themselves in the cause of anything equal or holy in this partial and evil world. Their good has been evil spoken of. In extending the privileges of freedom to those who have known how to value them, they have been obliged to extend them to those who are unworthy of them. To a man of sense, few things can be more pitiable or humiliating than the attempts made by a considerable class of professionals and tradesmen, such as crowd our London omnibuses about nine o'clock in the morning, to appear vastly genteel by taking up the language and airs of Toryism. Sweet souls—would it were

possible to give them their fill of their own principles, by making them monopolists of the felicity natural to such a constitution as ours would have been, if such vulgar obtruders as liberal statesmen had never dared to meddle with the stream of our history. But in these matters we cannot deal with some men as they deserve, without involving far better men in the same penalty. The same short-sighted, selfish, ungrateful, and bitter disaffection, against which the several Whig governments that followed upon the Revolution had to contend, still exists; the men who have deserved most from their country appearing to obtain the least.

5. But matters will not long retain their present shape. Should a change in favor of Tory ascendancy prove to be at hand, we are desirous that the contents of this paper should produce some good impression. The great interdict deducible from the argument of the preceding pages is, that we place no trust in the professions of Toryism; and the great injunction deducible from it is, that in any struggle which may be awaiting us, we should employ all our means to the utmost, in order to narrow the power of Toryism to the smallest limits possible. Whatever may be the diversity of our impressions as to the conduct of particular men, there is no room among us for any difference of opinion in regard to the importance of the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and of having them as effectually represented as possible. If we suffer ourselves to be divided, or rendered careless on this point, the effect may be such as to embitter our latter days, and to furnish matter for lamentation to our children. If there be any true lesson conveyed by English history it is this—that the friends of equal justice, in matters of religion and of social policy, can look forward with hope only as Toryism is weak, and have everything to fear in proportion as it is strong.

Brief Notices.

Ecclesiastical Chronology; or Annals of the Christian Church, from its foundation to the present time; containing a View of General Church History, and the Course of Secular Events; the whole arranged according to the order of dates and divided into seven periods. To which are added Lists of Councils, and of Popes, Patriarchs, and Archbishops of Canterbury. By the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M.A. 8vo. London: Longman and Co.

It is justly remarked by Mr. Riddle, that next to an acquaintance with the holy Scriptures and the human heart, ‘a knowledge of church

history is requisite for every Christian scholar, and especially for every student of theology.' Convinced of the truth of this observation, we cordially welcome this volume, which has been prepared with great labor, and will be found to be an invaluable companion to the student, and not without its use and its attraction even to the general reader. It supplies a deficiency long characteristic of our literature, and may serve to aid in the preparation of a fuller and more elaborate history of particular epochs. It is drawn up in the form of *Annals*, and contains 'an enumeration of the principal subjects of church history arranged in chronological order.' Mr. Riddle has done wisely in preferring this plan as one which combines more advantages than could have been secured by a succinct continuous narrative. The historical method, however, has been partially combined with the chronological, by dividing the work into leading periods, and by the descriptive style of those articles which relate to the principal subjects of ecclesiastical narrative. We have been at some pains to test our author's accuracy, and so far as our investigations have gone are disposed to think as highly of his fidelity as of his unsparing diligence. The spirit of the work is candid and evangelical, and its general utility is too obvious to need any formal recommendation. 'Such an outline is valuable and even more or less necessary,—as a manual for younger students,—as a source of information for those persons who have no means of pursuing the study to its full extent—and also as an auxiliary for various purposes in the hands of the more advanced ecclesiastical scholar.'

A Brief History of the Rise and Progress of the Lancashire Congregational Union and of the Blackburn Independent Academy. By R. Slate. London: Hamilton and Adams.

An interesting narrative of one of the oldest and most efficient county associations in the kingdom, drawn up at the request of the union, and now published for general circulation amongst the friends of evangelical truth. Such specimens of local history are valuable on many accounts, and we should be glad to see them greatly multiplied.

Popular Education. A Prize Essay on the 'Influence of the Education of the People and the Diffusion of Knowledge on the Welfare and Happiness of Nations.' By the Rev. E. S. Pryce, A.B. London: Ball and Co.

This little volume owes its existence to a prize offered by the Glasgow University Liberal Association for the best essay on the influence of popular education. The students of the university were alone entitled to compete, and it was our author's good fortune to be the successful competitor. The essay is highly creditable to his intellectual acuteness and vigor, and gives promise of future excellence, on the attainment of which we trust that his mind will be steadily engaged.

1. *Continental Sermons ; or Nine Discourses, addressed to Congregations on the Continent.* By J. Hartley, M.A., British Chaplain at Nice. London : Nisbet and Co.
2. *Sermons Preached in St. Paul's Episcopal Chapel, Walsall.* By Charles Frederic Childe, M.A., Principal of the Church Missionary Institution, Islington. London : L. and G. Seeley.
3. *A Course of Sermons on Faith and Practice.* Delivered by the Rev. George Clayton, at York Street Chapel, Walworth, 1838, 1839. London : Ward and Co.

The first of these volumes of sermons proves that their author is admirably qualified to occupy the station where the providence of God has placed him. He is set for the defence of the gospel amidst hosts of Romanists and infidels, and ably does he wield, in support of the truth as it is in Jesus, those weapons of the holy warfare which are not carnal, but spiritual and mighty through God to the pulling down of the strongholds of Satan, and the casting down of imaginations and of every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God. We are glad to observe Mr. Hartley's soundness in the faith, and especially refer to his sermon on 'Primitive and Modern Conversion Compared.' We rejoice with him, too, 'that France is at length open to Christian effort,' and that 'after the lapse of dark ages, during which it was an edict in that country that no sun of righteousness should rise upon it, now every barrier is thrown down, and we may freely go to Paris, to Lyons, to Marseilles, to the frontiers of Belgium, and the valleys of the Pyrenees, and there and everywhere proclaim 'the unsearchable riches of Christ.' Mr. Hartley has entered upon this wide field of Christian labor. May the Lord of the harvest crown his exertions with abundant success.

We are not quite pleased with Mr. Childe's address 'to the congregation,' to whom his volume is dedicated. It is neither flattering to himself nor to his late charge to say, that in publishing this volume in compliance with their request, he foresees that 'he shall not have consulted his own reputation.' The conclusion of the address is in better taste ; 'My earnest and anxious request is that you will seek, as your Saviour and your portion, Him whose power and love I have endeavored to set forth ; and that 'not as in my presence only, but now much more in my absence, you will work out your salvation with fear and trembling ;' remembering that 'it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.' The sermons are well calculated to assist them in this great and arduous duty—as they clearly point it out, and supply motives and principles which with the divine blessing cannot fail to secure its effectual performance. The series of discourses on Repentance and Temptation are really fine exhibitions of the true chastened eloquence of pulpit instruction.

Mr. Clayton's course of Sermons on 'Faith and Practice,' seem not to have been intended by their author for publication ; though in passing through the press they were subject to his revision. In theology they are sound : their arrangement and mode of composition (we can scarcely call it a style) are adapted to usefulness among a certain

class. In point of thought they never rise above mediocrity. Vulgar expressions sometimes occur—expletives often weaken the force of a passage, that would otherwise be effective—a general carelessness pervades the whole volume. Of its excellencies and faults many of our readers will form a tolerably accurate notion when we say they are included in one word—they are *Claytonian*. The colleges of dissent we trust will inspire the preachers of the next generation with a pure literary taste, which will enable them to compete with the Established clergy in the only attainment in which they have the slightest pretensions to superiority; though even in this the dissenting pulpit can boast of some rare specimens of unquestioned pre-eminence.

A Key to the Bible; containing a Summary of Biblical Knowledge, and a Dictionary of all the Principal Words in the Old and New Testaments. By the Rev. Thomas Timpson, Author of 'The Companion to the Bible,' &c., &c. Illustrated with Three Maps, and a Hundred and Twenty-four Engravings. William Smith.

'Young persons of superior education, whose natural inquisitiveness has been quickened by intelligence, are especially intended to be benefited by this volume aiding them in their studies, seeking to understand more fully the saving doctrines of the holy Scriptures.' This sentence is not ours; it is the author's, and as it is first in the book, we wish it had been a more favorable specimen of the general style in which the original portions of it are written. But compilation, and not composition, appears to be the writer's forte. The merit of the work is that it fully answers to its title. It conveys knowledge which is spread over many volumes. It is got up in a manner highly creditable to the publishers. The illustrations are finely conceived and beautifully executed. The key to the Bible ought to have a place in every vestry and juvenile library. It may be read through with interest, and always afterwards consulted with profit.

Canadian Scenery, Illustrated from Drawings by W. H. Bartlett, Engraved in the first style of the Art by R. Wallis, J. Cousin, Wilmon, Brandard, Bentley, Richardson, &c., the Literary Department by N. P. Willis, Esq. Part. X. London: Virtue.

The Rhine, Italy, and Greece, Illustrated in a Series of Views from Drawings on the Spot. By N. L. Leitch, Esq., Col. Cockburn, and Major Irton, with descriptions by the Rev. G. N. Wright, M.A. Part I. London: Fisher.

The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland, illustrated from Drawings by W. H. Bartlett. The Literary Department by N. P. Willis, Esq. London: Virtue. Part I.

The multiplication of such works as the above constitutes one of the most interesting features of the present day. They are admirably adapted to the existing state of information, and will be found to exert a healthy influence on the public mind. They serve to render

us familiar with the scenery, habits, and manners of foreign nations, and thus answer an important purpose in the intellectual and moral training of our countrymen. The first of the works has proceeded to the tenth part, and we need merely report concerning it that the favorable judgment which its earlier numbers merited, is equally well deserved by those that follow. The second and third works have but just appeared, and are executed in a style which affords good promise of their being every way worthy to rank with the publishers' illustrations of 'Constantinople,' the 'Mediterranean,' 'Switzerland,' &c. The works appear in monthly parts, price two shillings each, containing four highly finished engravings, together with appropriate literary illustrations.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Mr. Ryland's Translation of Dr. Neander's History of the Apostolic Church is in the Press, and will be speedily published. It will include the alterations and additions of the third edition of the original now printing, communicated by the author, some of which, he has informed the translator, are of considerable importance.

The Life, Times, and Missionary Travels in South Africa and the British Isles, of the Rev. John Campbell; written chiefly by himself; with Specimens of his Correspondence with the Countess of Leven, Sir Walter Scott, John Newton, Scott the Commentator, Andrew Fuller, the Haldanes, Charles of Bala, Wilberforce, Macauley, Grant, &c., &c., with an Analysis of his Character by Dr. Philip. By Robert Philip.

The True Church viewed in contrast with Modern High-Churchism. By Thomas Finch, author of 'The Assumptions of the Clergy calmly Refuted,' &c., &c.

The Book of the Laity. Dedicated to High Church Divines.

Just Published.

Edinburgh Cabinet Library—Italy and the Italian Islands. 3 vols.

Documents and Statements respecting the Sulphur Monopoly, constituting grounds for Parliamentary Inquiry into the Conduct of the Foreign Secretary.

The Christian System Vindicated against the most specious Sophisms of Modern Infidelity. By Rev. Daniel Moarc, B.A.

Letters to Young Ladies. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney.

Hints on a New System of Prison Discipline.

Letters on an Address delivered by Sir R. Peel on the establishment of a Reading Room at Tamworth. By Catholicus.

The Jewish Passover. By B. J. Bettelheim, M.D.

A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art. Part 3. General Editor W. T. Brande.

The Exiles of Lucerna, or Sufferings of the Waldenses during the Persecution of 1686.

A Letter to the Clergy of various Denominations and to the Slave-holding Planters in the Southern parts of the United States of America. By Thomas Clarkson.

A Letter to Lord Melbourne on the Present State of British Connexion with Idolatry in India. By the Rev. James Peggs.

Essays towards a Right Interpretation of the last Prophecy of our Lord concerning the Destruction of Jerusalem, and the End of the Present War. By the Rev. H. Highton, M.A.

The Siege of Granada, a Dramatic Poem.

Pictorial Shakspeare. Macbeth. Part 31.

What is the Meaning of Subscription? By the Rev. C. N. Wodehouse.

Pictorial History of Palestine. Part 19.

Truth and Love, a Sermon Preached before the University of Oxford. By the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M.A.

The Life of Luther. By a Protestant.

Exercises in Orthography and Composition on an entirely New Plan, containing much valuable information on various subjects. By Henry Hopkin.

Fox's Book of Martyrs. Part 2. Edited by the Rev. J. A. Cumming, M.A.

The Works of Josephus. Part 10.

The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland Illustrated. Part 2.

Canadian Scenery Illustrated. Part 11.

Ashantee and the Gold Trade. By John Beecham.

Philosophic Nuts. By Edward Johnson, Esq. Part 4.

Sermons on the First Principles of the Oracles of God. By Henry Esch Head, M.A., Rector of Feniton, Devon. Second Edition.

The Calvinism of the Church of England, as contained in her Formularies.

A Manual on the Bowels, and the Treatment of their Principal Disorders from Infancy to Old Age. By James Black, M.D.

The Widow directed to the Widow's God. By John Angell James.

Biblical Cabinet—The Revelation of God in his Word, shown in a Graphic Delineation of Holy Scripture; for its Friends and Enemies. From the German of Dr. T. W. Gess. By W. Brown, A.M.

Popular Cyclopædia of Natural Science—Vegetable Physiology.

The Apostasy Predicted by St. Paul. By Mortimer O'Sullivan, D.D.

Mammon, or Covetousness the Sin of the Christian Church. By John Harris, D.D. Thirty-first Thousand.

Summer Morning, a Poem. By Thomas Miller.

The Satisfactory Results of Emigration to Upper Canada; compiled for the Guidance of Emigrants.

Bells and Pomegranates. No. I. Pippa Passes. By Robert Browning.

Anti-Idolatry Connexion Publications. No. VI. British Connexion with Idolatry at the Presidency of Madras.

Leicester Gaol. By A. Balance, Esq., of the Middle Temple.

Agrippa; or the Nominal Christian Invited to Consideration and Decision. By Thomas Jefferson.

Ward's Library—Notes on the Book of Genesis. By George Bush.

The Best Pew in the Church, by One who sits in it; a Tract for the Times.

Pocahontas and other Poems. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney.

Poems, Religious and Elegiac. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney.

Connexion and Harmony of the Old and New Testaments; being an Inquiry into the Relation, Literary and Doctrinal, in which these two parts of the Sacred Volume stand to each other. By W. Lindsay Alexander, M.A. Edinburgh.

A Peep into Number Ninety. By Charlotte Elizabeth.

Oxford Divinity Compared with that of the Romish and Anglican Churches, with a Special View of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith. By Charles P. Mc Ilvaine, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ohio.

A Faithful Warning to Christian Congregations against the Oxford Heresy. By an aged Presbyterian of the Church of England.

Supplement to the New and Improved Edition of Mr. Wade's British History, chronologically arranged.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JUNE, 1841.

- Art. I. 1. *Advice on the Formation of Protestant Associations.* Hatchard and Son.
2. *Jezebel, a Type of Popery, with Notes.* By the Rev. HUGH M'NEIL. Liverpool: Henry Perris.
3. *The Novelties of Romanism: or Popery refuted by Tradition. A Sermon.* By W. F. Hook, D.D. T. C. and J. Rivington.

POPERY is a strange thing. It seems intended by God to show how far good may be abused; it presents to the universe an evidence of the power and subtlety of wickedness to convert even a system of divine truth and grace into an engine of error and injury. It is a constant and melancholy illustration of the fact, and the manner of the fact, that nothing is too holy to be perverted, and that the perversion of a holy thing is pernicious in the proportion of its holiness. It is thus that popery is to be regarded. It is an evil within, and not without, the visible church. It is not a denial of the truth, but its admixture with error. It does not present the Christian system denuded of its essential principles, but surrounded with human additions. There is no truth which it does not admit, there is no truth which it does not imprison and pollute. The true sayings of God are its essence, but they are enveloped in such a mass of human imaginations as greatly to deprive it of its beauty and its force. Christianity, in its popish form, is a strong man not armed but bound—is a light shining through a cloud. Throughout the whole compass of revealed religion, we know not a principle of which popery is not the verbal acknow-

ledgment and the spiritual rejection. It holds the deity of Christ, but it holds also the conversion of bread and wine into his body and blood; it holds divine influence, but it holds also physical grace; it holds justification by faith, but it holds also justification by works; it holds Christ's atonement, but it holds also works of supererogatory merit; it holds the worship of God, but it holds also the worship of creatures; it adds the intercession of saints and angels to that of Christ, the apocrypha to the Scriptures, purgatory to hell; it converts a moral ministry into a sacrificial priesthood, and makes seven saving sacraments out of two simple and symbolic institutions. Such a system may do some good, but it must do much damage, to the souls of men. It cannot offer the full freedom of the gospel, even if it impart its life. The men it quickens will for the most part, like Lazarus, 'come forth' indeed, but 'bound 'hand and foot with grave clothes.' Nor can its influences, other than religious, be greatly good. A system which so assiduously courts the senses as to be called, not inaptly nor untruly, 'the religion of the five senses,' and yet in its most essential dogma contradicts their plainest testimony; which sets the letter of Scripture in opposition to its spirit, and yet degrades it by the addition of what God has never spoken; which makes that a sacrament in one class which it denounces as a sin in another; which asserts the infallibility of one or more men, and denies the right to judge of all the rest: such a system must grievously affect the sources of individual self-respect, intellectual enlargement, and social liberty. It must restrain, if it do not quench, the elements of all vigor and healthfulness in men and nations. Under it, the soul must be cramped and crippled, its fruits must be weak and puny. It must have in it the roots of persecution. The spirit of persecution is the spirit of human nature, but especially when nurtured and regulated by popish faith. An infallible religion must be a persecuting one. It may not persecute, but such a circumstance is the effect of what is without, not what is within it.

This system is spreading. It is increasing in extent as well as in vigor; it is 'lengthening its cords' as well as 'strengthening its stakes.' Ten years ago it was customary to deny this, and perhaps there was not so much reason then to admit it, but we have witnessed the gradual alteration of opinion until all who know or care anything upon the subject acknowledge and bewail the fact, that the increase of popery is regular and rapid. We speak not of other countries, we speak not even of Ireland, although they do not, as we think, form any exception to the statement. We speak of Great Britain. Its Catholic population has multiplied at a faster rate than can be accounted for by any influx of the Irish or natural increase of the English.

This appears from their own statistics,* and the testimony of all whose observation qualifies them to testify on the matter. Proselytism, in its most literal sense, has been going on. Mixed marriages have been an especial means of conversion to popery, for whereas the conjugal connexion between a Protestant and a Papist has seldom led to the conversion of the latter, it has in a vast multitude of instances occasioned that of the former. And what has been may yet be. There is nothing in the present or the probable state of things to induce the persuasion that popery will not continue to spread. As to its ultimate destiny we say nothing; we have views of our own upon that point. But the signs of the times present a combination of circumstances on which it is scarcely possible to look without some anxiety. When we remember the strong and skilful adaptation of popery to the infirmities and corruptions of the human heart; the tendency of the mind to pass from one extreme to another, and the natural relapse from scepticism to implicit faith; the character and conduct of the public press, one portion of which is doing by its loose and licentious liberalism what another is doing by its rancor and ferocity; the partial restoration of Catholics to the enjoyment of civil rights; the amazing spread of Puseyism, alias high-churchism, in the English Establishment; and the singularly unfortunate nature and results of various efforts to promote Protestantism,† when we remember these things, we confess that our prospect is not so bright as we desire. The question occurs, what is to be done? Are Protestants quietly to look on while a system progresses which Scripture denounces as injurious to the spiritual interests of men, and all history proves to be pernicious to their temporal interests? Should any direct and specific means be employed to avert the evil, and if so, what means? Is it possible for Protestants of various denominations to unite their energies

* Within the last twenty-four years, the Catholics have increased six-fold in Great Britain. Their present state is as follows: chapels, 540; colleges, 10; convents, 19; missionary priests, 642. In Scotland, besides the chapels, there are 20 stations where divine service is performed.

† In a note to his sermon on the Novelties of Romanism, Dr. Hook makes the following remarks, 'The question as to the proper manner of opposing Romanism is one of great importance. I can state it on high authority, that the papists always calculate on twenty or thirty converts to their system, after a meeting in any place of the so-called Reformation Society. The declamatory violence at these meetings disgusts some persons; in others doubts are suggested while weak arguments are used to answer them, and recourse is eventually had, under the plea of hearing both sides, to the Romish priest for their solution. To support a good cause with bad arguments is the best aid that can be given to those whose cause is bad.' The reasons assigned are as satisfactory as the fact itself is indisputable.

against popery, and if possible, is it desirable? These questions we do not assay to answer, but commend them to the grave consideration of the Protestant intellect of this country.

It may be easier to point out what should not be done, than to suggest what should be, and to object to existing plans than to originate others. This at least is our present purpose. We select one mode in which the Protestant spirit has expressed itself, that we may represent our views and feelings in relation to it. The time has come for doing so, and we shall do it coolly and candidly.

A portion of the members of the Established Church, constituting a sect within a sect, have formed various societies in fancied harmony with the exigencies of the times, called 'Protestant Associations,' the object of which is to uphold the connexion of the state with Episcopalian and Presbyterian Protestantism.* It is by no means our intention to blame them for having taken this step. We believe they have acted, with however questionable a judgment, from sincere conviction and religious zeal. But they have not confined themselves to the doing of what they consider right, they have frequently cast a look and a reproof upon those who have not joined them. In the discussion of all great questions, irrelevant matter is almost necessarily introduced, and they who are themselves intensely interested have seldom the calmness or the candor to ascertain and appreciate the indifference or opposition of others. So has it been with the members and advocates of Protestant Associations. They have sometimes complained of, and sometimes

* The following are the fundamental resolutions of the parent association, and are recommended for general adoption in the 'Advice.'

I. That the influence of true religion over a people forms the best security for their individual rights, and the surest basis of national prosperity.

II. That the British constitution acknowledges in its principles and laws the sovereignty of Almighty God, and the supreme authority of his holy word, and has provided for the scriptural instruction of the people by its religious establishments.

III. That in opposition to this principle of the constitution, doctrines have of late been propagated, that religion is unconnected with the duties of legislation (?), that in the eye of the state all religions are alike, and that support should be equally given or denied to all.

IV. That under cover of these doctrines, the members of the church of Rome are zealously exerting themselves to destroy the Protestant character of the constitution, and that the first object to which they direct their efforts, is the overthrow of the Established Churches, as forming the main obstacle to their ulterior designs.

V. That to counteract these efforts, all who venerate the word of God, and value the British institutions, should be called on to cooperate in pointing out to the people the peculiar dangers of the present time, and in taking measures to inspire them with a just sense of the blessings and benefits of the Protestant constitution.

accused Dissenters, because they have in but few instances thought proper to join them. This refusal to unite has been construed into many things which they solemnly repudiate, and it is but natural that they should state the real reasons of their conduct; it is but just that those reasons should be heard. We plead for nothing but equity. We know no party in this question. If Dissenters are wrong, let them be condemned; if right, let them be justified. We forbid none to 'strike,' we only ask of all to 'hear.'

It has been said and insinuated more times than we have any wish to count up, that Dissenters do not support Protestant Associations because they are cold in their attachment to Protestantism, if indeed they are not secretly inimical to it. This interpretation of their conduct we pronounce presumptuous and false. Dissenters are no friends to popery. They hate the system with a perfect hatred. They appeal to the civil and ecclesiastical history of their country in proof of that hatred; they appeal to the essential spirit and character of their peculiar views in proof of it. Right or wrong, those views are held and prized by them because they are esteemed peculiarly Protestant. It would be strange, indeed, if upon this subject they were indifferent and careless, and against the argument that they are so, because they keep aloof from Protestant Associations, we protest as at once absurd and libellous. It may not be necessary to assail popery as a specific form of evil in order to oppose and destroy it. Popery, like all other erroneous and vicious systems, is an effect—an effect of human depravity. It has its roots in that depravity. He who does most to destroy that depravity does most to destroy popery. All the religious enterprises of Protestant Christians are in reality anti-popish. They may not attack the particular evil by name and in form, but they are vigorous instruments of resistance to it. They are designed to stop up the fountain as the best way of putting an end to the streams; they are designed to crush the eggs as the best way of destroying the serpents.

Nor do Protestant Dissenters give only general efforts to oppose popery. They are not chargeable with the neglect of particular operations with the same view. If they support not Protestant Associations, it is just because they regard their own methods as better. They do the same thing as others, although not in the same way. They believe that wiser and more efficient means of promoting Protestantism exist, and are available, than contributions to Protestant Associations, the delivery of speeches at their meetings, the support of their petitions to parliament. They endeavor to promote Protestantism by preaching Protestant sermons, circulating Protestant tracts, and seeking the destruction of an Establishment

which has been popish once and may be popish again, and which presents in its property and its powers a great attraction to popish zeal. It is no more righteous to assert that they who refuse to unite with Protestant Associations are deficient in Protestant zeal, than it would be to assert that none cared for the circulation of the Bible who did not support the Bible Society ; it is less righteous, for the certainty is far greater that the Bible Society circulates only the Bible, than that Protestant Associations circulate only Protestantism.

We object to these associations on many grounds. And first of all, we object to them *as general engines for the promotion of the Protestant faith*. They place Protestantism in a false position. They may be a fit expression and instrument of the principles and feelings of members of the Established Churches, but they do not so of all Protestants. Those churches are set up as opponents of popery. This must necessarily prevent the adhesion of all who do not consider those Churches as the most proper forms and engines of Protestant truth. We are of that number. In our view the controversy is not a contest of churches but principles. It has a broader basis and a wider comprehension than is given to it by the Associations. To treat Protestantism as if its fortunes were involved in any church, is to do it grievous injustice. Associations that may unite the sympathies and powers of all Protestants must recognize only Protestant principles, and not represent and advocate Protestant sects. Did Dissenters esteem the defence and confirmation of the religious establishments the best way of resisting popery, they would not only advocate them, but join them. As it is, they think the cause of Protestantism is perplexed and embarrassed by its connexion with any church, and especially established ones. To infer the coldness of their Protestantism from the conduct which these considerations necessitate, may be excusable in such as think such churches comprise all the Protestantism in the land ; in other words, may be excusable in such as conceal a Popish heart under a Protestant name : but it is inexplicable in such as do not consider Protestantism and dissent as necessarily inconsistent terms.

We do not join Protestant Associations because we do not join the Church which in this part of the country* is their great embodiment of Protestantism, and we do not join that Church because it is too popish for us. Our dislike to popery is no superficial or accidental thing. It is not excited by the occa-

* The Church of Scotland, though bad enough, is somewhat better than the Church of England. We select the last for particular mention for obvious reasons.

sional form which popery may assume, or the ecclesiastical organization with which it may be connected. We hate it as a spirit and a power, with an impartial and universal hatred. We hate it everywhere, when we see it; and seeing it in the Church of England, we hate it even there. It is Protestantism which makes us Dissenters from that Church, whose Protestantism, it is said, made her dissent from the church of Rome. It is a mistake to suppose that we dissent only because of the connexion of that Church with the state. We disapprove of that connexion, thinking it an evil, and the source of innumerable evils, believing it to be contrary to the principles of justice and liberty, and to the word of God. We have no words with which to express our sorrow and dismay that the sovereign of the land, of whatever character, should be the head of a divine religion; that the gospel of peace and love should be supported by the aid of contributions forced from the unwilling and unbelieving; that spiritual functionaries should be involved in all the secularities of magisterial and parliamentary engagements. Were there nothing else, we should dissent. But we dissent from the *Church* as well as the Establishment. Were it severed from the state, our objection to it would remain strong and steadfast. We read the creeds, and finding them contradict themselves and the Bible, we are compelled to dissent; we read the canons, and finding a solemn sentence of excommunication appended to many affirmations which we feel 'bound in the spirit' to make as only utterances of the will of God, we are compelled to dissent; we read the articles, and finding in them assertions, such as that the Church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in religious controversies which, fairly and fully developed, require and constitute popery, we are compelled to dissent; we read the services, and finding it said that God hath regenerated all that are baptized, that He hath given unto the confirmed forgiveness of all their sins, that Christ hath given his ministers authority to absolve men from all their sins, and that the soul of every one that is buried is taken of great mercy unto God himself, and his body is committed to the ground in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life, we are compelled to dissent. In our interpretation of the doctrine of the Church of England we are not singular. Right or wrong, we have the sanction of many, in past and present times, of its most eminent tutors, dignitaries, and clergy. The difference between us and many of its members is just and only this, we think the Church has much popery in it, and dissent because we are Protestants; they think so too, and conform, because they are not. The Protestantism of the Church of England appears in a most painful predicament just now. Within the last few years there has arisen within it a new form of heresy,

accompanied with circumstances which impart to it peculiar interest. We need not tell our readers that Puseyism is greatly popish. Without giving the least credit to the rumor that the leaders of this faith are in reality Jesuits who have crept into the English Church in order to work its assimilation to their own, a rumor of which we scarcely know whether its falsehood or its truth is most complimentary to that Church, or most pleasant in itself, no one can read the Oxford Tracts without perceiving the sentiments and sayings of the man of sin. Their authors show great uneasiness in their Protestant profession, deny or modify nearly every leading characteristic principle of Protestantism, and show a grievous approximation in general belief to the 'mystery of iniquity.' Has it not been said that not only is regeneration by baptism, but that there is no regeneration but by baptism? Has not mention been made of reserve in communicating some of the most important doctrines of the Bible? Has not the Lord's Supper been termed 'a sacrifice?' Has it not been matter of complaint that argument should have to be used to maintain tenets which the civil power should enforce? There are evidently men connected with the new system that believe in more popery than many papists have done. It is no wonder that the church of Rome contemplates its spread with cordial and undisguised complacency. The progress of this system has been rapid, and its present prospects are by no means gloomy. Among its professors are men who, from their talents, and learning, and station, must be powerful agents of truth or error; it has received the adhesion of some who were once most popular and useful as evangelical ministers; it is supported by all the ability and influence of some of the leading portions of the public press; it has baptized and is baptizing with its spirit thousands of the clergy and the laity of the English Church; its doctrines are issuing warm and fast from one of the great sources of clerical education. Is this the Church to be set up as the British antagonist and rival of Rome, as the perfection of Protestant beauty and strength? It matters little what its written records may say, if these are the views, and are becoming more and more the views of its officers and members. We believe that the Oxford divines are not far wrong in their interpretation of the language of their Church, but if they were, if that language furnished a literally accurate expression of the will and thoughts of God, it would matter little. A church is not made up of paper and print, of leaves and letters, but of living men. It is the organization and representation of intellect and heart. The faith of a church does not consist of the things contained in its articles and formularies, but of the things preached by its ministers and believed by its members. The former may be the truth of God,

the latter the delusions of Satan. As the functions of a church are not discharged by the orthodoxy of its authorized books, its character cannot be saved by it. A church is what its operation and influence is, which is much the same as saying, that it is what its priests and people are. We do not admit that the doctrines of the Church of England, as they appear in her Homilies and Prayer-book, are scriptural. There is truth, doubtless, much important truth, but it is in great measure neutralized by error. Our own conviction, and we are not without the authority of Churchmen in holding it, a conviction forced upon us by frequent reading and serious thoughts, is this, that the founders of that Church (we beg pardon of high Churchmen for using this expression, but we cannot help it) were either doubtful in their minds or meant to be doubtful in their manner, upon some subjects, while they both thought and spake most erroneously upon others. But the question is, what are the sentiments of the men who constitute the Church of England? Are they orthodox? We hesitate not to say, that in this sense, the Church of England is not now a Protestant church, for whether they be Puseyites or something else, a majority of its people do not know or believe in Protestantism, multitudes deny and ridicule it, those who profess and promote it in its purity are regarded by their own brethren as a heretical and dangerous party, and are compelled to have recourse to dissenting plans; and it is but little likely to become a Protestant church, for there are many and mighty influences in operation, which unless stayed by some strange and unexpected interference of God, must remove it further and further from the principles by which alone its existence can be justified. It is with the deepest grief that we think and write thus. Though we rejoice to know that the preservation and triumph of the truth does not depend upon the orthodoxy, past, or present, or future, of the Church of England, yet its heterodoxy must be greatly afflictive to every Christian mind. It would be unjust to truth to suppose it could not live or prosper without that Church's faithfulness; it would be unjust to that Church to suppose its belief or infidelity might not greatly help or hinder the truth. With the views entertained of that Church by the champions and orators of the Protestant Associations, we do not wonder at the evident timidity which they often betray. Could we regard the Church of England as one of the great bulwarks of Protestantism, we should tremble too. If the great opponent of popery be greatly popish, and in the way to become more so, what hope is there for Protestantism? 'If the salt lose its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men.' The power of the Church of England, if

employed *against* Protestantism, must be at least *as great* as if employed *on its behalf*. The papisticism of that Church would not only, therefore, remove a great obstacle to popery, but give to it an amazing force. So must the Protestant Association men think, and their thoughts are our justification. We believe that in the Church of England, in its principles, there are the seeds of popery, that these are being gradually developed, and that the likelihood is soon of a universal harvest of error; and we cannot become members of their Church or of their Associations, *because we are Protestants*. We dissent from them, because we dissent from Rome. It is the strength and simplicity of our love of Protestantism which both occasions, and sustains us under, the rude assaults and hard suspicions of our Protestant brethren. We esteem them as Paul esteemed the marks of the Lord Jesus, which he bore about. We 'rejoice' that we are 'counted worthy to suffer' for the sake of Protestantism. We only wish that they who accuse us would join us, not for the sake of sectarian littleness of soul, but for the sake of principles we hold in common, convinced that their movement against popery would be vastly more efficient if they were both 'almost' and altogether 'what we are'. They are too near their adversary to strike well. They must step apart, and place themselves at a greater distance, and their blows, if strike they must, would come with a power that would be felt and feared.

Nor is the Church of England in the fittest position to attack popery, on another account. It is an established church, and whatever advantages may be derived from this circumstance, are more than counterbalanced by its inseparable disadvantages. In the capacity of an establishment it has done and must do things which greatly injure and weaken it and the cause it represents. *It has a bad name*. It is regarded by a large portion of the population of this country, and especially by Roman Catholics, as *a persecuting church*. Whether it ought or ought not to be so regarded, is nothing to the point now. We are speaking of the policy of a certain course, and this is affected by the views and feelings of those whose welfare is contemplated, independently of their propriety or impropriety. In England, and especially in Ireland, the Protestant Church is looked upon with no eyes of favor. It is esteemed unmerciful and unjust. Its possession of large property known to have been left to the very church which it is made to assail, is believed to be unrighteous. The imprisonments which refusal to meet its unscriptural demands has led to, are believed to be cruel. The slaughter which has taken place *on its account*, is believed to be murderous. It is useless to say that popery has persecuted. So it has, but have its persecutions done it any good? Are they not a strong and constant argument against

it to this day? Are they not the material of countless eloquent and impressive addresses to audiences of delighted Protestants? Are they not a more powerful impediment to the spread of popery than any philosophical revelations of the absurdity of transubstantiation, any generous, and indignant, and faithful exposures of the spiritual tyranny of the pope, any well reasoned refutations from Scripture and history of the theological dogmas of the infallible faith? Are they not *the main stay* of the horror of popery which fills the souls of vast masses of Protestants? It is not against the church of Rome as a false or a foul church, that Protestant zeal is chiefly directed, though it should be, but it is against it as a persecuting church. We dare not conceal it from ourselves or others, that it is the imagined bloodthirstiness, and not the blasphemy of the Romish church, which creates and nourishes a large portion of the Protestant spirit; many a 'Protestant demonstration' has been a grand display, not of *faith* but *fear*! It is the misfortune of the Church of England not only to be considered a persecuting church, but *a persecuting church now*. It is known to have the power, and it is believed to have the will, to treat with great severity those who resist its exactions. This belief is founded on facts which require but little learning and memory. It is not necessary for a man to read in large books or to conclude from deep study, that he must patiently submit to what he thinks injustice, or experience what he esteems still greater injustice. The thing is matter of common discourse, of universal faith. The argument, whatever its soundness or unsoundness, can be understood by any intellect. And the result is, that millions regard the Church of England with emotions of abhorrence and detestation. We simply state the fact, and ask, is it wise to treat that Church so regarded, as if it were not merely a true, but the main representation of Protestantism in the land? Regarded as it is, it does not convey an amiable idea of the Protestant faith and spirit. The associations which so use it impose on Protestantism too onerous a task; not only has it to defend its sentiments from the specious and plausible objections and arguments of a well-trained priesthood of a deeply-rooted and very ancient church, but it has also to vindicate and uphold doings which are opposed to the judgments and consciences of those whom it would reclaim. If the laboriousness of an assigned service, apart from its character, be a criterion of intended honor, Protestant Associations cannot be charged with despising Protestantism.

Protestant Associations are liable to the suspicion from which all profitable enterprises are incapable of being separated. Far be it from us to impute selfishness of motive or secularity of aim to any men or body of men. We are giving reasons why certain societies are not proper representatives and instruments of

Protestantism, and we remark that in this connexion their purpose to maintain and defend the emoluments of the Church is a great inconvenience. It has another stake besides the faith of its members, the property of its patrons and the assured livings of its priests. The wages of orthodoxy are sufficiently large to prevent some heretics from perceiving, as they should, the perfect disinterestedness of such advocacy of it. The zeal displayed, instead of being construed as the expression of an earnest love and firm belief, is in danger of being interpreted as a sign of great regard for tithes. We admit, however, the fervor and sincerity of many of the no-popery leaders and followers;—our speech is of the awkwardness of their position. A man may be easily so circumstanced as almost to necessitate a misconstruction of the aim and origin of his deeds, however pure and simple his soul may be, and such misconstruction may greatly retard and check, if it do not entirely prevent his success. We think the Protestant Associations are in such a case. It is a fact, that multitudes interpret them as mere instruments of civil privileges and secular wealth. It is greatly to be regretted that seeming sanction should have been so often given, not only to the views entertained of the sinister spirit and principle of those societies, but of the clerical character in general, by the manner of speech among their friends and advocates. How often the only sense that can be assigned to the term ‘church,’ in its stately or familiar use, is that of *property*. *The respectability of the Church* often means only *the incomes of its officers*; *the ascendancy of the Church, its support by the contributions of other, and unwilling, sects*; *the danger of the Church, the jeopardy of its endowments*. It is for a lamentation, that ‘the Church in danger,’ the expression of an idea, than which, scripturally viewed, none can be formed more awful, should be merely the sign of a conception among the most familiar of the marketplace and the exchange, should simply denote the transfer of certain funds from one party to another. How must men’s minds be depraved by the secularizing influences of civil establishments of religion, when they can desecrate such solemn and sacred words by using them as vehicles for thoughts so mean and worldly, when they can identify the religion of a divine grace with any particular means of support, and especially a means in whose favor it says nothing, but to which its sayings, its sentiments, and its spirit are utterly opposed!

But it is not only as engines for the promotion of Protestantism that we object to Protestant Associations, thinking them but ill adapted to that end; *we object to the cast and character of their politics*. This must prove an insuperable impediment to the junction of dissenters as a body. Their orators are frequent and eloquent in their reproofs of political Dis-

senters; an expression so used, and so often used, as to suggest the thought that it is believed to contain either the most pungent proof or condemnation, a regular Q. E. D., or such a saying as the Jews employed to describe the climax of depravity, 'Thou art a Samaritan and hast a devil;' but it is not to be supposed that these gentlemen eschew politics. We question if ever a meeting is enlightened by them without the strongest references, not always in the best taste and temper, to the most exciting political themes and the most prominent political persons.* Yea, it often happens that the same speech is political, and denounces dissenters for being so, proving that it is not our 'meddling with politics,' but meddling 'on the 'wrong side,' that excites the indignation of our brethren. We are not going to deny that we are political, although we believe and know that we are not more so than those who make it a ground of accusation and complaint. We have yet to learn, that Christianity denudes us of our civil characters, or requires that the government of the world should be left entirely to sinners. Indeed, we are glad to have with us in this faith our very accusers. They maintain a union of religion and politics the most complete and perfect that ever entered the heart of man, a union of a nature and extent greatly to distress and offend 'political Dissenters,' the union of *Church and state*. We have not the least objection to be, or to be considered and called, 'political.' It is not therefore the fact, that Protestant Associations are political; that they are supported by political speeches, that they publish political tracts, that they promote political petitions, that we dislike. We disapprove of the KIND of their politics. Why should men, who are not Tories, be blamed for refusing to hear and spread sentiments of the most essential toryism? Why should any men be blamed for re-

* We must take this opportunity of stating our utter unbelief of a charge perseveringly brought against one of the most eminent Protestant advocates, the Rev. H. M'Neile. It is but bare justice to say, that when the reverend gentleman exclaimed, some twenty months ago, 'What peace so long as that woman Jezebel lives?' there is not the slightest reason for supposing that he meant it 'as an incitement to murder the queen!' That it should have been so considered or represented at all, and especially after the public and solemn disclaimer of the reverend gentleman, affords a melancholy illustration of the power of party spirit, religious and political. It is astonishing how soon men, otherwise honorable and just, will adopt, and how tardily they will resign, a calumny against an opponent, into the grounds of which they take no pains to inquire. In the second publication, at the head of this article, Mr. M'Neile repels the accusation, that he uttered (to use the reckless language of one political adversary) 'the most extraordinary and atrocious declaration, of the necessity of murdering the sovereign, that ever dropped from a traitor's lips.' He was not the first that thought or spoke of the wife of Ahab as a type of the church of Rome, and in this speech the parallel is drawn with much ingenuity and cleverness.

fusing to hear and spread statements which falsely impeach the truth and honesty of their principles, and ally them with everything that is selfish, gross, immoral, and infidel? The publications and proceedings of the Associations prove, that they are forms and means of the boldest, baldest conservatism. Unless, therefore, we are willing to lie to our own consciences, we must remain apart. The measures advocated are such as terrify, by their bitterness and frantic severity, the greater part of the representatives of even toryism in Parliament; and it is but a few, who have added no small theological to no small political folly, that are prepared to propose and promote them. We charge these measures with gross and palpable injustice to Catholics. They have in them the essence of persecution, the making men suffer for their faith. They are violations of every principle we should honor and respect. They are popish measures. We care not what may be the opinions of Catholics, *they are their opinions*, and that is enough for us. A Catholic conscience is as real and solemn a thing as a Protestant, and should be respected in its most erroneous workings: 'to him 'that esteemeth anything to be unclean, *to him it is unclean.*' What opinions must a man profess but his own? And if he profess his own, what right has any other man to make him suffer for it? This would be to assume the possession of some peculiar authority for his own opinions, which the suffering man has not; which is popery. To deprive a man, or keep a man deprived, of civil rights on account of his creed, is to resign and yield up the only principle by which it can be fairly proved wrong to persecute unto death. It is to abandon the secret strength of human right. There is no medium between perfect equality and persecution. He who takes away my vote or my money because I am a heretic (that is, differ from him) acts upon grounds which, if just, would warrant him in making me a prisoner or a martyr. He may not have the power or the will to treat me thus, but in that case his circumstances or his benevolence check and stay his principles. The hard cruelties of his creed are restrained and subdued by the unsophisticated feelings of his heart, or the merciful providence of God. With these opinions, we are compelled to resist every attempt to keep or get from our fellow-countrymen their political rights because they are Catholics or Jews, or anything else in matters of opinion. It is useless to allege that Catholics may possibly regain their ancient position and prerogatives in this country, that popery may be again established as the national religion. We cannot help it; we know nothing of expediency in this case. We take our stand upon principle. Our doctrine is this,—civil equality is a claim which cannot be destroyed by religious

o] **and we are not to be deterred from acting out this**

doctrine by any fear of popish ascendancy. We have a duty to perform, for the doing of which we are responsible, but for the consequences of which, when done, we are not. We are not allowed to do evil that good may come; nor are we even to let our good be evil spoken of. Expediency is a poor guide. Caiaphas said, 'It is expedient for us that one man die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not;' the expedient thing was done, one man did die, and in a few years all in that nation that did *not* 'perish,' and were not taken captive, were disciples of that man as the Son of God! But because we plead for justice to Catholics as a right, we do not admit that it is inexpedient. Suppose everything the Protestant Associations demand were accomplished; suppose their pet project realized, the repeal of the Catholic Emancipation Act, would the Catholics be more likely to be converted, or less likely to become the Established Church? We think not. The measure might exasperate them into madness, or a more settled determination to regain all they have lost would probably take possession of their hearts. But such a measure cannot pass. No one thinks of it except a few zealous and violent men who know nothing of the world, and who try everything by their hatred to popery, except the sayings and services of their own church. Believing, therefore, the political course pursued by the Protestant Associations to be neither just nor expedient, we cannot support them. We repeat it, we do not quarrel with them for being political, though we submit that, being so, their friends should not condemn others on that ground, but because the kind of political principles and proceedings which they adopt is altogether opposed to our most cherished convictions of what is right and wise.

There is one way in which the spread of popery may be divested of its terrors in a considerable degree. Popery, like every other system, can only persecute when it has the power. It is a harmless thing so long as it is weak. What is the probability of its becoming the established religion of this land, if an established religion remain, we do not attempt to estimate, but one thing we know, that all the danger is not from without; but much from within; that the process may be brought about by the conversion of Protestant churchmen, as well as by the intrusion of Catholics; that a church, as well as a city, may be taken through internal treachery as well as by external force. And what is the likelihood that popery, if established again, would persecute, and to what extent, we cannot pretend to state, but imagine that its inherent and essential tendency to oppression and cruelty would be somewhat affected and modified by the character of the times and the progress of the human and the national mind. But we do think, that the

spread of popery furnishes additional reason for strong and strenuous attempts to separate the church from the state. If Protestant Associations would direct their efforts towards this object, they would act, we humbly conceive, in greater accordance than at present, with the Word of God, their own object, and the exigencies of the times. We have no faith at all in any preference, by the Romish church, of the voluntary to the compulsory principle. We believe it will get and keep whatever it can. Let 'Protestant ascendancy' be put away that popish ascendancy may not be realized. Let the unscriptural union of the spiritual and the secular in the established church cease, and a present incentive to popish zeal, and a possible instrument of popish persecution, will cease with it.

Dissenters have a high duty to fulfil. Theirs is a solemn charge. They have had no mean function hitherto in the defence of the Protestant faith, and it is not likely to become meaner. We know the supercilious smile with which the saying has been received, and will be received again; but we repeat it, that the time may come when despised dissenters shall have to 'keep' this 'faith.' Christianity has been nothing but dissent ere now, it may be nothing else again. Protestantism has been nothing but dissent ere now, it may be nothing else again. And should it be so, it will be kept well. 'The foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men.' Our polity may be derided and condemned by those who do not understand it, or submit to Christ, but we know it to be after the pattern given by our exalted Lord, and *his truth is best preserved and spread by his own churches*. They are the fittest exhibitions and most mighty engines of his faith. But let us not rely on forms ecclesiastical, however Christian. The times and prospect claim an earnest, humble, tender, manly piety. Our souls must fill and work our system. We must be men of faith, mighty in the scriptures, ready to every good word and work, with one wish and aim, that Christ may be magnified, whether by our life or death. We must unite courage with charity, purity with peace, the repose of faith with activity of zeal, profound devotion with a public spirit. We must speak the truth, but in love; must be 'angry, *being grieved* for the hardness' of men's hearts; must contend earnestly, but only for the faith once delivered to the saints. Let us prepare for all things; let us vow to God; let us arise and anoint the shield! May God make us worthy, in work or woe, of our high vocation!

Art. II. *The Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences, founded upon their History.* By the Rev. W. WHEWELL, B.D. 2 vols. 8vo. Parker : London ; Deighton : Cambridge.

IT is impossible, of course, for a man of Professor Whewell's scientific knowledge and varied accomplishments to put forth two thick octavos, which shall not have a great deal of valuable and instructive matter in them. We think there are few works, however, to which the old maxim of the Roman critic more strongly applies than to the present,

‘ Si quid tamen olim
Scripseris
. nonum prematur in annum
Membranis intus positis ;’

or which would have been more susceptible of improvement from deliberate and repeated revision. Not that we wish that the learned author had literally acted upon the above maxim, or kept his manuscript in his ‘scrinium’ for quite so long a period as nine years ; a third part of that time might have been sufficient, and less than that we do not believe would have been much more than sufficient, to enable him to do full justice to himself and his vast and important theme. Instead of this, scarcely are the sheets of his extensive ‘History of the Inductive Sciences’ dry, when he comes forth with two bulky volumes, containing more than twelve hundred pages between them, on the ‘Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences’—a subject which, if it involve less research and learning than the other, is at least as difficult, and perhaps demands more time for satisfactorily treating it. Many of the principles which come under discussion are of the most subtle and abstract nature, must be revolved again and again by the mind (whatever its native perspicacity and acuteness) before they assume the requisite degree of clearness, and demand the utmost address and diligence to give them perspicuous expression. It is the want in some degree of these qualities that we cannot but think the chief defect of the work,—a defect which could scarcely fail to have yielded to greater deliberation and delay. Our author does not, as all the world knows, want knowledge ; his reading and research have been unusually extensive, if not too excursive, and in the mathematical sciences, whether pure or applied, he justly holds the highest place ; but it is easy to see that on the purely metaphysical parts of his subject he has read more than he has thought, has accumulated more than he has digested. We do not think him at all wanting in those qualities

of mind which would naturally fit him for the successful investigation of metaphysical truth ; but we do doubt whether many of the subjects of which he here treats have been turned over with the requisite degree of frequency and deliberation ; with the same degree of frequency and deliberation, for example, which he well knows he has found necessary in his favorite and more familiar departments of speculation. Yet metaphysical subjects, if we would attain perfect clearness of thought, and even an approximation to perfect perspicuity of expression, require as much time, and as earnest and prolonged abstraction of intellect, as the mathematics—perhaps it might be said, much more. It is often alleged, indeed, that a great mathematician is by that very circumstance unfitted to be a successful or profound reasoner out of his own domain. This we apprehend is not the effect of mathematical studies in themselves considered, but results from the fact that if prosecuted to a very great extent they necessarily absorb the student's time and attention, and leave no leisure to familiarize the mind in an equal degree with the modes of thought, arguments, and terms employed in other departments of science. But if (to whatever extent they have been cultivated) they have still left the proper leisure for all this, we are far from thinking (if we except some few remarkably constructed minds which seem never to have been designed to deal with anything except magnitude and number) that they will at all stand in the way of a successful prosecution of other sciences. If they have been so exclusively pursued as *not* to leave the requisite leisure for the formation of other habits and the acquisition of other knowledge than they themselves involve, they will of course have this effect, but just upon the same principle as in Sir Thomas More's humorous poem,* the serjeant that would play the

* ' Wyse men alwaye
Affyrme and say,
That best is for a man,
Diligently for to applye
The business that he can ;
And in no wise
To enterprise
Another faculty,
For he that *wyll*,
And *can* no skylle
Is never lyke to the.*
* * * *
' A man of lawe
That never sawe
The wayes to buye and sell,

Wening to rise
By merchandise,
I wish to speed him well ;
A marchant eke
That will go seeke,
By all the means he may,
To fall in sute
Till he dispute
His money cleane away,
Plecting the lawe
For every strawe
Shall prove a thrifty man,
With bate and strife—
But, by my life,
I cannot tell you *when*.'

• To 'the,' to thrive.

friar took but little by the exchange. Professor De Morgan has somewhat humorously expressed the same thought in his *Algebra*; 'That those who are only mathematicians frequently reason ill on other subjects . . . is an important truth, though not either a great or recent discovery—having been, in point of fact, ascertained immediately after the fall by our common ancestor, who having till then been nothing but a gardener, must have found himself but an indifferent tailor.'

But to return from this short digression, though not irrelevant, to Professor Whewell. Not only do we think that longer delay—a more deliberate revision—must have greatly added to the clearness of many of the metaphysical views he has propounded, but would have immeasurably improved the general execution of the work. It would, we doubt not, have been more condensed; and would have contained really more matter within straiter limits. We have heard of a man who apologized for the length of a letter by the curious plea that he had no time to make it shorter. Professor Whewell's work stands in need of some such apology, without the possibility, we fear, of his being honestly able to offer it.—In the first place, we cannot help thinking that the scientific illustrations would have been far fewer, but singly expanded to a much greater length, and expressed in language less scientific. At present, they are often so brief, and expressed with such unsparing profusion of scientific technicalities, that none but those versed, and well versed too, in each science, can expect fully to understand them. The work requires a mastery of almost all the inductive sciences before we can fully appreciate the principles which determine the 'philosophy' of any one of them. Yet surely a work on the *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences* means, if it mean anything, a work on the principles which equally lie at the basis of all, and should be at least intelligible to him who combines with a sound knowledge of any one of them, such a knowledge of the leading facts and terms connected with the rest as will enable him to understand copious and familiar explanations of any particular points which shall be selected for illustration. A work on the principles of language generally, ought not surely to suppose that the reader, in order to understand it, must be a Grimm or an Adelung; nor a work on the principles of music, that the reader must be practically skilled in playing on all sorts of instruments. We repeat, therefore, that the illustrations should have been fewer and more copiously explained, in order to enable the reader clearly to see in what way the principles laid down in the work applied to them, and how they exemplified the '*Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*.' In the next place, many pages of the illustrations might, in our opinion, have been spared altogether, as pertaining rather

to the History than to the Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences. They look almost as if our author had forgotten, in his rapid exchange of one subject for another, that he had already done with his History. Thus, in his chapter on the 'Measures of the Secondary Qualities of Matter' (though the whole of it is very interesting, and we feel, as it were, almost ungrateful in complaining of that which has afforded us so much pleasure), his details are often far beyond the necessities, and indeed the proper limits of his subject.* Lastly, we think that the revision of which we have so often spoken would have done much for the style—would have given it far greater vigor and elegance than it can now make any pretensions to. It is often cumbrous—loaded with superfluous epithets and needless repetitions, and rendered in many places intolerably heavy (as well as sometimes with difficulty intelligible), by an excessive and almost ostentatious use of scientific terms. It is easy to say that it is impossible to write on a scientific subject without a considerable infusion of scientific technicalities. This of course we fully admit; but we contend that in works of a general nature, not exclusively scientific on some one branch of science, the less such terms are resorted to the better, and that though not to be entirely got rid of, several splendid instances serve to show that their use may be so moderate and subdued, as to occasion little inconvenience.† We further know that even scientific readers

* See particularly his illustrations of the progressive improvements of the thermometer.

† We are aware, indeed, that it is impossible to write on such a subject without assuming in the reader some considerable amount of scientific knowledge; but while we admit this, we wish to know whether it is wise to assume such a degree of it on sciences by no means universally studied, and in departments of those sciences full of intrinsic difficulty and doubt, as shall enable the general reader to understand the very general and abstract language employed in the following paragraph. It occurs in the chapter entitled the 'Connexion of Polarities.'

'But since each class of Polar phenomena is thus referred to an ulterior cause, of which we know no more than that it has a polar character, it follows that different polarities may result from the same cause manifesting its polar character under different aspects. Taking, for example, the hypothesis of globular particles, if electricity result from an action dependent upon the *poles* of each globule, magnetism may depend upon an action in the *equator* of each globule; or taking the supposition of transverse vibrations, if polarized light result directly from such vibrations, crystallization may have reference to the axes of the elasticity of the medium by which the vibrations are rendered transverse,—so far as the polar character only of the phenomena is to be accounted for. I say this *may* be so, *in so far* only as the polar character of the phenomena is concerned; for whether the relation of electricity to magnetism, or of crystalline forces to light, can really be explained by such hypotheses, remains to be determined by the facts themselves. But since the first necessary feature of the hypothesis is, that it shall give polarity, and

(if we except works on the single branch of science to which they may have addicted themselves) are always best pleased with the style which is least cumbered with technicalities. We should have said little on this point, were it not that Professor Whewell has given us in his *Bridgewater Treatise* (*si sic omnia*) sufficient proof of his possessing in a considerable degree that Paley-like quality (one of the highest and most brilliant attributes of original genius) of describing scientific facts and processes with precision in familiar and common language, or at all events in language far less tinged with science than many an author would at first sight deem possible.—We have dwelt the longer on these (as we conceive) failings in the execution of the work, because it can hardly fail in due time to pass into a second edition, and we are convinced that it is susceptible of many improvements. We now proceed to give our readers some idea of the multifarious contents of this voluminous work.

We may premise that it necessarily involves the discussion of some of the most interesting subjects of speculation which can engage the human mind. The origin and sources of human knowledge—how far and in what sense it is derived from sense or from intellect, or from the conjoint influence of both,—what are those intellectual processes which are involved in the formation and establishment of every just theory, in other words, what is the ‘Philosophy of Induction,’ these—not to mention other inquiries similar to them, must be confessed to be both important and difficult. Not a few, however, both of mathematicians and of physical philosophers would, we apprehend, deride them at once as profitless *metaphysics*—a name which, in these times at least, is sufficient almost to ruin any study to which it is applied. It is sufficient to discredit such inquiries in the estimation of utilitarians of a certain school, to know that the process

since an hypothesis which does this may, by its mathematical relations, give polarities of different kinds and in different directions, any two co-existent kinds of polarity may result from the same cause, manifesting itself in various manners.—Vol. i. 344.

We think the answer to the question with which we have introduced this citation may be facilitated by Professor Whewell's admission in a subsequent portion of the same chapter. ‘While,’ says he, ‘the ultimate and exact theory to which previous incomplete and transitory theories tended is still so new and so unfamiliar, it must needs be a matter of difficulty and responsibility for a common reader to describe the steps by which truth has advanced from point to point.’ Truly if a man of Professor Whewell's scientific knowledge could make this admission, we think the general reader was entitled either to be spared this chapter altogether, or to receive a much fuller explication of the matters of which it treats. Surely it cannot be pretended that the *Inductive Sciences* do not furnish sufficient illustrations of the ‘Philosophy’ on which they are *all* based, without it. Similar remarks apply to other portions of our author's work.

of induction, for example, has often been very well performed by those who never had any adequate ideas of the scientific analysis of the process; or that the principle of association is exemplified just as perfectly by the clown as by the philosopher. Nay, we have been told by a writer of our own day of extraordinary power and brilliancy, that even Bacon's exposition of induction itself was of little direct use, inasmuch as it only told men what all had been doing, either consciously or unconsciously, ever since the first day of creation; and this too we are told in spite of Bacon's own protestation that men had *not* been so doing in the most important instances, but had been almost uniformly doing the contrary, — an assertion which the whole melancholy history of physical science up to his time abundantly confirms. For our own part, we shall never cease to think that any intellectual processes, which can be performed with varying degrees of accuracy and precision, as for example those of reasoning or induction, or those involved in education, will be better performed, especially by those who still have to form new habits of mind, in proportion as the LAWS OF MIND, the inevitable conditions on which we must acquire or extend our knowledge, and the limits which nature has imposed upon the exercise of our faculties, are thoroughly understood. And even if it were otherwise, is there not sufficient of intrinsic dignity and interest in the inquiries themselves to vindicate them from contempt and to rescue them from neglect, to say nothing of the fact, that if pursued at a proper age, they constitute one of the most strenuous species of discipline to which the intellect can possibly be subjected, and are in this respect in no way inferior to the study of mathematics themselves? Seeing that we prosecute the study of so many things from which we expect to reap no immediate practical benefit, impelled solely by that love of knowledge which is one of the noblest and most characteristic prerogatives of a rational nature, may we not most worthily speculate on the operations of mind, and on the sources and foundation of our knowledge itself? What pursuits can be considered sufficiently dignified to stimulate our curiosity and employ our diligence, if these are not?

For these reasons we are glad to see Professor Whewell lending his powerful intellect to demolish, and his not less powerful authority to discountenance, those ridiculous and shallow sophistries which would decry the pursuit of such subjects of speculation under the name of unprofitable subtleties. The following passage is so much to the purpose that we cannot refrain from citing it.

‘ There is one reflection very pointedly suggested by what has been said. The manner in which our scientific ideas acquire their distinct

and ultimate form being such as has been described,—always involving some abstract reasoning and analysis of our own conceptions, often much opposite argumentation and debate;—how unphilosophical is it to speak of abstraction and analysis, of dispute and controversy, as frivolous and unprofitable processes, by which true science can never be benefited; and to put such employments in antithesis with the study of facts!

'Yet some writers are accustomed to talk with contempt of all past controversies, and to wonder at the blindness of those who did not at first take the view which was established at last. Such persons forget that it was precisely the controversy which established among speculative men that final doctrine which they themselves have quietly accepted. It is true, they have had no difficulty in adopting the truth; but that has occurred because all dissentient doctrines have been suppressed and forgotten; and because systems, and books, and language itself, have been accommodated peculiarly to the expression of the accepted truth. To despise those who have, by their mental struggles and conflicts, brought the subject into a condition in which error is almost out of our reach, is to be ungrateful exactly in proportion to the amount of the benefit received. It is as if a child, when its teacher had with many trials and much trouble prepared a telescope so that the vision through it was distinct, should wonder at his stupidity in pushing the tube of the eye-glass out and in so often.

'Again, some persons condemn all that we have here spoken of as the discussion of ideas, terming it *metaphysical*: and in this spirit, one writer * has spoken of the 'metaphysical period' of each science, as preceding the period of 'positive knowledge.' But as we have seen, that process which is here termed 'metaphysical,'—the analysis of our conceptions and the exposure of their inconsistencies (accompanied with the study of facts),—has always gone on most actively in the most prosperous periods of each science. There is in Galileo, Kepler, Gassendi, and the other fathers of mechanical philosophy, as much of metaphysics as in their adversaries. The main difference is, that the metaphysics is of a better kind; it is more conformable to metaphysical truth. And the same is the case in other sciences. Nor can it be otherwise. For all truth, before it can be consistent with facts, must be consistent with itself: and although this rule is of undeniable authority, its application is far from easy. The perplexities and ambiguities which arise from our having the same idea presented to us under different aspects, are often difficult to disentangle: and no common acuteness and steadiness of thought must be expended on the task. It would be easy to adduce, from the works of all great discoverers, passages more profoundly metaphysical than any which are to be found in the pages of barren *a priori* reasoners.'

—Vol. ii. pp. 524—526.

Equally to the purpose is Professor Whewell's distinct ac-

* M. Auguste Comte, *Cours de Philosophie Positive*.

knowledge of his obligations to the metaphysicians of the modern Scotch school, whose writings he has evidently read with considerable attention, and with whose latest and most solid conclusions on a great variety of most important points he evidently coincides. The terms in which he has spoken of them are equally honorable both to himself and to them, and we trust will go far to discredit that unworthy spirit of depreciation with which their writings have too commonly been spoken of by the learned of the English universities. The passage is so gratifying that we shall make no apology for presenting it entire to the reader.

‘The necessity of refuting Hume’s inferences from the mere-sensation system led other writers to limit, in various ways, their assent to Locke. Especially was this the case with a number of intelligent metaphysicians in Scotland, as Reid, Beattie, Dugald Stewart, and Thomas Brown. Thus Reid asserts,* ‘that the account which Mr. Locke himself gives of the idea of power cannot be reconciled to his favorite doctrine, that all our simple ideas have their origin from sensation or reflection.’ Reid remarks, that our memory and our reasoning power come in for a share in the origin of this idea: and in speaking of reasoning, he obviously assumes the axiom that every event must have a cause. By succeeding writers of this school, the assumption of the fundamental principles, to which our nature in such cases irresistibly directs us, is more clearly pointed out. Thus Stewart defends the form of expression used by Price.† ‘A variety of intuitive judgments might be mentioned, involving simple ideas, which it is impossible to trace to any origin but to the power which enables us to form these judgments. Thus it is surely an intuitive truth that the sensations of which I am conscious, and all those I remember, belong to one and the same being, which I call *myself*. Here is an intuitive judgment involving the simple idea of *identity*. In like manner, the changes which I perceive in the universe impress me with a conviction that some cause must have operated to produce them. Here is an intuitive judgment involving the simple idea of *causation*. When we consider the adjacent angles made by a straight line standing upon another, and perceive that their sum is equal to two right angles, the judgment we form involves a simple idea of *equality*. To say, therefore, that the reason or the understanding is a source of new ideas, is not so exceptionable a mode of speaking as has been sometimes supposed. According to Locke, *sense* furnishes our ideas, and reason perceives their agreements and disagreements. But the truth is, that these agreements and disagreements are, in many instances, simple ideas, of which no analysis can be given; and of which the origin must therefore be referred to reason, according to Locke’s own doc-

* *Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind*, I. 31.

† *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, p. 138.

trine.' This view, according to which the reason or understanding is the source of certain simple ideas, such as identity, causation, equality, which ideas are necessarily involved in the intuitive judgments which we form, when we recognize fundamental truths of science, approaches very near in effect to the doctrine which in this work we have presented, of fundamental ideas belonging to each science, and manifesting themselves in the axioms of the science. It may be observed, however, that by attempting to enumerate these ideas and axioms, so as to lay the foundations of the whole body of physical science, and by endeavoring, as far as possible, to simplify and connect each group of such ideas, we have at least given a more systematic form to this doctrine. We have, moreover, traced it into many consequences to which it necessarily leads, but which do not appear to have been contemplated by the metaphysicians of the Scotch school. *But I gladly acknowledge my obligations to the writers of that school; and I trust that in the near agreement of my views on such points with theirs, there is ground for believing the system of philosophy which I have in this work presented, to be that to which the minds of thoughtful men, who have meditated on such subjects, are generally tending.*

—lb. pp. 471, 472.

Our author's general theory on the subject on which he treats, so far as we can gather it (for we have already intimated that we sometimes desiderate that perfect clearness in metaphysical discussions which speak the long practised writer on such subjects), is as follows. Adopting essentially the same views as Brown and other metaphysicians in discarding that perversion of the doctrine of Locke* which represents all our knowledge as derived simply from our sensations, our author contends that from the very constitution of the human mind, there are

* We have used the words 'perversion of Locke's doctrine,' because we are and have long been convinced, that he would have given no countenance whatever to the system which attributes all our knowledge to sensation alone, or rather, which (according to Condorcet) considers all knowledge as in fact sensation in some form or other. All, we are pretty certain, that Locke really intended to assert was the doctrine—now universally conceded, and that too as Dugald Stewart remarks) even by such adversaries of Locke's philosophy as Lord Monboddo and Mr. Harris,—that all our knowledge is ultimately derivable from sensation *in this sense*, that it furnishes, in point of fact, the necessary condition of the development of our intellectual faculties, and that without it, for anything we know, they must for ever have remained dormant. It may be said, there are expressions in Locke which seem inconsistent with this, and to imply more. We reply, with the above-mentioned writer, that they ought to be interpreted by the many clearer passages in which he distinctly asserts that 'reflection' is another and distinct source of ideas. Many of these passages Dugald Stewart has cited in his 'Dissertation,' prefixed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and many others might be added to them. The phrase that 'all our knowledge is derived from sensation,' is ambiguous, and may mean either that sensation is ultimately the universal condition of all our knowledge, which none now deny, or that

evolved in the exercise of its faculties certain very abstract and general modes of thought which are distinct from every thing which our sensations involve, and which mere sensation cannot impart. Such are the ideas of 'equality,' of 'relation,' of 'number,' of 'cause and effect,' and so on. Such as these our author calls 'ideas;' not very wisely, as it appears to us, since it is a term which has been already so variously and loosely employed. These 'Ideas' he does not very clearly define, while the various attempts which he has made to describe them would seem to imply that he himself has some doubts whether he has been in any quite successful. 'I use the term 'idea,' he says, 'to designate those inevitable general relations which are imposed upon our perceptions by acts of the mind, and which are different from anything which our senses directly offer to us.' Again, 'I restrict its application to the relations and conditions which are imposed on our sensations through the activity of our mind.' Again, 'Sensations are the *objective* and ideas the *subjective* part of every act of perception or knowledge.' These comprehensive general notions, our author calls 'Fundamental Ideas.' That we have such comprehensive notions as, for example, of resemblance, of number, of figure, of cause and effect, &c., we are of course far enough from denying, but we confess we should have been much gratified by a somewhat clearer account of them, and feel the need of a more exact criterion for discriminating and classifying those which are really such. Moreover, whether it be practicable successfully to prosecute such an investigation or not, we should have liked at least a little more discussion as to the possibility of tracing their historic origin—the mode in which they may be conceived to be evolved in the development of the human mind, or as to the reasons why it is vain to prosecute such inquiries; nor do we think that the 'philosophy' of the subject can be considered complete without it. Our author's general statements show that he thinks our 'Fundamental Ideas' (in his sense of the terms) are neither derived from experience, nor to be accounted abstractions derived from particular cases. For our own parts we are not convinced of this latter assertion, although we profess not to have formed any satisfactory theory upon the subject. But it might surely be expected that something more would be said as to the modes in which they may be supposed to be originated, or the reasons why we can form

(though it is not so proper or natural a sense) there is no other source of our knowledge than sensation. In the former sense, even Monboddo uses it. Dr. Hartley, one of the champions of the 'sensational school,' understood Locke aright. 'It appears to me,' he says, 'that all the most complex ideas arise from sensation, and that reflection is not a distinct source, as *Mr. Locke makes it*.'

no supposition on the subject. The mind once possessed them not; it is now found possessed of them. How came it by them? Does our author believe them to be 'innate,' in the sense in which Locke exploded the doctrine of 'innate ideas?' We suppose not. Professor Whewell freely admits that both ideas and sensations are essential to our knowledge: will he also admit that sensation to some extent or other is also an essential precondition of the actual development of these ideas? We doubt whether he would deny it; and if so, though it is most true, as he contends, that these ideas are characterized by properties which do not belong to our sensations, and that the propositions of which they are the terms (as for example that 'every effect must have a cause') have a universality and necessity which cannot be imparted by experience alone, the statement that they are not derived from sensation or experience is in a certain sense *ambiguous*, and requires to be guarded against.

We cannot help being of opinion, upon the whole, that our author has not adequately treated the metaphysics of this difficult subject; for we suppose that no one will accept the following statement of the 'Idea of Space,' for example, and which deserves to be called an instance of illustrating *obscurum per obscurius*, as a sufficiently clear and distinct exposition of the 'philosophy' of the subject. 'We have an *Intuition* of objects 'in space; that is, we contemplate objects as *made up* of spatial parts, and apprehend their spatial relations by the same act by which we apprehend the objects themselves.'

But to proceed with Professor Whewell's general views.—Having supplied us with certain 'Fundamental Ideas,' though in our opinion he has been far from clearly explaining his views of their nature, origin, and historic development, he proceeds to designate as 'Ideal Conceptions' certain less general forms of the 'Fundamental Ideas;' thus 'a circle,' 'a square,' is an ideal conception appertaining to the 'Fundamental Idea of Space;' 'a square number,' 'a cube number,' to that of number; 'a central force' to that of 'cause;' and so on. This, the reader will perceive, is a limitation of the term 'conception,' as arbitrary and as little sanctioned by previous usage, as that of 'Idea.' This, however, is of little consequence provided the meaning attached to the term be clearly explained and duly remembered. A more serious objection is, that it is by no means always easy to discriminate the said 'Ideal Conceptions' from the 'Fundamental Ideas,' an admission which our author himself makes. 'Since,' says he, 'the Ideal Conceptions, of which we here speak, are only modifications and limitations of the Fundamental Ideas themselves, the reader

‘ will not think it strange that sometimes it may not be easy to
 ‘ draw a line of distinction between Ideas and Conceptions, in
 ‘ the senses in which we have used the terms. The modification
 ‘ may be of so comprehensive a character, that it may appear
 ‘ almost as extensive as the idea itself, and as well fitted to
 ‘ supply a foundation for general truths.’—vol. i. p. 39. It
 appears that these Ideal Conceptions are intended, however
 novel the phrase, to designate neither more nor less than the
 notion conveyed by ‘general terms,’ and we are happy to find
 that the views of our author on this subject are in no essential
 respect different from those of Dr. Thomas Brown, who has so
 successfully exploded the errors of both the Nominalists and
 Realists. The former had often been pretty thoroughly de-
 molished before ; not so the latter. We have much pleasure in
 recommending to the attention of the reader our author’s obser-
 vations in relation to this much perplexed controversy.

Our author next proceeds to illustrate the following points,
 previous to an examination of what are the ‘Fundamental Ideas’
 and ‘Ideal Conceptions’ which peculiarly belong to each
 science. They are more fully illustrated again, however, in the
 second volume. He remarks that observed facts are connected
 in such a way as to produce *new truths* by superinducing upon
 them an *Idea*, and that such truths are obtained by induction ;
 that truths thus obtained are in their turn facts—which may be
 again combined so as to produce more general truths, and to form
 in fact the stepping-stones of *successive generalizations* ; that these
 truths are made compact and permanent by being expressed in
technical terms ; that experience cannot conduct us to universal
 truths, inasmuch as she has not tried all cases, nor to necessary,
 because necessity is not a matter on which experience can
 testify ;—in other words, that experience can strictly tell us
 only what *has* been in particular cases—not what *will* be, or
must be ; and that such truths derive their necessity and uni-
 versality only from the *Ideas* they involve, and that the existence
 of necessary truths proves the existence of Ideas not to be gener-
 ated by experience. But here we come back to the old question,
 how is it that these *Ideas*, by which we can give universality and
 necessity to certain truths, are generated ? And moreover, how
 is it that there are truths which, as Professor Whewell admits,
 are confessedly universal and apparently necessary, and which
 nevertheless, *historically speaking*, were established by experi-
 ment, as for example, the Laws of Motion ? Our author devotes a
 subsequent chapter to the examination of this ‘Paradox,’ as he
 very justly calls it. We cannot say that the investigation has
 to our mind quite removed the cloud from it : but we give the
 terms of the solution, hoping that they may prove more satis-

factory to our readers than they have been to us. 'The solution of this paradox,' he says, 'is that these laws [of motion] are interpretations of the Axioms of Causation. The axioms are universally and necessarily true, but the right interpretation of the terms which they involve is learnt by experience. Our Idea of Cause supplies the *Form*—experience the *Matter* of these laws.' But (the troublesome question again recurs) how did the Idea of Cause, and its 'universally and necessarily true axioms' originate? For our own parts, though we quite believe that the general Ideas of Cause, and of the Laws of Motion possess characteristics which mere experience cannot impart, we are by no means sure that they are not alike abstractions collected from experience, a general expression derived from particular facts—in other words, that they are not the fruit of that generalizing faculty which subjects to its operations, as in an intellectual alembic, all the individual lessons of experience. But, as we have already said, we profess not to have formed a determinate theory upon the subject; our business is not to speculate but to endeavor to give some account of the speculations of our author.

Professor Whewell devotes several books,—indeed the greater part of the first volume, and a considerable portion of the second—to an examination of what are the Fundamental Ideas and Ideal Conceptions (understood according to his preceding explication), which lie at the basis of the several sciences of 'Induction.' The principal Fundamental Ideas which it is necessary to consider, according to him, are as follows:

'I shall, then, successively, have to speak of the ideas which are the foundation of geometry and arithmetic (and which also regulate all sciences depending upon these, as astronomy and mechanics); namely, the ideas of *space*, *time*, and *number*:

'Of the ideas on which the mechanical sciences (as mechanics, hydrostatics, physical astronomy) more peculiarly rest; the ideas of *force* and *matter*, or rather the idea of *cause*, which is the basis of these:

'Of the ideas which the secondary mechanical sciences (acoustics, optics, and thermotics) involve; namely, the ideas of the *externality* of objects, and of the *media* by which we perceive their qualities:

'Of the ideas which are the basis of mechanico-chemical and chemical sciences, *polarity*, *chemical affinity*, and *substance*; and the idea of *symmetry* a necessary part of the philosophy of crystallography:

'Of the ideas on which the classificatory sciences proceed (mineralogy, botany, and zoology); namely, the ideas of *resemblance*, and of its gradations, and of *natural affinity*:

'Finally, of those ideas on which the physiological sciences are founded; the ideas of separate vital powers, such as *assimilation* and *irritability*; and the idea of *final cause*.

‘We have, beside these, the palætiological sciences, which proceed mainly on the conception of *Historical causation*.’—Vol. i. p. 77.

It is impossible for us with our limited space, on which we have already made large demands, to follow our author in his discussion of all these subjects. Amidst much that is ingenious in argument, and frequently beautiful and impressive in the illustrations which his extensive knowledge of science supplies, amidst occasional vigor and felicity of style, we too often fail to discover clearness of thought in the more metaphysical parts, and have still more frequently to complain of awkwardness and obscurity of expression.—We must not, however, pass by this portion of the work without saying that in the chapters on his favorite sciences of Statics and Dynamics, he has, in his well known desire to assimilate these sciences as far as possible to the purely mathematical, and to dispense as far as he can with the necessity of experiment, gone at least to the full extent of his tether. Sometimes, indeed, there is almost a whimsical struggle between his wish to assert absolute necessity and self-evidence of as many of his principles as he can, and his desire, as an experimental philosopher, to do justice to experiment. Thus, for example, while admitting that ‘the first law of motion’* was ‘discovered historically speaking, by means of experiment,’ and after combating, as it appears to us, very acutely and successfully, the hypothesis of those philosophers who would contend that it may be established by pure reasoning, he seems almost inclined, if not to retract, yet to modify his admission, and half to regret, as it were, that he cannot claim the principle as self-evident. ‘Thus,’ he tells us, ‘though the discovery of the first law of motion was made, historically speaking, by means of experiment, we have now attained a point of view in which we see that it might have been certainly known to be true independently of experience. This law in its ultimate form, when completely simplified and steadily contemplated, assumes the character of a self-evident truth.’ Now we believe, in point of fact, that there never was a proposition (certain as it is) which carried less appearance of being self-evident with it, which nine-tenths of mankind would more promptly or summarily reject at a first hearing, or which has to struggle with greater prejudice before it is fully and finally admitted. When a proposition is not evident at all till it has been discovered by

* That a body once set in motion, and not checked by any external force, would continue to move on for ever with an uniform velocity.

experiment, and is admitted to be true at last only by experiment, it is surely too late in the day to talk about its being *self-evident*; it may be evident enough, nay, be proved to be more reasonable than its opposite, but can hardly with propriety be called *self-evident*. Similar remarks apply to Professor Whewell's observations on the other laws of motion. Nor must we omit to mention here that not a few of our author's scientific axioms, which are not derived from experience, are merely logical deductions from our definition of objects, the true idea of which is gathered from experience; they are enveloped in the definition itself, and are but expansions of it. Thus the axiom that 'Fluids press equally in all directions,' and which he is very anxious to rescue from the suspicion of being derived from experience, he himself asserts, and justly, is 'involved in our idea of a *fluid*, which is considered as *matter*, and as matter which 'has its parts perfectly moveable among one another.' Now that the very existence of matter in general, and of such a modification of it in particular, are the result of experience, we suppose few will be disposed to deny.

But we must not pause longer upon this portion of our author's work. We proceed, therefore, to give some account of the application of the preceding reasonings to the 'Theory of Induction.'

Having, in Part I. of the work, and which occupies the whole of the first and a portion of the second volume, treated of 'Ideas,' our author proceeds in Part II., to treat of 'Knowledge.' He shows that there are two processes involved in the construction of science, the 'explication of conceptions' (as modifications of fundamental ideas), and the 'colligation of facts;' that these conceptions gradually *work clear* by the controversies and discussions of scientific men; that for the purposes of science, they must be *appropriate* as well as clear, by which our author means that they must be modifications of that 'Fundamental Idea' by which the phenomena can be really interpreted; as for example, that a man must not apply to the interpretation of the phenomena of morals the fundamental idea of space or number, or any of the conceptions thereon dependent; that this maxim may warn us from error, though it may not lead to discovery, a proposition few will be inclined to dispute; that discovery results from the previous cultivation or natural clearness of the appropriate idea, and that, therefore, no discovery is the fruit of chance. After illustrating these and some related topics at considerable length, our author proceeds to observe, that science begins with *common* observation, to be succeeded by scientific observation and experiment; that the conceptions by which the 'Colligation of Facts' is effected, are

the result of the sagacity of discoverers; that the 'Colligation of Facts' cannot be taught; that it is generally effected by repeated conjecture, or as our author expresses it, by framing several *tentative hypotheses* and selecting the right one; that a series of these appropriate hypotheses cannot be constructed by rule or in the absence of inventive genius; that a great part of the genuine philosophic character consists in rigidly testing these hypotheses by facts, and rejecting them if they are found wanting, however ingenious and beautiful; and, lastly, that hypotheses may have their use, which are in some degree superfluous and not free from errors, seeing they may suggest the true harmonizing conception, and be purged both of their superfluities and their errors. He then proceeds to show that the name by which we designate the process of a true 'Colligation of Facts,' is *Induction*; he defines the *Consilience of Inductions*, to be when an Induction obtained by one class of facts coincides with an Induction obtained by another class of facts. The Logic of Induction consists in stating the Facts and the Inference in such a manner that the evidence of the Inference is obvious; as the Logic of Deduction, in stating the Premises and Conclusion so that the evidence of the Conclusion is obvious. On this point, the author closely follows the admirable view of Whately, in the remarks on Induction contained in his work on Logic. He has added, however, some observations on the analogies between the Logic of Induction as the criterion of Truth inferred from facts, and the Logic of Deduction as the criterion of Truth deduced from necessary principles. Into these we have no space to enter, and a few sentences could give no more than a very obscure exhibition of our author's views, which, indeed, are not always expressed by him with the perspicuity that could be wished. Nothing, however, which Professor Whewell has said, contravenes, of course, the great truth which Whately has so fully illustrated, that the logical process is everywhere and always essentially the same, the phrases 'Logic of Induction' and 'Logic of Deduction,' being employed to discriminate not any essential difference in the reasoning process itself, but in the *sorts of propositions* which are made to supply the premises and the conclusion.

Our author further goes on to show that Inductive Truths may be divided into two great classes; namely, Laws of Phenomena and Theories of Causes; that it is necessary in every science to commence with the former, but that it is impossible that we should be satisfied to stop short of the latter. On the differences between Art and Science (which are illustrated with a somewhat undue copiousness) there is nothing at variance with the common views.

This book concludes with a short chapter on the classification of the sciences. Though it exhibits some marks of the haste with which the whole work has been composed, and though the expression is often far more obscure and diffuse than it might have been, yet we think it very superior to those portions which treat of 'Fundamental Ideas' and 'Ideal Conceptions.' The author seems to be more at home, and to have wrought his mind free from much of the cloudiness which envelopes the earlier portions of the first volume.

This book is followed by one entitled 'Review of Opinions on the Nature of Knowledge and the Methods of Seeking it.' It is purely historical, and is written with judgment. We have already presented our readers with a brief extract from it. We doubt, as may be gathered from what we have already said in a previous page, whether full justice has been done to Locke; that is, whether he is answerable for the errors which the 'sensational school,' as Mr. Whewell calls it (though we cannot say we much like this adjective any more than some others from the same mint), grafted upon his doctrine. At the same time, our author is pleased to say—and it is but candid to cite it—that 'Locke himself did not assert the exclusive authority of the senses in the extreme unmitigated manner in which some who have called themselves his disciples have done.' But then in the very next page he says, reclaiming with the one hand what he had given with the other,—'We need not spend much time in pointing out the inconsistencies into which Locke fell; *as all must fall into inconsistencies who recognize no source of knowledge except the senses.*' Locke has fallen into inconsistencies, but (as already shown) he *has* recognized another source of knowledge besides the senses.

The last book contains an account of the 'Methods employed in the Construction of Science,' but the topics discussed are both so numerous and so important, that it is impossible we can give an analysis of them. The slight notice which our remaining space would permit us to give would hardly be intelligible. We may mention, however, with particular approbation, the Introductory chapter; the second chapter, entitled 'Methods of Observation;' chapter fifth, on the 'Analysis of the Process of Induction;' and chapter seventh, on 'Special Methods of Induction applicable to Quantity.'

It will be seen from our general remarks, that the commendations, with which we are disposed to receive this work, must be taken with many abatements. In particular, with regard to the more metaphysical parts of it (though there is not probably much with which, when duly explained, we should be disposed to quarrel), we often regret the want of a more thorough analysis, and cannot help fancying ourselves put off

with sonorous phrases and prolix repetitions instead of clear and definite thoughts. Still more frequently have we to complain of obscurity, diffuseness, and the employment of superfluous technicalities in statement, even where we do not quarrel with the matter of it. Indeed, throughout there is great heaviness and want of vigor and elasticity in the style, which, we once more repeat, might have been wholly or in great measure obviated by a more severe revision.

While we feel ourselves bound in honesty to make these strictures, we are equally bound in honesty to say, that there are many detached portions of the work which we think truly admirable, and with which we have been much delighted. Even many of the metaphysical portions are treated with great ability. We would particularly mention the strictures on Condorcet's theory that 'Ideas' are nothing but 'Transformed Sensations'—the remarks on Nominalism and Realism—on Contingent and Necessary Truths, on the Acquired Perceptions of Sight—on the mode by which we obtain the Idea of Resistance; on all which subjects, though our author does not advance any other doctrines than those of the best metaphysicians of modern times—more especially Brown—he has ably sustained and illustrated them. On the last point, in particular, he has a very interesting passage, in which he shows the coincidence of the views of Brown with those of the great modern physiologist, Sir Charles Bell, both of whom reached the same conclusion by different roads. We are glad to see that our author opposes Brown on the question of 'Visible Figure,' though, while we agree with him in the conclusion (as we believe most recent speculators do), we are not sure that the commentator is not in one or two sentences almost as obscure as the original. His observations on the several 'Paradoxes of Vision,' as, for example, how we see a single object though there is a double picture on the retina—how we see objects upright, though the picture on the retina is inverted,—are full of interest, though not to us wholly satisfactory. Brown's views on these two paradoxes always appeared to us most untenable and extravagant. His notion on the latter point is, that we do actually see objects inverted, and learn to interpret them as upright only by the associations derived from the experience of other senses, and that these associations are so strong that we now actually believe that we see objects upright though in reality we do not. Truly this is a hard saying, and few can receive it.

Professor Whewell's observations on the curious paradox that it is not the original prerogative of the eye to inform us of the distance of objects, or of magnitude in three dimensions (first established by Bishop Berkeley), and which never fails to fill the young metaphysician, when first propounded, with

amazement and delight, are so clear and interesting, that we shall present them to the reader.

'It is evident that sight and touch are senses by which the relations of space are perceived, principally or entirely. It does not appear that an odour, or a feeling of warmth or cold, would, independently of experience, suggest to us the conception of a space surrounding us. But when we *see* objects, we see that they are extended and occupy space: and when we *touch* them, we feel that they are in a space in which we also are. We have before our eyes any object, for instance, a board covered with geometrical diagrams; and we distinctly perceive, by vision, those lines of which the relations are the subjects of our mathematical reasoning. Again, we see before us a solid object; a cubical box for instance; we see that it is within reach; we stretch out the hand and perceive by the touch that it has sides, edges, corners, which we had already perceived by vision.

'Probably most persons do not generally apprehend that there is any material difference in these two cases; that there are any different acts of mind concerned in perceiving by sight a mathematical diagram upon paper, and a solid cube lying on a table. Yet it is not difficult to show that, in the latter case at least, the perception of the shape of the object is not immediate. A very little attention teaches us that there is an act of judgment as well as a mere impression of sense requisite, in order that we may see any solid object. For there is no visible appearance which is inseparably connected with solidity. If a picture of a cube be rightly drawn in perspective, and skilfully shaded, the impression upon the sense is the same as if it were a real cube. The picture may be mistaken for a solid object. But it is clear that in this case the solidity is given to the object by an act of mental judgment. All that is seen is outline and shade, figures and colors on a flat board. The solid angles and edges, the relation of the faces of the figure by which they form a cube is a matter of inference. This, which is evident in the case of the pictured cube, is true in all vision whatever. We see a scene before us on which are various figures and colors, but the eye cannot see more. It sees length and breadth, but no third dimension. In order to know that there are solids, we must infer as well as see. And this we do readily and constantly; so familiarly, indeed, that we do not perceive the operation. Yet we may detect this latent process in many ways; for instance, by attending to cases in which the habit of drawing such inferences misleads us. Most persons have experienced this delusion in looking at a scene in a theatre, and especially that kind of scene which is called a diorama, when the interior of a building is represented. In these cases, the perspective representations of the various members of the architecture and decoration impress us almost irresistibly with the conviction that we have before us a space of great extent and complex form, instead of a flat painted canvass. Here, at least, the space is our own creation; but it is manifestly created by the same act of thought as if we were really in the palace or the cathedral of which the halls and aisles thus seem to enclose us. And the act by which we thus create space of

three dimensions out of visible extent of length and breadth, is constantly and imperceptibly going on. We are perpetually interpreting in this manner the language of the visible world. From the appearances of things which we directly see, we are constantly inferring that which we cannot directly see, their distance from us, and the position of their parts.

'The characters which we thus interpret are various. They are, for instance, the visible forms, colors, and shades of their parts, understood according to the maxims of perspective (for of perspective every one has a practical knowledge as every one has of grammar); the effort by which we fix both our eyes on the same object, and adjust each eye to distinct vision; and the like. The right interpretation of the information which such circumstances give us respecting the true forms and distances of things is gradually learned; the lesson being begun in our earliest infancy, and inculcated upon us every hour during which we use our eyes. The completeness with which the lesson is mastered is truly admirable; for we forget that our conclusion is obtained indirectly, and mistake a judgment on evidence for an intuitive perception. We see the breadth of the street as clearly and readily as we see the house on the other side of it; and we see the house to be square, however obliquely it be presented to us. This, however, by no means throws any doubt or difficulty on the doctrine that in all these cases we do interpret and infer. The rapidity of the process, and the unconsciousness of the effort, are not more remarkable in this case than they are when we understand the meaning of the speech which we hear or of the book which we read. In these latter cases we merely hear noises or see black marks, but we make, out of these elements, thought and feeling, without being aware of the act by which we do so. And by an exactly similar process we see a variously-colored expanse, and collect from it a space occupied by solid objects. In both cases the act of interpretation is become so habitual that we can hardly stop short at the mere impression of sense.

'But yet there are various ways in which we may satisfy ourselves that these two parts of the process of seeing objects are distinct. To separate these operations is precisely the task which the artist has to execute in making a drawing of what he sees. He has to recover the consciousness of his real and genuine sensations, and to discern the lines of objects as they appear. This at first he finds difficult; for he is tempted to draw what he knows of the forms of visible objects, and not what he sees: but as he improves in his art, he learns to put on paper what he sees only, separate from what he infers, in order that thus the inference, and with it a conception like that of the reality, may be left to the spectator. And thus the natural process of vision is the habit of seeing that which cannot be seen; and the difficulty of the art of drawing consists in not seeing more than is visible.'

—Ib. pp. 108—111.

Nor are other portions of the work less deserving of commendation. The chapter on the 'Successive Attempts at the Scientific Application of the Idea of a Medium,' and that on 'the

Whewell's *Inductive Sciences*.

‘ Measure of Secondary Qualities ’ (though rather too historical, as already remarked, for the present work), are full of interesting matter. One of the best portions of the work, in our opinion, are the first and second chapters on the ‘ Philosophy of Chemistry,’ entitled ‘ Attempts to Conceive Elementary Composition,’ and the ‘ Establishment and Development of the Idea of Chemical Affinity.’ The manner in which the Conception of Chemical Affinity evolved itself, after many crude and fanciful hypotheses, is very clearly and succinctly described. From the former of these two chapters we extract the following paragraphs. There are few things more amusing than exploded hypotheses, once gravely propounded and zealously maintained.

‘ The mode in which elements form the compound bodies and determine their properties was at first, as might be expected, vaguely and variously conceived. It will, I trust, hereafter be made clear to the reader that the relation of the elements to the compound involves a peculiar and appropriate Fundamental Idea, not susceptible of being correctly represented by any comparison or combination of other ideas, and guiding us to clear and definite results only when it is illustrated and nourished by an abundant supply of experimental facts. But at first the peculiar and special notion which is required in a just conception of the constitution of bodies was neither discerned nor suspected ; and up to a very late period in the history of chemistry, men went on attempting to apprehend the constitution of bodies more clearly by substituting for this obscure and recondite idea of elementary composition, some other idea more obvious, more luminous, and more familiar, such as the ideas of resemblance, position, and mechanical force. We shall briefly speak of some of these attempts, and of the errors which were thus introduced into speculations on the relations of elements and compounds.

‘ Compounds assumed to resemble their Elements.

‘ The first notion was that compounds derive their qualities from their elements by *resemblance* :—they are hot in virtue of a hot element, heavy in virtue of a heavy element, and so on. In this way the doctrine of the *four elements* was framed ; for every body is either hot or cold, moist or dry ; and by combining these qualities in all possible ways, men devised four elementary substances, as has been stated in the history.

‘ This assumption of the derivation of the qualities of bodies from similar qualities in the elements was, as we shall see, altogether baseless and unphilosophical, yet it prevailed long and universally. It was the foundation of medicine for a long period both in Europe and Asia ; disorders being divided into hot, cold, and the like ; and remedies being arranged according to similar distinctions. Many readers will recollect, perhaps, the story of the indignation which the Persian physicians felt towards the European, when he undertook to cure the ill effects of cucumber upon the patient by means of mercurial medicines, for cucumber, which is cold, could not be counteracted, they

maintained, by mercury, which in their classification is cold also. Similar views of the operation of medicines might easily be traced in our own country. A moment's reflection may convince us that when drugs of any kind are subjected to the chemistry of the human stomach, and thus made to operate on the human frame, it is utterly impossible to form the most remote conjecture what the result will be from any such vague notions of their qualities as the common use of our senses can give. And in like manner the common operations of chemistry give rise in almost every instance to products which bear no resemblance to the materials employed. The results of the furnace, the alembic, the mixture, frequently bear no visible resemblance to the ingredients operated upon. Iron becomes steel by the addition of a little charcoal; but what visible trace of the charcoal is presented by the metal thus modified? The most beautiful colors are given to glass and earthenware by minute portions of the ores of black or dingy metals, as iron and manganese. The worker in metal, the painter, the dyer, the vintner, the brewer, all the artisans in short who deal with practical chemistry, are able to teach the speculative chemist that nothing can be so false as to expect that the qualities of the elements shall be still discoverable, in an unaltered form, in the compound. This first rude notion of an element, that it determines the properties of bodies by resemblance, must be utterly rejected and abandoned before we can make any advance towards a true apprehension of the constitution of bodies.'—*Ib.* pp. 362—364.

'Compounds assumed to be determined by the figure of Elements.'

'I pass over the fanciful modes of representing chemical changes which were employed by the alchemists; for these strange inventions did little in leading men towards a juster view of the relations of elements to compounds. I proceed for an instant to the attempt to substitute another obvious conception for the still obscure notion of elementary composition. It was imagined that all the properties of bodies and their mutual operations might be accounted for by supposing them constituted of *particles* of various *forms*, round or angular, pointed or hooked, straight or spiral. This is a very ancient hypothesis, and a favorite one with many casual spectators in all ages. Thus Lucretius undertakes to explain why wine passes rapidly through a sieve and oil slowly, by telling us that the latter substance has its particles either larger than those of the other, or more hooked and interwoven together. And he accounts for the difference of sweet and bitter by supposing the particles in the former case to be round and smooth, in the latter sharp and jagged. Similar assumptions prevailed in modern times on the revival of the mechanical philosophy, and constitute a large part of the physical schemes of Descartes and Gassendi. They were also adopted to a considerable extent by the chemists. Acids were without hesitation assumed to consist of sharp, pointed particles; which 'I hope,' Lemmery says, 'no one will dispute, seeing every one's experience does demonstrate it: he needs but taste an acid to be satisfied of it, for it pricks the tongue like anything keen and finely cut. Such an assumption is not only altogether gratuitous and useless, but appears to be founded in some degree upon a confusion in the

metaphorical and literal use of such words as *keen* and *sharp*. The assumption once made, it was easy to accommodate it, in a manner equally arbitrary, to other facts. 'A demonstrative and convincing proof that an acid does consist of pointed parts is, that not only all acid salts do crystallize into edges, but all dissolutions of different things, caused by acid liquors, do assume this figure in their crystallization. These crystals consist of points differing both in length and bigness one from another, and this diversity must be attributed to the keener or blunter edge of the different sorts of acids: and so likewise this difference of the points in subtlety is the cause that one acid can penetrate and dissolve with one sort of mixt, that another can't rarify at all. Thus *vinegar* dissolves *lead*, which *aqua fortis* can't: *aqua fortis* dissolves *quicksilver*, which *vinegar* will not touch; *aqua regalis* dissolves *gold*, whereas *aqua fortis* cannot meddle with it; on the contrary, *aqua fortis* dissolves *silver*, but can do nothing with *gold*, and so of the rest.'

'The leading fact of the vehement combination and complete union of acid and alkali readily suggested a fit form for the particles of the latter class of substances. 'This effect,' Lemery adds, 'may make us reasonably conjecture that an alkali is a terrestrious and solid matter whose forms are figured after such a manner that the acid points entering in do strike and divide whatever opposes their motion.' And in a like spirit are the speculations in Dr. Mead's *Mechanical Account of Poisons* (1745). Thus he explains the poisonous effect of *corrosive sublimate* of mercury, by saying that the particles of the salt are a kind of lamellæ or blades to which the mercury gives an additional weight. If resublimed with three-fourths the quantity of mercury, it loses its corrosiveness (becoming *calomel*), which arises from this, that in sublimation 'the crystalline blades are divided every time more and more by the force of the fire;' and 'the broken pieces of the crystals uniting into little masses of different figures from their former make, those cutting points are now so much smaller that they cannot make wounds deep enough to be equally mischievous and deadly: and therefore do only vellicate and twitch the sensible membranes of the stomach.'

'Among all this very fanciful and gratuitous assumption we may notice one true principle clearly introduced, namely, that the suppositions which we make respecting the forms of the elementary particles of bodies and their mode of combination must be such as to explain the facts of crystallization, as well as of mere chemical change. This principle we shall hereafter have occasion to insist upon further.

'I now proceed to consider a more refined form of assumption respecting the constitution of bodies, yet still one in which a vain attempt is made to substitute for the peculiar idea of chemical composition a more familiar mechanical conception.

'*Compounds assumed to be determined by the Mechanical Attraction of the Elements*.—When, in consequence of the investigations and discoveries of Newton and his predecessors, the conception of mechanical force had become clear and familiar, so far as the action of external forces upon a body was concerned, it was very natural that the mathematicians who had pursued this train of speculation should attempt to

apply the same conception to that mutual action of the internal parts of a body by which they are held together. Newton himself had pointed the way to this attempt.'—*Ib.* 366—368.

To the first volume, Professor Whewell in (as we think) no very judicious imitation of Bacon, has prefixed a number of 'Aphorisms,' which express the substance of the doctrines propounded and illustrated throughout the work. We think they had much better have come at the end of it in the shape of a clear, rapid recapitulation. As they form necessarily a mere outline, as they contain all the technical terms afterwards explained (some of them entirely new, others applications of old words), these aphorisms must necessarily be almost entirely unintelligible to those who have not read the work itself, and will probably exert a most repelling effect upon those who look into them before doing so. Nay, we think it highly probable that many will be deterred altogether from perusing a work which is ushered in by such an ominous introduction. Who will be invited to enter the temple of science, who finds unintelligible hieroglyphics inscribed on the very portals? Or who will enter a house on the very threshold of which he is met by so harsh a welcome?

To this set of aphorisms, our author has added another on the 'Language of science,' or on the history of the formation and growth of scientific terms. These are intelligible enough, and contain a great deal of amusing as well as instructive matter, though we should have been better pleased to see even these in the shape of an appendix rather than in that of a preface. We could wish, moreover, that Professor Whewell himself had always adhered a little closer to his tenth aphorism; to wit, that 'New terms, and changes of terms which are not needed in order to express truth, are to be avoided.' In his view of the superiority of indigenous over foreign terms of science, where they can be readily had, and of the propriety of freely borrowing from the learned languages whenever the balance of advantages is against our own, we fully accord; we must not, however, omit this opportunity of saying, that the tendency in recent writings is to neglect words derived from the vernacular, and to substitute those of foreign origin, where there is no necessity of so doing, and where the former, on every ground of significance, vividness, and analogy, would be preferable. Many modern works of science are a perfect Babylonish jargon of technicalities, and in reading them one feels somewhat as in reading a work in a foreign language, where, though the words may be understood, they possess no vivacity—make no strong impression. The reading of such works is most laborious—as bad as walking over ploughed land. Let any one compare the vernacular and

the foreign terms in the following paragraph, and he will instantly become sensible of our meaning.

'On the other hand, the advantage of indigenous terms is, that so far as the language extends, they are intelligible much more clearly and vividly than those borrowed from any other source, as well as more easily manageable in the construction of sentences. In the descriptive language of botany, for example, in an English work, the terms *drooping, nodding, one-sided, twining, straggling*, appear better than *cernuus, nutant, secund, volubile, divaricate*. For though the latter terms may by habit become as intelligible as the former, they cannot become more so to any readers; and to most English readers they will give far less distinct impressions.

'Since the advantage of indigenous over learned terms or the contrary, depends upon the balance of the capacity of inflexion and composition on the one hand, against a ready and clear significance on the other, it is evident that the employment of scientific terms of the one class or of the other may very properly be extremely different in different languages. The German possesses in a very eminent degree that power of composition and derivation, which in English can hardly be exercised at all, in a formal manner. Hence German scientific writers use native terms to a far greater extent than do our own authors. The descriptive terminology of botany, and even the systematic nomenclature of chemistry, are represented by the Germans by means of German roots and inflexions. Thus the description of *Potentilla anserina*, in English botanists, is, that it has *leaves interruptedly pinnate, serrate, silky, stem creeping, stalks axillar, one-flowered*. Here we have words of Saxon and Latin origin mingled pretty equally. But the German description is entirely Teutonic. *Die Blume in Achsel; die Blätter unterbrochen gefiedert, die Blättchen scharf gesägt, die Stämme kriechend, die Bluthenstiele einblumig*. We could imitate this in our own language, by saying *brokenly-feathered, sharp-sawed*; by using *threed* for *ternate*, as Germans employ *gedreit*; by saying *finger-feathered*, for *digitato-pinnate*, and the like. But the habit which we have, in common as well as in scientific language, of borrowing words from the Latin for new cases, would make such usages seem very harsh and pedantic.'

—Ib. pp. xcvi., xcvi.

We have already remarked that it would have been possible for our author, in various parts of his work, considerably to lighten his style by the occasional substitution of common for more learned and scientific terms. Where no obscurity is the result, there can be no objection, and the reasons on the ground of perspicuity and elegance are manifold.

It may, perhaps, amuse the reader to be reminded of the familiar origin of some of our most formidable terms in the mathematics.

'The earliest sciences offer the earliest examples of technical terms. These are geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy; to which we have

soon after to add harmonics, mechanics, and optics. In those sciences, we may notice the above-mentioned three different modes in which technical terms were formed.

'The simplest and first mode of acquiring technical terms is to take words current in common usage, and, by rigorously defining or otherwise fixing their meaning, to fit them for the expression of scientific truths. In this manner almost all the fundamental technical terms of geometry were formed. A *sphere*, a *cone*, a *cylinder*, had among the Greeks, at first, meanings less precise than those which geometers gave to these words, and besides the mere designation of form, implied some use or application. A *sphere* (σφαῖρα), was a hand-ball used in games; a *cone* (κῶνος), was a boy's spinning top, or the crest of a helmet; a *cylinder* (κύλινδρος), was a roller; a *cube* (κύβος), was a die: till these words were adopted by the geometers, and made to signify among them pure modifications of space. So an *angle* (γωνία), was only a corner; a *point* (σημεῖον), was a signal; a *line* (γραμμή), was a mark; a *straight line* (εὐθεῖα), was marked by an adjective which at first meant only *direct*. A *plane* (ἐπιπίδον), is the neuter form of an adjective, which by its derivation means *on the ground*, and hence *flat*. In all these cases, the word adopted as a term of science has its sense rigorously fixed; and where the common use of the term is in any degree vague, its meaning may be modified at the same time that it is thus limited. Thus a *rhombus* (ῥόμβος), by its derivation, might mean any figure which is *twisted* out of a regular form; but it is confined by geometers to that figure which has four equal sides, its angles being oblique. In like manner, a *trapezium* (τραπεζίον) originally signifies a *table*, and thus might denote any form; but as the tables of the Greeks had one side shorter than the opposite one, such a figure was at first called a trapezium. Afterwards the term was made to signify any figure with four unequal sides; a name being more needful in geometry for this kind of figure than for the original form.'

—Ib. pp. xlix., l

We cannot close this article without making one or two remarks on a point in which, in our opinion, Mr. Whewell has not done justice to Dugald Stewart, nor acted with the fairness expected from a candid controvertist. In his *Mechanical Euclid*, published many years ago, he had combated Mr. Stewart's opinion (founded on that of Locke*), that mathematical truths

* 'Let a man of good parts know all the maxims generally made use of in mathematics never so perfectly, and contemplate their extent and consequences as much as he pleases, he will by their assistance, I suppose, scarce ever come to know 'that the square of the hypotenuse in a right-angled triangle is equal to the squares of the two other sides.' The knowledge 'that the whole is equal to all its parts,' and 'if you take equals from equals the remainders are equal,' helped him not, I presume, to their demonstration: and a man may, I think, pore long enough on those axioms, without ever seeing one jot the more of mathematical truths.'—*Locke's Essay*, b. iv. c. xii.

are deduced not, as was commonly said, from 'axioms,' but from 'definitions.' Mr. Whewell, on the contrary, affirms that mathematical truths are deduced from 'axioms' as well as 'definitions.' To his remarks on this subject, the Edinburgh Review replied in noticing the 'Mechanical Euclid,' and in the work now under our notice, Mr. Whewell has published a rejoinder. Into the merits of the controversy between these parties we do not enter. The Edinburgh Reviewer can doubtless take his own part, and in due time we suppose will do so. All we are disposed to do is, to protest against the unfairness with which Mr. Stewart has been treated. It will be observed that Mr. Whewell, in maintaining, against what he is pleased to suppose Stewart's hypothesis, that axioms as well as definitions are the source of mathematical truth, lays the chief stress on the strictly geometrical axioms. Now even if Stewart had said nothing expressly to except these from being included in his remarks, his general observations as well as the notions generally attached to the old phrase, 'that mathematical science 'was built upon self-evident axioms,' ought to have protected him. If any one (before Locke's time) were asked what he meant by the above axioms, he would undoubtedly have referred to the axioms which are *really* self-evident, and which are not geometrical. In like manner, if any one were asked *now* what notion was ordinarily attached to the word axiom, he would reply, a proposition which is self-evident, and would illustrate by some such example as 'The whole is equal to all its parts.' Moreover, every body knows how vehemently it has been contended by many mathematicians that the geometrical axioms (so far from having been generally considered truly such) do not properly belong to the class of axioms at all, that they are not at all events self-evident, and that one at least is evidently susceptible of distinct demonstration. But Mr. Stewart, knowing that such propositions are included in the list of Euclid's axioms, and that he might be liable to misconception unless he explained himself, has expressly limited his meaning to the first *nine axioms*. His words are these—'*In order to prevent cavil, it may be necessary for me to remark here, that when I speak of mathematical axioms, I have in view only such as are of the same description with the first nine of those which are prefixed to the Elements of Euclid; for in that list, it is well known, that there are several which belong to a class of propositions altogether different from the others.*' Can anything be more explicit?

Upon the supposition that Mr. Whewell had unaccountably overlooked this passage (though in close connexion with Stewart's other observations on the subject) one would have thought that, upon its being pointed out to him, he would at once have

acknowledged that he had done Stewart some injustice, and modified his observations accordingly. But what says he? 'If Mr. Stewart afterwards limited himself to showing that seven [nine] out of twelve of Euclid's axioms are barren truisms, it was no concern of mine to contest this assertion.' Mr. Whewell must pardon us for saying that it ought to be the concern of every controvertist, *when he disputes the opinions of another*, to take care to attach to his words no more than his opponent attaches to them; more especially when he himself has expressly laid down the limitations with which he uses them. Even supposing the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth axioms to be properly such, and properly included in the list, the observations Mr. Stewart had made were explicitly declared not to apply to them, and therefore Mr. Whewell in contesting his views had no right to adduce them as instances of axioms to which Mr. Stewart's reasoning did not apply. It is much as if a man, having asserted that there is no fish but what is capable of that species of locomotion called swimming, should expressly exclude oysters and some other shell-fish as not included in his class of fish. Whereupon some one comes, and without taking any notice of the limitation, affirms that the assertion is false, inasmuch as oysters, &c., do *not* swim. He might, having stated the limitation, endeavor to show that it was unfounded, or that the definition of 'fish' was altogether unphilosophical. That would have been perfectly fair. In like manner, Mr. Whewell might endeavor to show, that Mr. Stewart's excluded axioms were as truly such as those he had included—that they were self-evident or what not—but candor and fair dealing required that he should not have adduced as instances to which Mr. Stewart's reasoning did *not* apply—propositions to which Stewart himself expressly asserts he did not *intend* it to apply. In other words, he had no business to employ as against Mr. Stewart the word 'axioms' in any other sense than that Mr. Stewart had explicitly attached to it. We are sorry to have been compelled to make these observations, but we do think the conduct on which we have animadverted unworthy of the ingenuousness of true genius and true science.

Art. III. *Egypt and Mohammed Ali. Illustrative of the Condition of his Slaves and Subjects, &c., &c.* By R. R. MADDEN, M.D., Author of 'Twelve Months' Residence in the West Indies,' 'Travels in the East,' 'Slavery in Cuba,' &c. London: Hamilton and Co. 1841.

IT is not our intention, however tempting the opportunity, to enter on a discussion of the general questions which are opened up by this volume. The prominence recently given to Egyptian affairs attaches considerable interest to Dr. Madden's statements, and may dispose us on some future occasion to recur to them for the elucidation of some political points of more than ordinary importance. Our present object is more specific and limited, and however alluring the temptations held out, we shall endeavor strictly to confine ourselves to it. A considerable part of the volume relates to the character and extent of Egyptian and Turkish slavery, and to this we design to call the attention of our readers. We have rarely closed a work with deeper feelings of interest or with a more earnest solicitude to induce others immediately to peruse it. It abounds in valuable information; puts the reader into a position which enables him accurately to judge of the character and condition of the people described, and opens up scenes of human iniquity and sorrow which may well stimulate the labors of Christian philanthropists.

The present ruler of Egypt was born in 1769, at Cavallo in Roumelia. He was left an orphan at an early age, and soon relinquished the pursuits of commerce, in which he had successfully engaged, for the more alluring occupations of the camp. On Buonaparte's invasion of Egypt, he placed himself at the head of a military force; was present at the Battle of Aboukir, and was subsequently promoted to the rank of Sarchesmi, or commander of a thousand men. By a rare union of policy and courage he gradually forced his way to his present elevation, and has succeeded in effecting a revolution in the condition of Egypt which, whether permanent or not, is among the most remarkable phenomena of the day. His character is a singular compound of eastern and western qualities, and his government is the exact counterpart of himself. The following is our author's description of his personal appearance and manners.

'Mohammed Ali is now in his 72nd year. He is hale and strong in his appearance, somewhat bent by age; but the energy of his mind, the vivacity of his features, and the piercing lightning of his glance, have undergone no change since I first saw him in the year 1825,

nearly fifteen years ago. He is about five feet six inches in height, of a ruddy fair complexion, with light hazel eyes, deeply set in their sockets, and overshadowed by prominent eyebrows. His lips are thin, his features regular, extremely changeful, yet altogether agreeable in their expression when he is in good humor. At such times, his countenance is that of a frank, amiable, and highly intelligent person. The motion of his hands and his gestures in conversation are those of a well-bred person, and his manners are easy and even dignified. He perambulates his rooms a great deal when he is at all disturbed, with his hands behind his back, and thinks aloud on these occasions. He sleeps but little, and seldom soundly; he is said by his physicians to be subject to a determination of blood to the head, attended with epileptic symptoms, which recur with violence when he is under any unusual excitement. In the late difficulties, previous to his answering the proposal of the Four Powers, these symptoms made it necessary for his physicians to bleed him in the arm, and take away a pound of blood. One of these physicians had to sit up with him for some nights, and, as it is customary for the Pacha to do with his attendants, he called up the doctor several times in the night, to 'tell him something,' and the poor drowsy physician was frequently woke up with the habitual query, 'Well, doctor, have you nothing to tell me?'

'His palace at Alexandria is elegantly furnished in the European style, with chairs and tables, looking glasses, several pictures, and a large bust of the Viceroy himself. I noticed a magnificent fourpost bed in his sleeping chamber; both the attendants who conducted me over the palace informed me it never had been used; he continues the old Turkish habit of sleeping on a mattress on the floor. He rises early—generally between four and five—receives every one who comes to him, dictates to his secretaries, and has the English and French newspapers translated and read to him, one of the latter of which is known to be the paid organ of his political views.

'His only language is the Turkish, and he speaks it with the greatest fluency, and in the most impressive manner. In his conversation he is sprightly, courteous, and intelligent. On every subject he gives those about him the impression of a shrewd, penetrating, right-thinking man. He speaks very distinctly (thanks to the effects of English dentistry) and with remarkable precision. He is simple in his mode of living, eats after the European manner at table, and takes his bottle of claret almost daily. His manners are extremely pleasing, and his general appearance prepossessing; his expression, as I have before said, is that of a good-humored, amiable man; but when he is disturbed in his mind, he seems not to have the slightest control over his feelings or over his features; and when he is displeased, his scowl is what no man would willingly encounter twice. A medical friend of mine, who had the *entrée* of the palace, and had occasion to visit him at a very early hour the morning after the arrival of the Turkish fleet, which had just fallen into his power, found him at the dawn, alone, in his apartment, stationed at the window, gazing on those vessels which were destined for the destruction of his Syrian fleet, and which were now quietly 'reposing on their shadows' in his own harbor at Alexan-

dria; and, as he gazed on them, very earnestly talking to himself, as if deeply engaged in conversation.....

‘The palaces of the Pacha, both at Alexandria and Cairo, are elegantly, though not magnificently furnished. In the latter, I observed an excellent portrait of his son, Seid Bey; and several other pictures, which showed pretty clearly how the injunctions of the Koran are regarded by Mohammed Ali.’—pp. 11—15.

It is probably known to most of our readers that at the Anti slavery Convention held in London last year, a memorial on the slave trade and slavery of Egypt was adopted, which Dr. Madden undertook to present to Mohammed Ali. Of the Memorial itself we need only remark, that it was couched in a calm and dignified style, and breathes a spirit of respectful yet highminded remonstrance every way worthy of the body from which it emanated, and of the patriarchal philanthropist whose signature it bore. This interesting document was presented to the Egyptian ruler at his palace in Alexandria in the autumn of last year, and was received with obvious satisfaction. Dr. Madden gives the following account of the interview.

‘His Highness received the address with apparent feelings of the greatest satisfaction, and the deepest interest in the object of its prayer. He entered into an animated conversation with Colonel Hodges, Her Britannic Majesty’s Consul-General and myself, on the subject of slavery in general. And I have seldom seen him apparently so pleased with any communication made to him, and to all appearances, so well disposed towards the subjects on which he was addressed, as on the present occasion. In fact, nothing could be more gracious than his reception of the address.

‘In the course of the long conversation that took place, I was greatly struck with the shrewdness of his observations. He spoke a good deal, and not one word that was not pertinent to the subject, or calculated to make the impression he desired. In the course of this conversation, he said, ‘I have thought a great deal on the subject of slavery for months together; I have thought on this subject. It is a difficult question to settle here.’ ‘It is a question of law, and as such it must be decided on in Constantinople,’ and with a very significant smile, ‘if you would succeed in putting down slavery, you must go to Constantinople.’

‘I replied, ‘It is because we are very desirous of success, we look to your Highness for putting an end to the abominable traffic in Egypt. It is in the power of your Highness to prevent it on the part of your own subjects.’ He smiled and said, ‘In shallah,’ I would be very glad to abolish it altogether; but we must give the people education first; slavery here is a very different thing to what it is in your countries.’ I said ‘it was a bad thing everywhere, however the slaves were treated; the men were stolen and their country was ravaged.’ ‘You found it a difficult thing to abolish slavery in your colonies,’ said Mohammed Ali, ‘and here the difficulty would be much greater, for

the people are accustomed to the services of the slaves, and if there were no more to be found in the market, they would complain as they did before, when I prevented my troops making the slave hunts in Senaar.'

'The consul observed, 'that the existence of the slave market in Alexandria was a scandal to the place.' The Pacha replied, 'What can be done? slavery exists by law, and it is only at Constantinople it can be changed.' 'I told his Highness that the subject we had been speaking about was the trade in slaves, and that it depended on him to put a total stop to the engagement of his people in it.'

'The Pacha then said, 'I have read lately, that a European vessel had been seized with slaves carrying them to the West Indies, so that you have not yet been able to put down the trade yourselves.'

'I said it was very true, that two European countries, Spain and Portugal, disgraced themselves by suffering their subjects to carry on this trade, and that the trade, so far from being put down, was greater than it had ever been, for that the ravages of this trade annually cost to Africa little short of 300,000 human beings, about one-third of which survived the hardships they encountered, and lived to be sold into slavery in Cuba and the Brazils.'

'The Pacha replied, 'The difficulty is to civilize them in their own country, and accustom them to modes of life like ours. I tried to make soldiers of them some years ago, but they died here, and wherever they were sent; on one occasion, about 7000 of them died in a short time. It was the difference of living and the change from the bare necessities of life to a sudden abundance of food, which affected their health, and caused them to perish; now I have only three or four hundred of them, and I do not allow my people to make slave-hunts to procure them any more. In their own country they live on almost nothing. There is no peace amongst them—here is one tribe living on this mountain—here's a second marauding on another—here's a third at war with both, all at war, hunting one another, and making slaves.'

'To this I replied, 'In order to sell them, they did so, and the prayer of the memorial I had the honor to present to his Highness was, that he would prevent his people from taking any part in this trade, and give all his assistance to suppress it.' He seemed extremely pleased, and concluded the conversation by saying, 'May it please God to enable me to do so.' But I have so little faith in 'Turkish 'In shallahs,' that I was a little suspicious of the human assistance intended to be given to our cause by his Highness. The fact is, nothing has been yet done in Egypt to give any effectual check to the slave-trade.'

—pp. 111—114.

We regret to find that the expectations entertained by the framers of this memorial have not as yet been realized. These expectations were not unreasonable, as it had come to the knowledge of the Convention that Mohammed Ali had on one occasion expressed his strong dissatisfaction at the employment of his troops in slave-hunts, and his wish to abolish so dishonorable a traffic, even though its abolition should be attended

with some sacrifices. The truth of the matter, however, would seem to be that the promptings of a narrow-minded and selfish policy have countervailed for the present the larger views and nobler purposes of the Egyptian ruler. The exhausted state of his exchequer leaves his troops perpetually in arrears for pay, and these murderous slave-hunts are resorted to as a means of allaying their clamor, and of contributing somewhat to replenish his impoverished finances. Dr. Madden called the attention of his Highness to the continuance of these marauding expeditions, in a memorial replete with the noblest sentiments which an enlightened Englishman could address to the despotic ruler of an eastern country. The following extracts from this memorial evince the wisdom of the choice which the Convention made of their delegate on this occasion.

‘ Deputed by that body to communicate these sentiments to your Highness, the best token I can give of being in some slight degree deserving of their confidence is, by addressing your Highness plainly and unreservedly, without fear or forgetfulness of your authority, or any feeling of distrust in the disposition of your Highness to hear the truth; and, likewise by distinctly pointing out the glaring evils of this nefarious traffic in human beings, so extensively carried on by your people, and by respectfully but frankly stating to your Highness that the single measure taken at Fezaglou for the repression of this crime on the part of your authorities is utterly insufficient to meet an evil of such magnitude as this.

‘ But I grieve to say, that on inquiring into the nature and extent of the measures which your Highness is desirous should be taken to stop this traffic on the part of your officers, nothing whatever has been yet done to give effect to the orders issued for its prevention.

‘ And with no less wonder have I learned that within the last twelve months two slave-hunts have been conducted with all the regularity and parade of a large military movement, and not only were connived at, but were actually aided and abetted by the authorities of your Highness at Sennaar and its neighboring districts.

‘ An opinion, notwithstanding, had of late become prevalent in England, that you had taken such measures for the ultimate abolition of the slave-trade, as had already sensibly affected slavery itself, or at least diminished the supply on which that system mainly depended for its continuance. It can hardly be imagined how much error has been disseminated on this subject amongst a class of persons not much accustomed to be deceived by the apologists of those who sanction slavery, or give to its terrors the blandishments of an under-stated account of its enormities, and a very exaggerated one of the steps that have been taken for their prevention. Nor will your Highness be able very readily to comprehend the extent of our credulity, when you consider, only for a moment, the crowded state of the slave-markets of Alexandria and Cairo. At the present time, there are nearly 200 women and children exposed for sale in the slave-market of Cairo,

and upwards of 100 in that of Alexandria. On the 30th of August, 1840, the following were the numbers in the slave-market of Cairo :—

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| Abyssinian women | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 17 |
| Ditto boys | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 9 |
| Negro women | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 75 |
| Ditto boys | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 90 |
| | | | | | | | | <hr/> 191 |

‘ These returns were obtained from one of the principal Gellabs of the slave-market at Cairo; and the following from the general book of registry, kept by the same person, of all the slaves brought from the upper country, to the year ending the 31st of August, 1840 :—

| | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|--------------|
| Abyssinian women | . | . | . | . | . | 1700 |
| Ditto children | . | . | . | . | . | 120 |
| Negro women | . | . | . | . | . | 3000 |
| Ditto children | . | . | . | . | . | 270 |
| | | | | | | <hr/> 5090 |
| Eunuchs | . | . | . | . | . | 400 |
| Negro men of different countries, not brought down to the markets of Cairo and Alexandria, and sold in Sennaar, Darfour, &c. | . | . | . | . | . | 5000 |
| | | | | | | <hr/> 10,490 |

‘ So that the number of negroes captured by your people, in the different slave-hunts during the year ending the 31st of August, 1840, exceeded ten thousand.

‘ Now, I have positive information that a large portion of this number were captured by marauding parties, composed chiefly of your soldiers, and consisting of so many as a thousand persons on a single occasion, coming from Sennaar, so recently even as 1839 : nay, more, that your troops were paid even so lately with the slaves taken in one of these expeditions.’—pp. 129 – 135.

The following, taken from the same document, presents a summary of the facts of the case as it exists at present which every benevolent mind will peruse with sorrow.

‘ In conclusion, may it please your Highness, I would beg leave to recall the facts to which I have endeavored to direct your attention.

‘ 1. At the expiration of nearly fifteen years, I have visited Egypt for the second time, and I find slavery, and the trade in slaves, unchanged in their character, and unrestrained by any measure of your Highness adopted for their suppression.

‘ 2. I find the slave-markets glutted with negro women and children as heretofore.

‘ 3. I find the exportation of slaves from Alexandria for Turkey, on board European vessels, carried on openly at the present time.

‘ 4. I find the prices of slaves actually lowered by the increase of the numbers brought down to Alexandria and Cairo, and those slaves,

children and women, selling from 600 piastres to 1,500 a head, or from six pounds sterling to fifteen pounds each.

‘ 5. I find the slave-hunts are carried on by your people, and even by your soldiers, as usual, and the only prohibition that has been issued is one given in the presence of certain European Consuls at Fezaglou, that never has been carried into effect.

‘ 6. I find the same evils arising from this nefarious trade, and the same barbarous monopoly in mutilated beings permitted as heretofore, and even encouraged by your authorities in Upper Egypt.

‘ In the mean time, the spirit of reform is said to be moving over the land ; we are told the enlightened views of your Highness are directed to the removal of all abuses. Those in the administration of the property of the mosques, which for ages had been protected even by the law itself, were got rid of by your Highness, without the trouble and inconvenience of going to Constantinople, and the sanction of the law itself was set aside to enable your Highness to turn these funds to an account more useful to the state.

‘ But when the grand abuse of all is approached, and the outrages are pointed out that are committed on humanity, by the subjects of your Highness—when the barbarous traffic in the flesh and blood of human beings like ourselves is brought before you—when the question is not one of rents and revenue, of beans and cotton, but one of flesh and blood, of life and liberty, of duty and of justice ; the advocate of the negro must be sent to Constantinople, to confer with the Mufti about the propriety of any change, because the veneration of your Highness for the law is such, as to extend even to the shadow of it, under which slavery so tranquilly reposes in those countries that are subject to you.’—pp. 145—147.

The expeditions which are destined for the capture of slaves consist of large parties of soldiers, who proceed with all the regularity of military movement, and are habituated by long practice to the perpetration of every crime. Hardened by their infernal occupation, they march without reluctance to the mountains of Nubia in search of their prey, where, as blood-hounds thirsting for carnage, they spread terror and death amongst the wretched children of Africa. No words can adequately describe the horrors of their course : ‘ A fire devoureth before them, and behind them a flame burneth ; the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness.’ Dr. Madden has printed an account of one of these expeditions, which was furnished to him by Mr. Pallme, a German naturalist, who was an eye-witness of the atrocities practised. It took place in the latter part of the year 1838, and was conducted by a large military force acting under the direct authority of the viceroy. The details furnished are of the most horrifying nature, and serve to prove that crime is of the same hardening nature wherever and by whomsoever it is perpetrated. The orders received by the troops were to procure 5,000 slaves, and

the plan adopted was to proceed successively to various settlements in Nubia, and either by craft or open force to seize on the negro inhabitants. The most determined and courageous resistance was made by many of the negro tribes; but the superior numbers and discipline of the troops overcame all resistance, and a frightful destruction of human life ensued. It is as though Moloch exulted to show on such occasions how completely the human spirit could be imbued with his own demoniac frenzy. Let the following suffice as an example.

' The village of this tribe, situated on a very dangerous part of the mountain, was difficult to be taken by storm, and the commander, in order not to suffer loss, resolved to blockade it, and to force the negroes to surrender from want of water. The siege lasted eight days, and as it was afterwards ascertained, these poor creatures who did not feel themselves strong enough to defend themselves, had not a drop of water on the fourth day. The cattle were killed on the first day, in order not to diminish the supply of water; on the sixth day, several children and old people perished through thirst; and on the seventh day, the mortality was so general, that they resolved to surrender. Some advised to make a sally, but others, feeling exhausted, thought it would be of no use; and when on the eighth day the torments of thirst destroyed hundreds, and many in despair cut open their bellies with their two-edged knives, and thus destroyed themselves, the remainder surrendered to the enemy.

' Of more than 2000 people only 1049 were alive, some had died of thirst, and some had destroyed themselves.

' When the Turks entered the village, they found the huts filled with corpses, several were indeed alive, but so exhausted, that they could scarcely keep themselves erect. But with knocks from the butt-end of the guns, and flogging, these poor creatures were driven out of their huts, and suffering all kinds of ill-treatment, were dragged into the camp, and from thence sent to Lobeid, but more than 150 died on their way there. On the fourth day of the departure of this transportation of slaves, when the caravan halted, and the prisoners as usual lay down in small divisions, an old woman, on account of her former suffering, and from her long march entirely exhausted, could not reach the appointed place with sufficient readiness, an unfeeling soldier gave her a blow with the butt-end of his gun, so that she sank to the ground almost lifeless. Her son, who witnessed this ill-treatment, and not being able to master his feelings, flew with great fury at the soldier, and gave him such a blow with the sheba fastened to his neck, that he likewise sank to the ground. This served as an appointed signal; all the slaves wearing a sheba fell on the soldiers, and knocked several of them down, so that before they could seize their guns, and fix their bayonets at the end, fifty-six negroes, favored by the darkness of the night and the confusion in the camp, had fled, and safely escaped; while the country people, into whose care they had been committed, remained quiet spectators, a proof of the interest they take in such captures

‘ The main troops had in the mean time continued their march, and taken a mountain by storm, but not without loss. The village, situated near a steep precipice, could only be attacked on one side, and having a good supply of water, it would have been useless to blockade it. That being the case, they attempted to storm it. With unprecedented fury they fought on both sides; the assailants had to pay dearly with their blood for every step they advanced. The negroes blocked up all the passes, made use of every stone, of every tree, and every elevation behind which they could hide, and rushed on the enemy, so that they could only reach the summit with great difficulty. It was impossible for the soldiers to make use of their guns; for, creeping like ants on hands and feet, they were unable to take their arms in their hands, and consequently, many of them were pierced with the lances of the negroes, before they could stand erect, and in their fall they dragged others with them. Firing the cannon was quite useless, and could not be continued for fear of injuring their own troops. The battle was fearful, and remained for a long time undecided; but the soldiers at last succeeded in obtaining a firm footing on the summit of the mountain, and were enabled to make an attack with their bayonets. That decided the conflict; and in spite of the most desperate resistance of the negroes, the village was at last taken. The bloodshed which ensued was horrible. All who defended themselves were killed without mercy; children, women, and old men were stabbed with bayonets, the huts were burned down, and everything ransacked; in short, these unhappy creatures were treated with the most ferocious cruelty. All that fell alive into the hands of the conquerors were immediately dragged down into the camp; those who endeavored to hide themselves in caves or cliffs, were driven out again, or suffocated by means of fire and smoke. All imaginable cruelties were practised, and not discontinued till every one of these unfortunate people was either killed or led away into slavery. All that remained of their poor possessions, and that could not be carried away, was destroyed, and at last the whole village was razed to the ground.’—pp. 164—168.

Our readers have heard much of the horrors of the middle passage, and no words can overstate them; yet it would seem that equal atrocities are practised on the negroes in journeying from their mountain settlements to Cordofan, whither they are hurried for distribution and sale by their Egyptian oppressors. M. Pallme accompanied the wretched captives on one of these occasions, and we transcribe his account for the information of our readers.

‘ I was, alas, myself eye-witness of the misery of the prisoners. No pen can describe what cruelties these poor creatures, who were already cast down on account of the loss of their goods, and especially the loss of their liberty, had to suffer on their way. Partly with the heavy sheba round their necks, or tied together two and two, with strong leather strings, or their hands fastened with clasps, these poor negroes were driven along like cattle, and treated with far less indul-

gence, and much more severity. Most of them covered with wounds which they had received in the battle, or from the friction of the sheba, the leather strings, or the clasps, had to suffer the most excruciating pains, and if they became too exhausted to keep pace with the others, still greater sufferings awaited them.

‘The cries and lamentations of these unfortunate persons, as well as the weeping and crying of the children, who either had lost their parents when the village was taken by storm, or were too much fatigued to follow their mothers, who were still more so; who suffered with hunger and thirst, and did not receive a morsel of bread to satisfy their hunger, nor a drop of water to quench their thirst, from the hard-hearted Turks; all this could move a heart of stone, but it made no impression on these unfeeling capturers. They walked indifferently by the side of their prisoners, and only stimulated them to advance, by blows and strokes. As all who were found alive were carried off, there was a great number blind, lame, old, or otherwise feeble people, respecting whom they knew beforehand, that they would either perish on the way or fetch no price.

‘But this was not regarded; all were unmercifully taken from their homely hearth and left to their fate; their only care was to procure the requisite number of slaves demanded by government.

‘About ten o’clock in the forenoon they halted, the slaves were arranged into different divisions after their ages, and received their food, which consisted of boiled maize (dohna); no salt is given, and the maize is boiled so hard, that it is scarcely possible for adults to chew it; the children whose teeth are too tender to chew this kind of corn, swallow it like pills, and afterwards perish most miserably, as they cannot digest what they have swallowed, which makes their bellies swell. I frequently saw that mothers chewed it for their children.

‘When the division of the prisoners was made in the camp according to their ages, no allowance was made for the children (who anxiously embraced their parents), the sick and the wounded; the former were violently torn from the arms of their parents, in order that they might accustom themselves to eat alone; and the sick received the same food as the healthy; several of them preferred to throw themselves crying into the sand, and endeavored to refresh their weak limbs, refusing to take any food. If any one became so exhausted that they saw no possibility of driving him any further, or if he was already dying, they would throw him aside like a piece of wood, and let him either perish from exhaustion or be torn by wild beasts. Bread is not even heard of, although there is a possibility of baking some on their march; this, however, would in their opinion be superfluous for the poor slaves, and they must content themselves with food which is too bad for cattle. As soon as the signal of decampment was given, every one was obliged to hasten to his detachment; whoever came only one minute too late, was beaten with whips and the butt-ends of the guns. Old men and women, who, bent with old age, could scarcely creep along, suffered the same ill-treatment, and were left behind in the sand, if they

were not able to advance ; and the children were not allowed to take leave of their dear relatives ; with tears in their eyes, they could only look at them, and leave them to their fate. In order not to see the father left behind in so miserable a situation, wives and daughters took him between them and helped him on, while he had his arms round their necks, and he was sometimes carried by them.

‘ Children from six years, and even from four years of age, were obliged to run. But they could seldom bear the fatiguing march, and were obliged to be carried by their mothers and sisters. I even saw mothers with a sucking babe in one arm, a child of two years of age in the other, and at last an exhausted boy on their backs, sink under this threefold burden.

‘ An hour before sunset, they halted again, and distributed boiled corn (dohna) among the slaves. But during the night, the misery of the slaves reached its highest pitch. In the month of January, in which the change of the temperature is generally keenly felt, as the thermometer frequently falls to eight degrees, the cold was so intense, that it might be compared with the cold of Northern Germany, when four or five degrees below the freezing point. Let the reader remember that the poor negroes are naked, without any covering, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, and he can judge what these poor people had to suffer ; fires were, indeed, kindled ; but as there was a deficiency of wood, they were not sufficient to protect against the cold. The wailing and moaning of the children, sick, wounded, and dying, were therefore terrible ; and one morning they found a sucking child frozen to death, still on the breast of its mother. The negroes have, indeed, no covering when in their villages, but are quite naked, with the exception of a cotton girdle round their loins ; but during the night they lie in their huts and cover themselves with skins, all of which they were deprived of on their march.

‘ Those who wore the sheba round their necks could not sleep on account of pain, their necks were so pressed together, that they could not move them, and thus not one was free from suffering. A woman near her confinement was delivered, one night, without any assistance. The new-born babe was wrapped up in a shirt which I had given to the mother, and safely brought to Lobeid. I gave my donkey to the mother to ride on.

‘ It is, indeed, impossible for me to describe all the misery which I witnessed during the time I remained with them. Language fails ; the sufferings which the slaves have to undergo is beyond conception, and no words can describe the pain which a sensitive heart feels when witnessing such scenes. I did all in my power, partly by kind words, and partly by small presents, to make the soldiers as well as the country people who had to escort the slaves more compassionate ; the consequence was, that many of them would take a poor child that could not move his wounded feet any longer in the sand, or that was a burden to his exhausted mother, on his arms, and carry it nearly the whole of the way. But it was impossible for me to put a stop to all the acts of cruelty, and I was obliged one day to see an unfeeling soldier knock down with the butt-end of his gun, a poor man whose

feet were quite inflamed on account of the wounds which he had received in battle, and whom pain prevented from keeping step with the others.

‘I was no longer master of my feelings; I drew my sword, and would have hewn this tiger into pieces if my servant had not stopped me, by wrenching the sword out of my hand; he likewise took my pistols from me, and did not return either until he saw that my anger had cooled.

‘On the eighth day the whole expedition arrived at Lobeid, where the distribution of the slaves took place, and this is the chief reason that the soldiers treat the slaves so unmercifully; for as they are obliged to take these instead of the arrear pay, and that at a very high price, and as the slaves frequently die before they have sold them again, and the soldiers consequently lose all, they try all they can to let the old and feeble perish before they reach Lobeid. If the troops in Cordofan, and in other provinces, received their pay in ready money, I feel convinced that they would treat these unfortunate people with more humanity.’—pp. 168—175.

Such are the means adopted to replenish the slave marts of Egypt and Turkey, and we need not be surprised at their atrocious character. Once admit a right of property in man, and there are no bounds to the enormities which will be perpetrated. Avarice—gripping, remorseless avarice—will pursue its horrible vocation regardless alike of human suffering and of the threatened vengeance of heaven. The history of all nations goes to prove the fact that the existence of slavery is a fruitful source of brutality and crime. It cannot be perpetuated without them,—it would die out for want of victims if the man-stealer did not go forth in the shape of European traders, or of Turkish mercenaries, to procure a fresh supply for its charnel-house. The extinction of slavery, therefore, is the only effectual means of abolishing the slave-trade. Other means may palliate, but this alone will terminate an evil under which Africa has groaned for centuries. To this, therefore, the combined labors of philanthropists should be directed, and we rejoice in the recent Anti-slavery Convention, because it has served to open up to view the whole field of exertion, exhibiting to the humane of every creed and clime what remains to be done on behalf of degraded and suffering humanity.

The pleas by which the Egyptian ruler sought to evade the manly and indignant remonstrances of Dr. Madden, were flimsy and delusive in the extreme. Slavery he affirmed was lawful, and Constantinople was the seat of the chief functionary of the law. Thither, therefore, our countryman was advised to proceed to obtain the concurrence of the Mufti, as though Mohammed Ali, who had despised Turkish law and braved the Sultan’s power, were incapable of doing an act of justice, or of restrain-

ing his own subjects from the perpetration of enormous wrongs, without the sanction of those functionaries against whom his life has been one act of continuous rebellion. The hollowness of this plea is ably exposed by Dr. Madden, whose words we quote.

‘ Your Highness was pleased to inform me, that the great impediment to the suppression of this trade, or the restriction of slavery itself, was the sanction which the latter received from the law and religion of the land ; and, therefore, to effect any change it would be necessary to go to Constantinople, and obtain the concurrence of the head of the religion and the law, in any measure that should be proposed for the abolition of slavery, or the trade in slaves.

‘ The fact, I am perfectly aware, is not to be denied, that slavery, as it existed of old in the form of domestic servitude, is recognized by the law, but your Highness must be well aware that the barbarous wars which are made on the people of Africa, for the purpose of obtaining slaves ; the perfidy that is practised in entrapping unwary natives ; the violence that is employed in seizing on their defenceless women and children ; the murders that are committed in the surprisal of their villages, and the surrounding of their habitations ; the starving of their people into terms of submission, where they have resisted the marauders ; the violation of their women ; the capture of the young and the robust, the slaughter of the old and the infirm ; the burning of their dwellings ; the wasting of their lands—in sort, that this savage warfare, and the atrocities that follow in its train, are nowhere prescribed or sanctioned by your law.

‘ It would be a calumny to assert, that the religion which is founded on that law, is chargeable with the crimes that are committed by the wretches who follow this felonious trade. This trade, may it please your Highness, is at variance with every law human and divine, and the wickedness of it being unknown to the giver of your law, the system that has arisen from it, and exists only by its continuance, cannot be considered as that kind of servitude that was tolerated by him, and which had for its object the disposal of prisoners captured in wars, undertaken for an aim very different from that of the slave-hunts of Sennaar.

‘ It would be in vain to tell the people of England that the slave-trade was to be tolerated in Egypt on the ground of its legality. That plea can only be admitted for its continuance by those who are utterly ignorant of Mohammedan law. It would not be believed that a prince who has the power to triumph over the deepest rooted prejudices of his people—to carry his victorious armies into distant countries—to oppose successfully the greatest obstacles that can be thrown in the way of the accomplishment of his political designs, had not the means at his command of abolishing this trade, and putting an end to the evil practices that have grown out of it.’—*Ib.* pp. 138—141.

‘ Your Highness did not deem it necessary, when you recently established the national guard at Cairo, to send to the Mufti at Stamboul (the head of the religion), to consult him on the investiture of the

Sheikel Islem of El Masr (or the chief of the law at Cairo) with the military rank and dignity of a general, and yet the law and the religion had made this man their minister, and the exigency of the times made this minister your soldier. Here the law and the custom of ages were opposed to the change, but the wants of the state and the will of Mohammed Ali required that it should be made.

'The same will I would fain see exerted in effecting another change, and one that would give the death-blow in Egypt to the crime of stealing men, and retaining these stolen men in slavery. I cannot allow myself to believe this will is wanting on the part of your Highness. Other matters, unfortunately considered of greater moment and more immediate political importance, have turned away the attention of your Highness from this subject, and afforded you but a single opportunity of manifesting a desire to repress the enormities of this trade on the part of your military commanders at Fezaglou.

'That lesson has been lost for want of repetition. It is not a sudden impulse of generosity, or a single effort of benevolence, that is sufficient to encounter and overcome an evil of such magnitude as that of slavery in any of its forms, but a series of energetic measures, wisely devised and resolutely directed to the abolition of it.'—pp. 147, 148

The latter part of the volume contains some interesting information respecting Indian slavery, and the persecution to which the Jews have recently been subjected at Damascus, but for the reason already stated we pass over these topics. The former we purpose ere long entering upon at large, and in the meantime we recommend such of our readers as have not already done so, immediately to acquaint themselves with the heart-rending but instructive details of the present volume.

Art. IV. *Sermons on Practical Subjects*. By the late LANT CARPENTER, LL.D. 8vo. pp. xvi., 502. Bristol and London. 1840.

WE have lately had occasion to apply the protest,—*'non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis,'*—in lamenting the feebleness and manifold incompetency of some who have put themselves forward as the assertors and vindicators of great principles of the gospel; and in acknowledging the superior talent and temper, and in no small degree excellent moral sentiments, of those who answered the unwise challenge by coming forth on the other side. This proceeding has exposed us to the severe censures of a party, which does not appear to deem itself bound to observe the rules of truth and equity in its manner of treating opponents. We lament this, not for our own sakes, but for theirs, and for the injury done to the cause of gospel-

truth by its being associated with unworthy methods of advocacy. We trust that we have 'learned Christ' to better purpose than to have recourse to means, under the pretence of serving him, which violate the obligations of veracity and justice. We feel ourselves to be 'set for the defence of the gospel,' and from the heart we desire to 'count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord:' but, on this very account, we are the more bound, to 'speak and act the 'truth (ἀληθεύειν) in love,' and 'in meekness to instruct those 'who set themselves in opposition' to that which we are convinced is 'the doctrine according to godliness,—as the truth is 'in Jesus.' It is our solemn and heart-felt conviction that the essence of the gospel is exterminated, and its blessings intercepted, by those who reject the proper deity of our Saviour's pre-existent nature, the propitiation for the sins of the world by his sacrificial offering up of himself, the infinite value of his obedience, and the influence of His Spirit in the production and maturing of a holy character. Therefore, we are doing all in our power to maintain and diffuse those truths, with their whole range of alliances: and therefore also we should judge ourselves to be very questionable friends to them, not to say absolutely treacherous, were we not to 'do justice and love mercy,' with regard to those who pain our hearts and awaken our fears.

Nor would we be insensible to the reflection, that the way to instruct and convince is not that of indiscriminate condemnation and ruthless threatenings, which never fail to be associated with false assumptions and moral misrepresentations. The imperfection and sinfulness of human minds are shown in many deep-working ways; and these require a cautious and jealous observance. The limits of religious truth and error often melt into each other, by a gradation almost imperceptible. In the conflicting systems of those who sincerely believe in divine revelation, there are not many errors which do not involve some important and most precious truth, either held defectively or driven to an extreme which sets it in a position at variance with some other truth. Often, the warmest supporters of a momentous doctrine blend with it some subtle error, or some pernicious principle of a practical nature. There are many and very diverse ways in which we may 'have a zeal on the behalf of 'God, but not according to knowledge;' and, as the consequence of which, we may disfigure the form and fair proportions of truth, defile its beauty, and obscure its evidence. In such case, it is presented under an appearance of deformity and degradation to those who have imbibed prejudices against it; no friendly hand interposes to unravel the confusion and eliminate the wrong assumptions; and truths of the first importance are apprehended falsely and rejected precipitately; or the misun-

derstanding and dislike, produced by early impressions, are confirmed for life. Of this process we have painful instances in our knowledge.

Another result of these infirmities and wanderings of our weak nature is that, while on the one hand truth may be professed in form but denied in spirit, on the other, essential doctrines of the gospel, the 'things which accompany salvation,' are really held in some other shape and dress by persons who take them not in our mode of representation. To us, that mode appears the most just and scripturally proper : but, from the various constitution and circumstances of other minds, the objects are viewed from different points, and are presented under other colors and relations. As often in natural substances, sensible properties are altered by combination, but latent qualities remain and, though in a new development, have not lost their efficacy ; so, in the acting and reacting of moral sentiments, unexpected and surprising compounds are sometimes produced, without neutralizing the practical result, or extinguishing 'the faith of God's elect.'

We are sensible that this is a subject of great delicacy, and demanding a most strict and prayerful watchfulness in its application. We cannot be too humble and tender of conscience; and perhaps in no case are human beings capable of applying these considerations without 'fear and trembling.' But the principle is not on that account to be denied or concealed. If it be true, it is to be recognized : and on us a solemn responsibility lies for the use which we make of it. Christianity has no esoteric doctrines. Of two facts it becomes us never to lose sight ; the one, that *there is no truth whatever* of which the merely intellectual or theoretical belief will bring salvation to the soul of man. Such belief is indeed hardly worthy of the name : it is a mere *opinion* ; it includes no perception of spiritual beauty, no homage of our affections, no elevation of a delightful sensibility to HIM who is the perfection of excellence, the HOLY ONE. And, what do we mean by SALVATION ? Its primary, its essential character is *deliverance from sin, and the acquisition of holiness* : the being freed from misery and the enjoyment of happiness are the inferior and accessory parts of the blessing, though inseparable from it. The other position is, that the *possession* of holiness is the decisive characteristic of those for whom heaven is reserved ; not the way and manner of its attainment. If I am filled with an admiring and affectionate attachment to the *moral* excellence of God, and am practically conformed to it, I am 'a child of God : ' this is the impression of his image, the seal of his Spirit. The history of the means and mode of this effect having been produced, is not the great question ; the *reality* of the effect is the object of inquiry. We

are sure, upon grounds which appear to us impregnable, that no sinful creature can become holy, till he is the object of pardon and approbation on the part of the Righteous Judge; that such acceptance with God can take place only on terms worthy of Him and honorable to his moral government; that those terms involve the mediatorial work of Christ (propitiation and righteousness); that the validity of that work implies DIVINE attributes in its Author; that it becomes available to any of mankind, only by faith, that is, the cordially receiving and relying upon the great truth that salvation is by Christ alone; and that such faith is the product of divine influence, acting agreeably to the laws of man's rational and voluntary nature. This chain of practical truths, or inseparable facts and relations, we regard as fully established by the nature of the case and the declarations of holy Scripture.

To this point we have advanced; and we feel ourselves standing upon the rock of eternal truth. But we do not take upon us to determine how far a clear intelligence of these truths is necessary to a participation in their blessings. The nature of the human mind, the diversity of outward circumstances, the history of religion universally, the variety of its developments in single instances, and the analogy of God's operations in his physical and providential government,—lead us to the belief that the graduations of this scale are inscrutable to man. We cannot but be assured that there are instances in which the 'root of the matter' exists, but its unfolding and manifestation take place in ways which we might presume to call anomalous: but they are 'naked and open unto the eyes of Him with whom 'we have to do;' they form no difficulty with him, and it brings joy to our hearts that 'the Lord knoweth them that are his.' At the same time, the full persuasion lives in our judgments and our hearts, that, the more explicit and unclouded is the scriptural recognition of the way in which 'man can be just with 'God,' the more are holiness, happiness, and usefulness promoted. 'Being justified by faith, we have peace with God 'through our Lord Jesus Christ;—his love is shed abroad in 'our hearts, by the Holy Spirit;—we glory even in tribulations; '—and not only so, but we glory also in God, through our Lord 'Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received the recon- 'ciliation.'

When we see a fellow-man and fellow-sinner, whose character is adorned, not only with blameless morals and with those honorable decencies of life to which the world pays homage, but with untiring activity in excellent deeds, warm-hearted beneficence, exemplary virtue in all the walks of life, and the clearest evidence, to those who possess full and close opportunities for the observation, of constant 'walking with God,' not

in the solemnities of public worship only, but in the family and the most retired privacy; and when this habit of life has been sustained, with unaffected simplicity and uncompromising constancy, during a life long, active, and exposed to searching observation;—when such a character is presented to our view, it would warrant the suspicion of an obtuse understanding or, what is worse, a cold heart, not to resemble Barnabas, ‘who, when he came and saw the grace of God, was glad;—for he was a good man, and full of the Holy Spirit and of faith.’ Where there is ‘the fruit of the Spirit,’ we are warranted to believe that there is the work of the Spirit: where there are ‘the fruits of righteousness,’ we know that they ‘are by Jesus Christ, to the glory and praise of God,’ notwithstanding clouds of imperfection and obscurity.

We have been led almost unavoidably into this train of reflections, by opening the volume before us, and under the influence of high personal regard to its author. In that feeling we only participate with many both of orthodox Dissenters* and the evangelical members of the Establishment. It was scarcely possible for an upright person to know Dr. Carpenter, and not to love and venerate him. By not sparing himself in his many labors of private and public beneficence, he had impaired his health and exhausted his strength. Travel and a total cessation from his accustomed engagements were enjoined upon him. In consequence of that advice, some eighteen months ago, he left home and accomplished an extensive tour on the continent. The object sought was, in a happy measure, attained; and he was commencing his return to England. In April, 1824, he embarked at Naples for Leghorn. In a dark and tempestuous night, feeling unwell from the motion of the ship, he went to the top of the cabin-stairs, and stood to inhale

* We may take the following instances.

‘It is with sincere pleasure that I acknowledge the just observations of Dr. Lant Carpenter, on the religious utility and obligation of the Lord’s day.’ Dr. Pye Smith, in his *Script. Testim. to the Messiah*, vol. i. p. 129. ‘In 1820, Dr. Carpenter published ‘An Examination of Charges against Unitarians and Unitarianism,’ in which he favored me with some strictures on a few passages in the first volume of this Inquiry. My previous impressions of his amiable and upright character have been strengthened by the perusal of his work. His candor, integrity, and good temper, besides his intellectual ability, give to his writings an immense advantage over the imbecile arrogance, the rash crudities, and the still more dishonorable artifices, of some persons on whom he has felt himself called to animadvert.—Dr. Carpenter’s work is indeed written in a serious, candid, and amiable spirit. It bears frequent reference to the principles and duties of vital and practical religion.—Dr. Carpenter has some most just and impressive paragraphs on the Moral Perfections and the Holy Government of the Most High. May they sink deeply into the hearts of all who shall read them!’—Vol. iii. p. 433, &c.

fresh air. This was the last time of his being observed by any on board. But, whoever has experienced sea-sickness will readily perceive the probability of the conjecture, that he ran or walked rapidly, on the wet and slippery deck, intending to lean over the side of the vessel, and that a sudden *heeling* to that side in a moment tossed him into the sea. His affectionate family were anticipating the joy of receiving the beloved husband and father, when their hearts were smitten with this distressing intelligence.

Facts which we know give a most engaging light into the interior of Dr. Carpenter's character. Not controversial dispute, but works of love and the exercises of practical piety, were his delight. In his private reading, he was particularly attached to the writings of Richard Baxter, and most especially to his 'Dying Thoughts.' His constant companion-book, chosen above others, always on his desk or carried with him in travelling, was the 'Self Employment in Secret' of the eminently wise and holy nonconformist, John Corbet, who was ejected from Bramshot in Hampshire, but spent the last eight years of his life, under the indulgence of Charles II., at Chichester. This little book was published from the author's private papers, after his death, with a preface by Mr. Howe. It is no extravagance to say that it contains the very heart and soul of experimental religion.

The discourses contained in this volume have been selected from Dr. Carpenter's ordinary compositions for his congregation, and consequently are free from any preparation for the public eye. Some of the sermons, however, are known to have been peculiarly valued by their author. The preface informs us that 'No wish has been felt by his family, to make this selection convey an idea of his philosophical acumen, his critical learning, or his argumentative skill. They have rather desired to exhibit that to which he rendered these subservient,—his zeal and earnestness in the enforcement of the precepts of Christ, derived as they were from his deep conviction of their divine authority,—the enlarged views he possessed of Christian duty, resulting from a faithful improvement of his religious experience,—and the warmth of that benevolence which, springing perhaps from natural temperament, was expanded and invigorated by his steady aim to imitate his Great Master, and to carry on his work of love and mercy.'—pp. iv., v. The initials at the end of this judiciously written preface, enable us to refer it to the author's eldest son, Dr. W. B. Carpenter, who, in his present early period of life, has acquired so high a reputation in medical science and the vast domain of Vegetable and Animal Physiology.

We shall cite a few passages.

difficulties of sceptical philosophers. 'It never can be shown that we can do without prayer, unless we can do without piety.

'How the Father of spirits operates upon the human mind, it may not be always easy to specify, nor is it necessary; by some means or other, directly or indirectly, He does operate; and I am fully satisfied that He has made sincere and humble adoration, thanksgiving, resignation, and supplication, in other words *prayer*, either mental or expressed in words, an essential instrument in obtaining that principle of piety, that Divine influence by which we are strengthened in the temptations of life, cheered in its sorrows, supported under its afflictions, encouraged in its anxieties, directed in its difficulties, aided and animated in its duties;—by which, in short, we are guided in the way of peace, and security, and holiness here, and prepared for that world where sorrow, and solicitude, and temptation will give place to complete excellence and happiness. It is not, perhaps, too much to say that it is impossible to walk with God, and to please Him with the obedience of our lives, without prayer in some or other of its forms. Seek, then, with full desire and purpose of heart, and ye shall find; let prayer be united with watchfulness and diligence in your Christian course, and it shall bring down the best of blessings.'—p. 45.

On the importance of *our Lord's teaching*.

'When once we feel secure that we have the words of Christ, we know that we have truth; and truth is eternal. Of all the sayings that fell from his lips, and were treasured by those that heard them, I know of none that can be said to be of temporary value. If the circumstances which led to their utterance were peculiar to the age, or to the individuals to whom they were addressed, they always breathe a spirit, or convey an import, which gives them a lasting value, and makes them part of the believer's heritage.—If now, for instance, we pay not tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, nor hold this as a compensation for neglect of the weightier matters of the law, are we not continually scrupulous in some things easy to us, and careless of duties which require the conquest of self or the sacrifice of its pleasures? If we have not ourselves experienced the dangers when—struggling with the waves of night, and tempest-driven,—all seems lost, have we never known the feeling when high-raised expectation has been followed by timid despondency, and when the only spring of hope in the gloom has come through such words as those of the Saviour—'It is I, be not afraid?'—Well may the Christian preacher say to himself and to his hearers, 'Remember the words of the Lord Jesus.'—pp. 5, 6.

'By the habitual study, then, of the word of Christ, let us treasure up light for the days of darkness, direction for the days of perplexity, strength for the days of weakness, comfort for the days of sorrow, and hope for the hour of death. With Christ in view, and his gospel as our guide, let us live as seeing Him who is invisible, and as looking onward to that which is eternal. And then, whether we traverse the

regions of scientific research, in the heavens above or in the earth beneath, among animate or inanimate beings,—or whether, with the philosopher of mind, we trace the laws which still more directly respect our spiritual and social welfare,—whether we contemplate the scenes of nature around, in their beauty and their loveliness, or are engaged in the daily toils and cares of life, and have little rest of spirit, but on the blessed day of rest for all,—whether we are called to the arduous labors and struggles of duty, or to the more difficult efforts of watchfulness and control within,—whether we are called to do, to bear, or to suffer,—we shall find that, by following Christ, we shall approach the Father; that we shall spend our days in the Father's presence as His children; that, resorting faithfully to His throne, we shall find mercy for the past, and grace for the future; and that, having passed through this dark valley, we shall have an entrance into the Father's house, eternal in the heavens.'—pp. 17, 18.

On the sin of *Pernicious Example*, Dr Carpenter remarks—

'The evil practices and opinions of others will furnish no excuse for you at that awful day, when God will judge the world in righteousness, and will render unto every man according to his works. That day will in effect be present to each of us, when life leaves us; and then every one must bear his own burden. You have a clear rule of duty,—the words of Jesus, and of those who were sent by him to teach his religion. The words of Jesus are the words of God; they claim your attentive regard and obedience. If you make the rules of duty, as they are contained in the Scriptures, your guide, they will conduct you safely through the journey of life; they will prevent no innocent pleasure; they will increase every joy which has a title to the heart; they will support you under its difficulties and trials; they will cheer you in the near prospect of dissolution; and through the ages of eternity (gracious God, what infinite rewards hast Thou promised to our poor services!), through the countless ages of eternity, you will enjoy happiness beyond the utmost grasp of human imagination. But let me remind you, too, of the alternative. If you neglect the various warnings which are afforded you, of your duty and destination,—if you begin with the presumptuous hope that you will but begin, and continue, as there is then too much reason to fear that you will, in the way which the wicked, and which you too, may call pleasure, but which in reality leadeth to destruction;—I have nothing to present to you but the terrors of the Lord; for indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, will be upon the soul of every one who doeth evil. May God of his great mercy preserve us all from this dreadful state.'—pp. 163, 164.

The Value of Christianity.

'What cause have we then to prize the gospel!—What cause to rest on Jesus, as the sole foundation of our faith and hope!—The way of holiness pointed out,—the means of purification from guilt presented,—pardon and eternal life offered to the penitent and obedient! It is indeed an inestimable gift: it calls for our warmest gratitude to Him

who sent, and to him who brought, the joyous message of forgiveness and everlasting life. Fellow-Christians! while we rejoice in those glorious privileges which our Christian belief has given us:—while we cultivate the warmest thankfulness to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who sent him to impart to us the blessings of the gospel, and, by the mighty power which He manifested in and by him, assured us of his Divine authority:—while we cultivate, too, a lively and grateful sense of that obedience to God and love to man, which led our Saviour to lay down his life, under circumstances of peculiar shame and suffering, to accomplish the gracious purposes for which he came from God,—let us also bear in mind that, to partake of the blessings of the Christian covenant, we must comply with its terms; and that if we would finally be preserved from the dreadful punishments which await the impenitent and disobedient, and obtain an inheritance among the saints in light, we must regulate our conduct and affections, our heart and life, by the rules of the gospel; we must live as citizens of heaven.'—pp. 197, 198.

Education.

'Religious knowledge, really and faithfully imparted, and cultivated and cherished by the individual's own exertion, has an enlarging and expanding influence on the *understanding*, which mere science seldom possesses. It gives great views, and opens an horizon ever extending. It fills the soul with sublime objects of contemplation. And he who has no other knowledge, than what may be derived from the diligent and faithful study of his Bible, if he have that, has that which is most elevating, most purifying, most salutary to himself, and most beneficial to others. This is true wisdom. But this knowledge is what is only to be acquired by the personal efforts of the individual himself. All our instruction can only prepare him and dispose him to gain it. And in this department of education, especially, which respects most the welfare of the child, we cannot but see that moral and religious instruction is but a small part of moral and religious education. Knowledge is essentially important; but the training of the dispositions, the habits, the principles,—this is the paramount concern—the one thing needful. We may easily teach our children prayers; but to teach them to pray is the difficulty. We may instruct them wisely and well in the duties of truth and justice; but the habit, the principle, of truth, of justice—the careful avoidance of all deceit, falsehood, and fraud, is what is to be produced if we would make our children upright.'—pp. 210, 211.

The close of a sermon on the *Ascension of Christ*. After citing and a little enlarging upon Daniel vii. 13, 14; and Rev. i. 10—18; and v. 12, 13; the preacher proceeds,

'But our thoughts have been sufficiently exercised on what seems beyond the condition of humanity to keep them fixed upon, without destroying the frail tabernacle of flesh. It is good to be here, but we must also be in the world.

‘ My object in thus endeavoring to lead your minds to contemplate our ascending and exalted Lord, will not have been answered, if I have merely excited the emotions of joy, or aided the soaring flights of imagination. If we have felt our hearts glow within us, let us remember that the ends of the milder and of the grander displays of Divine power and love, in and by Christ Jesus, can be answered only by their strengthening our faith in him as the Son of God, our desire to imitate and obey him, our appreciation of the importance of his gospel and its inestimable privileges, and our earnest steadfast aim to share in its blessings, and to lead others to share in them, by the obedience of heart and life, by thus glorifying our Father who is in heaven.’

—pp. 351, 352.

On the duty of cultivating a *Desire to know the Will of God*.

‘ We cherish it still more effectually—such, at least, is the general fact—by those express acts of duty and religion in which we engage individually ; such as the search after Divine knowledge in the Scriptures, meditation on the ways and requirements of God, and direct communion with Him in prayer. We may speculate as we will on the causes of this ; and, pursued with sobriety and dutiful desires, investigations as to the way in which God aids and cherishes the purposes and dispositions which He approves in the hearts of His servants, may be, and commonly are, beneficial. But that simple faith in God as a Being that heareth prayer, which may be possessed as effectually by those who have the least mental culture, and the least intellectual power, as by those whom He hath gifted with high endowments of the understanding, and who have carried them to a high perfection by the usual means of cultivation, will lead, abundantly and increasingly, to the wisdom that is profitable to direct—the wisdom of the heart. External aids can never be neglected by him who hath this faith, and who knows even but little of the way in which God guideth His servants in the path in which they go ; but the internal aids which He mercifully affordeth to those who seek them perseveringly and faithfully, are of the utmost moment for the dutiful discharge of the work He gives us to perform.’—pp. 416, 417.

The *Christian in Death*.

‘ It is the Christian’s prayer, as well as his duty, to walk *by faith*. Under its influence, he can resign himself and all his concerns into the hands of God, and lay his heart to rest in His will. He knows not whether his life here will be prolonged to old age ; or whether, while engaged in the active duties of life, he should be one of the innumerable proofs, that in the midst of life we are in death. But he knows that all must be well with him that feareth the Lord, and that all things work together for good to those who love Him. He knows that nothing is without God ; and that joy or sorrow, health or sickness, life or death, are all subservient to His will, that all are his messengers, and that His hand should be acknowledged and adored in all. And where life passes as in His presence, there is room to hope that His

presence will be experienced by the servant of God, when called to pass through the valley of the shadow of death. But if the clouds and darkness of nature should hide, from him and from others, the beamings of the Sun of Divine love, when setting to him as to this life, it still shines with undiminished lustre; and he will see its effulgence in the regions of perfect light, and holiness, and blessedness.

‘But there is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked: and deeply should it be fixed on the heart, that to die the death of the righteous (with solid ground to hope for the mercy of God unto life everlasting through Christ), we must live the life of the righteous. God grant that, by true repentance towards Him, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, we may become heirs of eternal glory!’—pp. 486, 487.

We must forbear, or we could quote many passages of truth and beauty like these. But we will only add our ‘heart’s desire and prayer’ that all who knew and loved the lamented author may feel the full force of these sentiments, and may combine them with what are their just association, the infinitely exalted views which the Scriptures give concerning the Person of our Divine Redeemer, his atonement and righteousness, the unsearchable riches of his grace, his universal empire, and his ability to save to the uttermost those that come unto God through him. The full reception and unchecked influence of these truths will enable us, with a firm faith, to ‘look unto Jesus,—whom, not having seen, we love; and in whom, though now we see him not, yet believing, we rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.’

Art. V. *The Art of Needlework, from the Earliest Ages; including some Notices of the Ancient Historical Tapestries.* By the Right Hon. the COUNTESS OF WILTON. London: Colburn. 1840.

THERE is something very graceful and appropriate in the production of such a work as this by a lady, especially by a lady of rank. True, it is the fashion for ladies of rank to write; but the author could scarcely have been influenced by fashion in the choice of such a subject. Whether she was or not, as the effect of her work is likely to be good, we are willing to suppose that her motive was a good one also. We wonder that the subject has never been taken up before; such a work may aspire in some degree to the dignity of history; and blends to a great extent the *utile* with the *dulce*.

The art of needlework is of the very highest antiquity; and, if the first rude handiwork of Eve may be entitled to the name,

was the very first that was ever practised in this world, and might possibly have been the result of inspiration.

In whatever manner, however, it found its way amongst us, it must very soon have become of paramount importance; and as it was an art which never could be lost, and which must have been practised constantly, it must in very early times have arrived at great perfection. As soon as those divisions of mankind took place which exempted some of them from common bodily labor, and established a difference between classes, the mode of dress in all probability became a distinction in society. Those who had most leisure would quickly acquire the greatest skill in art, and having the richest materials at command, would exercise their talents to the best effect; and thus would be enabled to provide themselves with raiment of too elaborate and superb a kind to be achieved by any of meaner rank or fortune. Accordingly we find that ornamental needlework was the employment of the fair and noble in the earliest stages of society of which we have any authentic record; and such it continued to be till the increasing wants and ingenuity of mankind enabled them to multiply by some kind of machinery, those productions which were formerly the work of unassisted human hands.

The earliest authentic record of needlework is that with which Lady Wilton begins her work, viz., that of the Tabernacle. There can be no doubt that the Hebrew women derived their knowledge of needlework from the Egyptians; and they in their turn might very probably have gained it from India.

‘The realms where arts and empire first were born,
The glorious kingdoms of the rising morn.’

Thus also, many of the stories which in one version or another are known to most of the modern European nations, may be traced to the same origin. They appear in England or Germany, by and bye they are found perhaps in Boccaccio or some Italian writer; then they are traced to the Greeks; they took them with much more of their knowledge from the Egyptians; and they again from the ancient Indians: and in this way many of our naturalized stories—if we may use the term—may be traced to the remote origin of eastern antiquity.

Lady Wilton has found of course but little to say on the needlework of the Tabernacle. We suppose, however, that it was necessary to write ‘a chapter’ on it; and accordingly we have a chapter—but it is composed of a scene entirely imaginary, and possessing this only claim to our notice, that no one can undertake to prove that it did *not* happen. Some parts of it are well imagined, and by no means badly executed; and, therefore, though it happens to have nothing whatever to do

with the subject of the work, we are not inclined to quarrel with it.

A good deal of extraneous, or semi-extraneous matter is found in the volume ; matter, that is, not strictly *of* the subject, but relating in some degree to something that is connected with it ; and which helps to prop a narrative which would halt considerably without it.

The exceeding ingenuity of the early Egyptians in needlework is a sufficient proof of what we before observed ; that an art so constantly and inevitably in practice, must have soon attained perfection ; and indeed it is difficult to imagine anything more delicate and elaborate than some of the performances of the Egyptian ladies noticed by the author.

‘ For example, so delicate were the threads used for nets, that some of these nets would pass through a man’s ring, and one person could carry a sufficient number of them to surround a whole wood. Amasis, King of Egypt, presented a linen corslet to the Rhodians of which the threads were each composed of 365 fibres ; and he presented another to the Lacedemonians, richly wrought with gold ; and each thread of this corslet, though itself very fine, was composed of 360 other threads, all distinct. . . . This linen corslet, surpassingly fine as was the material, was worked with a needle in figures of animals in gold thread (of solid gold), and from the description given of the texture of the linen we may form some idea of the exquisite tenuity of the gold wire which was used to ornament it.’—p. 33.

Surely the world must have retrograded, for we cannot do such things at present. We believe, however, that the old Egyptians were acquainted with many things of which the world knows nothing now.

The author supposes that the magnificence of the natural and artificial objects by which the Egyptians were surrounded, must have had an ‘ elevating influence on the weakest mind, ‘ and that, *therefore*, frivolity of conversation among the Egyptian ladies was rather the exception than the rule,’ p. 39. They were intelligent women no doubt, and, as Lady Wilton remarks, were treated with respect and deference, a proof of the great civilization of the people at large ; nor was it till after the conquest of the kingdom by Cambyses, that their treatment became more approximated to that of the eastern females ; but that the material objects by which they were surrounded should have done more for them in elevating their minds and conversation than the now well known wonders developed by education, science, and revelation have done for the ladies of the present day, is a conclusion which we hesitate to come to. Nor do we hold it requisite that the mind should always be exercised by great or even serious subjects. Relaxation is necessary. Vicissitude is

Ancient Needlework.

always graceful and refreshing; and the faculty of treating trifles gracefully, appears to us to be one of the means by which the gentler sex maintain their supremacy over our stronger but somewhat ruder minds. The greatest men are ever the most ready to unbend; and a constant striving after wisdom, especially among women, is a certain mark of folly; a proof that the perpetrators are afraid to trust their minds with their own spontaneous productions. We perfectly agree with Miss Edgeworth, that 'nothing is so tiresome as eternal sense,' except, indeed, eternal nonsense; but of that we are not speaking.

We must pass by the Greeks and Romans (Lady Wilton does not notice the Sidonians, by the bye, of whom Homer makes frequent mention), to come to those parts of the work which interest us more as Englishmen; and at those even we can but glance.

The arts of needlework and embroidery were well known and diligently practised by our Saxon ancestors; forming indeed a part of the regular system of conventual education; and were carried to such a height of excellence, that the *Opus Anglieum*, as it was called, was celebrated over the whole of Europe.

'The four princesses, daughters of King Edward the Elder, were most carefully educated: their early years were chiefly devoted to literary pursuits, but they were nevertheless most assiduously instructed in the use of the needle, and are highly celebrated by historians for their assiduity and skill in spinning, weaving, and needlework. This was so far, says the historian, from spoiling the fortunes of these royal spinsters, that it procured them the addresses of the greatest princes then in Europe, and one, 'in whom the whole essence of beauty had centred, was demanded from her brother by Hugh, King of the Franks.'—p. 79.

The presents offered for this princess were extraordinary. Perfumes unknown before in England, jewels, horses trapped in gold, an alabaster vase of extraordinary value; a diadem, precious for its gold and more so for its jewels; the sword of Constantine, in the pommel of which, set in thick plates of gold, was one of the four iron spikes with which our Lord was crucified. The spear of Charlemagne, said to be the same with which our Saviour was pierced; the banner of the blessed martyr Maurice, chief of the Theban Legion, with which the same king had always put his foes to flight; and more than all—a part of the true cross, and a small portion of the crown of thorns, enclosed in crystal. How peerless must the lady have been thought for whom these gifts were offered at a time when their value was inestimable.

To leave the greatest work of art (in needlework) that is

mentioned in these pages—the Bayeux Tapestry—without even a passing notice, would be unpardonable. It is visible history, painted by the needle, the offering of an affectionate and accomplished wife, to a husband of no common order. A labor of love which, consecrated by the best feelings of our common nature, has obtained an earthly immortality for the gifted woman who produced it. It contains the whole history of the Norman Conquest, from the visit of Harold to Normandy to his fall at Hastings, inclusive; and is supposed to have once extended further. We cannot here dilate upon it, but must refer the reader to the work before us. We see no reason whatever to doubt that it is the production of Matilda, the consort of the Conqueror; and even could the contrary be proved, we would almost rather remain—from deference for her character—in ignorance of the unwelcome truth. The description furnishes the author with two whole chapters, from which we cannot quote.

Tradition and fable furnish, as might have been expected, a great part of the subjects called historical, when little of authentic history was known. The wars of Alexander, or what went at least by that name; the history of ‘Troy Touné,’ &c., were some of the more favorite subjects. The lives of the saints and the legends of the church received their share of notice also. The parables of our Lord were frequently delineated; the whole Bible even, was copied in needlework; and selections from Scripture history were common. Esther and Ahasuerus; *Duke* Joshua; the rich History of King David, &c., &c. The manner in which they were sometimes executed was extraordinary enough. We present our readers with an account of a piece of tapestry in an old manor house in the time of King John. It is a scene in the garden of Eden, and contains *such* wonders as assuredly were not to be found in the gardens of Alcina or Armida, or even in those of the sage Falerina herself.

‘In a corner of the apartment stood a bed, the tapestry of which was enwrought with gaudy colors representing Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden. Adam was presenting our first mother with a large, yellow apple, gathered from a tree that scarcely reached his knee. Beneath the tree was an angel milking, and although the winged milkman sat on a stool, yet his head overtopped both cow and tree, and nearly covered a horse which seemed standing on the highest branches. To the left of Eve appeared a church; and a dark-robed gentleman holding something in his hand which looked like a pin-cushion, but doubtless was intended for a book: he seemed pointing to the holy edifice, as if reminding them that they were not yet married. On the ground lay the rib, out of which Eve (who stood the head higher than Adam) had been formed; both of them were very

Ancient Needlework.

respectably clothed in the ancient Saxon costume; even the angel wore breeches, which being blue, contrasted well with his flaming red wings.'—p. 151.

The tapestry of the times of romance and chivalry partook of course more largely of the feelings of the period. Charlemagne and his Paladins; King Arthur and the occupants of his round table; but above all the wonderful history of Guy Earl of Warwick, were the delight of our wonder-loving fathers. The career of this extraordinary champion was certainly well worthy of illustration either by the needle or the pencil. He slew in battle so many Paynims, that fifteen acres were covered with their dead bodies as high as his breast. He vanquished the Danish giant Colbrand; he killed the largest wild boar ever known—next to Meleager's we presume; and such a wild cow as was never seen before; but above all a monstrous dragon, that ne plus ultra of the perilous and dreadful. These dragons were awful monsters, most of them Tories, we presume, as they respected not the rights of king or people, provided their own ends were answered. But the Dragon of Wantly must have been a reformer—of municipal corporations at least—as he is known to have

‘ Swallowed the mayor
Asleep in his chair,
And picked his teeth with the mace.’

And after Sir Guy had done such wonders and much more, he turned hermit, as all good slaughterers of men and cattle should; and ended his useful life in a small cave hewed out of a rock with his own hands. Let no man doubt of the exploits of Guy of Warwick, for the proofs of them exist in Warwick Castle to this day! That castle itself was no common fortress; nor were the men who held it common men. The following extract gives a brief account of it, as well as of the origin of the celebrated cognizance of the Warwicks, the bear and ragged staff.

‘ The castle wherein the tapestry was hung was worthy of the heroes it had sheltered. The first building on the site was supposed to be coeval with our Saviour, and was called *Caer-leon*; almost overthrown by the Picts and Scots, it lay in ruins till Caractacus built himself a manor-house, and founded a church to the honor of John the Baptist. Here was afterwards a Roman fort, and here again was a Pictish devastation. A cousin of King Arthur rebuilt it, and then lived in it—Arthgal, first Earl of Warwick, a knight of the Round Table; this British title was equivalent to *ursus* in Latin, whence Arthgal took the bear for his ensign: and a successor of his, a worthy progenitor of our valiant Sir Guy, slew a mighty giant in a duel; and because this giant's delicate weapon was a tree pulled up by the roots, the boughs

being snagged from it, the Earls of Warwick, successors of the victor, bore a ragged staff of silver in a sable shield for their cognizance.'

The history of the Field of the Cloth of Gold is sufficiently interesting, but it is principally extracted from the old chroniclers, and as far as the art of needlework is concerned, might as well have been omitted. The chapter on needlework in costume contains also a good deal of amusing information, though nothing very new, or sufficiently curious for transcription. Unbecoming as some parts of our present costume may be—our angular coats and ugly hats for instance—it is certainly free from the absurdity and inconvenience which distinguished the apparel of former generations. The toes of our shoes are not so long as to make it necessary to chain them to our knees; nor are our trowsers stuffed with rags and pillow cases. Instead of transcribing any of these absurdities, we shall give a passage quoted from Lady Morgan,* which will exhibit one of those apparently fortuitous coincidences, on which the destinies of half a continent, as far as we can see, are sometimes permitted to depend.

'The Cashmerian shawls did not become a vogue until after Napoleon's expedition to Egypt; and even then they took in the first instance but slowly. The shawl was still a novelty in France when Josephine, as yet but the wife of the First Consul, knew not how to drape its elegant folds, and stood indebted to the brusque Rapp for the grace with which she afterwards wore it.

'*Permettez que je vous fasse l'observation,*' said Rapp, as they were setting off for the Opera, *'que votre schall n'est pas mis avec cette grace qui vous est habituelle.'*

'Josephine laughingly let him arrange it in the manner of the Egyptian women. This impromptu toilette caused a little delay,—and the infernal machine exploded in vain!

'What destinies waited upon the arrangement of this Cashmere! A moment sooner or later, and the shawl might have given another course to events, which would have changed the whole face of Europe.'

—p. 229.

The question of—what might have ensued had this attempt succeeded? would form an admirable subject for a chapter in the 'History of events which have not happened.'

The Cartoons, although the noblest works of art which are mentioned here, or can be mentioned anywhere, are too well known to require a further notice. Those which remain in England are probably familiar to the reader. The wonder of these performances is enhanced when we consider the early age

* Lady Morgan's 'France in 1829—30.'

at which the painter died, and the numerous and splendid works which he left behind him.

The acme of excellence in modern needlework has been reached, it seems, by our own countrywoman, Miss Linwood; who has carried it to such perfection, that it is difficult to distinguish her performances from painting. One of her pieces occupied her for ten years; and for another she has been offered three thousand guineas, and has refused them. This extraordinary artist has now attained to fifteen years beyond the full age of man, and her eyesight no longer serves her.

Lady Wilton predicts a brilliant era for needlework from the importation of the Berlin wools and patterns. The former she states are only dyed in Berlin; being manufactured at Gotha. There is room in this branch of art, according to her ladyship, for genius, even the genius of a painter to exert itself; and as we have full confidence in the capabilities of our fair countrywomen, we hope to see her prediction verified.

We presume that this volume is her ladyship's first production, as her style, though generally good, is scarcely that of a practised writer. There are some errors in the work apparently of carelessness; and others which we fear must come under the graver denomination of errors of taste. Her work is interesting and improving; there is somewhat too much of extraneous matter introduced to make up the book, but even that matter is entertaining, sometimes curious, and therefore there is no very strong objection to it. The very nature of the work, so proper for and characteristic of, a female, would cover in our eyes a multitude of faults. We should be sorry to hurt the feelings of an apparently amiable, and certainly accomplished woman; and we have spoken as we have because we like her work, and would wish to see it more perfect than it is. As a further proof of our good intentions, we would take the liberty, with all respect and courtesy to hint, that if ladies would eschew *fine writing*, they would be much finer writers.

Art. VI. *The Sacred Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ, commonly styled the New Testament, translated from the Original Greek by Doctors George Campbell, James Mc.Knight, and Philip Doddridge. With Prefaces, various Emendations, and an Appendix.* By ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, of Bethany, United States. From the Fourth American Edition. London: 1838.

AS the revelation of his will is among the greatest benefits which God has conferred upon men, so translators of the scriptures are among the greatest benefactors of their kind.

God has spoken to men in the language of one people; but it was with an intention that all people should understand him, and it is of the utmost importance that all people should understand him. Towards this end he has done nothing by supernatural means. Deeming the exercise of the human mind adapted to this work, he has left it in the hands of men; and the labor of a translator intervenes, as a necessary and inestimable step, between the existence of a revelation from heaven and the knowledge of its import by the various tribes of men. Nor is the translation of the Scriptures once into every language, either by a single hand or a single set of hands, all that is to be desired. Without taking the extreme case (which, however, is far removed from impossibility) of gross incompetency or palpable unfaithfulness, it will be enough to say, that every translation must be imperfect; and, consequently, the mind of God must be imperfectly known to all persons in whose language only a single translation of it exists. The advantage of becoming fully acquainted with the divine will, otherwise than by reading it in the original tongues, lies exclusively in having several translations of it; by means of which you have the knowledge and skill of several persons employed for your instruction, and may compare the renderings of one with those of another. If, as we think, there is great value in such an advantage, it furnishes a strong reason for multiplying translations of the Scriptures. The allegation that such a state of things would produce perplexity, we take to be altogether untrue. Were there in the booksellers' shops a hundred different translations of the bible (just as with as great a variety of articles of any other kind), their relative value would soon be ascertained, and the best would command the market. Every translation is thrown into the midst of a community, who, in some of its component parts, either are at the time, or soon will be, able to judge of its merits. Even on mere literary performances the republic of letters has kept a sharp eye, so that no one has been able to foist upon the reader a false translation of Homer, Herodotus, or Xenophon. The public in any degree embarrassed—on the way are assisted—by the existence of several translations of ancient authors. However translations of the Scriptures be multiplied, each would undergo a rigorous criticism, which its excellencies and defects would be more corrected, its unfaithfulness retributed something of value to the knowledge. Even with the few that have been translated into the English language, we find it more edifying to a reflecting

reader of the Scriptures, than, with the several works before him, to compare the one with the other.

That the exercise of thought thus generated in the reader's mind will be free and independent is true, and it is for this reason that we like it. We are far from wishing that any person who reads the Scriptures in a translation should look upon that translation as the very word of God. To do so would be to attach divine authority to the sentiments of a writer, who, as human, must be fallible; and to sentiments which must, more or less, differ, in various ways, from the mind of God. Great mischief must result from such a process. Look, for example, at the exclusive confidence—we might say the superstitious reverence—with which the people of this country have been led to regard what is known as the authorized version, a confidence which it is reckoned by some persons so dangerous to shake; to what a multitude of mistakes, and artifices not a few, are the millions of Great Britain attaching the authority of everlasting truth! No. Let every translation of the Scriptures be looked on with grateful jealousy; gratefully as a help towards attaining the mind of God in his word, so far as we may find the author is worthy, but with jealousy, as nothing more than a help, and certainly no oracle. The hold which the mistranslations of the authorized version have on the minds of men, gives to some ecclesiastical errors a tenacity of life almost indestructible. And we wish the case altered by no other version *from authority*. To our minds, there is nothing so wholesome as individual effort in this department. Let us have the Bible as translated by single men, or, which is the same thing, by men in voluntary and unofficial association, out of whose labors we may extract all that is of sterling value, and, without ceremony, throw the rest into the fire. As many of these as you please. The more the better.

On the general ground we have stated, we hail the appearance of Mr. Campbell and the volume before us; a volume got up in a style so neat, portable, and economical, that we cannot wonder if it should have a large circulation. If, upon examination, we find it worthy of commendation, we shall be happy to facilitate its progress; but, of course, in a matter so very serious, it will become us to be serious also. A translator of the Holy Scriptures takes upon himself a most solemn responsibility. He may not only fail of doing the great good he must be supposed to aim at, but, either ignorantly or wilfully, he may do great harm; and the watchfulness exercised over his operations, therefore, should be of the most searching description. Critics are, in a great measure, the guardians of the public against literary imposition; and, if our past labors have earned any measure of public confidence, we shall endeavor

in this matter not to betray the trust. On no occasion can we have a deeper sense of our own responsibility.

Mr. Campbell does not profess to give to the world a new translation of the New Testament. He exhibits these sacred writings as translated by Drs. Campbell, Mc.Knight, and Doddridge, 'various emendations' only being added by himself. To a great extent the volume before us is thus withdrawn from criticism; inasmuch as the labors of the learned persons named have been long before the public, and fully stamped with its appreciation of their respective values. It would be preposterous now to criticize them anew. Nor, in so far as the book on our table consists of a republication of the translations of Drs. Campbell, Mc.Knight, and Doddridge, can it be said to constitute a new work at all; since the New Testament, containing the gospels according to Dr. Campbell, the epistles according to Dr. Mc.Knight, and the Acts and Revelations according to Dr. Doddridge, was published in England some years ago, and met, we believe, with general acceptance. What is new in the volume, so far as the translation is concerned, lies, first, in the blending of the translations referred to; and, secondly, in the further mingling of emendations on them all.

It may be proper to show in what proportion the translation of the New Testament now before us, is the production of the three eminent men under whose name Mr. Campbell has ushered it into the world, and how far it is his own. The gospels appear to us to be taken principally, we might say almost entirely, from Dr. Campbell. We quote a few verses at hazard as a sample.

DR. CAMPBELL.

These men took the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen rollers with the spices, which is the Jewish manner of embalming. Now in the place where he was crucified was a garden, and in the garden a new monument, wherein no one had ever yet been laid. There they deposited Jesus on account of the Jewish preparation, the monument being near. John xix. 40—42.

DR. DODDRIDGE.

Then they took the body of Jesus, and swathed it up in linen, with the spices, according to the Jewish custom of burying. Now in the place where he was crucified was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre, in which no man was ever yet laid. There laid they Jesus therefore, because of the Jewish preparation day, for the sepulchre was near at hand.

A. CAMPBELL.

These men took the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen rollers, with the spices, which is the Jewish manner of embalming. Now in the place where he was crucified was a garden, and in the garden a new tomb, in which no one had ever yet been laid. There they deposited Jesus, on account of the Jewish preparation, the tomb being near.

Here Mr. Campbell evidently follows his illustrious namesake; and, throughout the gospels, this is almost a matter of necessity, inasmuch as Doddridge's translation is a harmony of the four Evangelists, from which it is not easy, perhaps not

Alexander Campbell's *New Testament*.

possible, to make out a direct translation of any one of them. The principal difference between the two Campbells—our coupling the names does not imply an equal estimate of the men—lies in the translation of the word *μνημεῖον*, which the one has rendered *monument*, and the other, with better judgment, *tomb*. But will Mr. Campbell tell us why, in the very next verse which follows our quotation, he has rendered the same word, not *tomb*, but *sepulchre*? Dr. Campbell consistently renders it *monument*, as before; and we see no reason why our editor also should not have exhibited a similar consistency.

In the epistles there is a greater mixture of Doddridge and Mc.Knight, than there is of Doddridge and Campbell, in the gospels. We give, as an example, a short passage from the first chapter of Ephesians.

DODDRIDGE.

Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with every spiritual blessing in heavenly things in Christ, according as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and unblameable before him in love: having predestinated us to the adoption of children by Jesus Christ unto himself, according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of his glorious grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved. Eph. i. 3—6.

Mc.KNIGHT.

Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places through Christ, according as he hath elected us through him before the foundation of the world, that we might be holy and unblameable in his sight through love: who hath predestinated us to the adoption of sons to himself, according to the benevolence of his own will, to the praise of the glory of his grace, whereby he hath highly favored us on account of the beloved.

A. CAMPBELL.

Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places in Christ; according as he has elected us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and unblameable in his sight; having, in love, formerly marked us out for adoption through Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his favor, with which he has highly favored us in the beloved.

This, it will be seen, is much nearer to Mc.Knight than Doddridge, and so much the worse; but it is far from being wholly compounded of the two. In connecting the phrase *in love* with an unaccustomed clause of the sentence, we perceive that the editor follows Griesbach's punctuation, decidedly to a disadvantage. We give another specimen.

DODDRIDGE.

For we know that, if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. And

Mc.KNIGHT.

Because we know, that, when our earthly house, which is a tent, is destroyed, we have a building from God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the

A. CAMPBELL.

For we know that, if the earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, everlasting in the heavens.

DODDRIDGE.

in this we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven; since, being so clothed upon, we shall not be found naked. For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that what is mortal may be swallowed up of life. 2 Cor. v. 1—4.

Mc.KNIGHT.

heavens. But yet in this tent we groan, earnestly desiring to go permanently into an habitation, which is heavenly. And surely, if we go in, we shall not be found destitute. But yet we who are in the tent groan, being burdened; not because we desire to go out, but to go permanently in, that what is mortal may be swallowed up of life.

A. CAMPBELL.

For indeed in this we groan, earnestly desiring to be invested with our heavenly mansion. And surely, being thus invested, we shall not be found naked. For indeed we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not that we desire to be divested, but invested, that mortality may be swallowed up of life.

In his rendering of this passage Mr. Campbell has materially departed from both his guides, but without effecting, we think, any great improvement in the phraseology, or indicating the existence of a clear view of the meaning of the passage in his own mind. As to his emendations generally, although we are far from pretending to have separated them all from the mass into which they are thrown, our impression is, that they do not add much in any way to the value of the book. We have not met with any which have struck us forcibly. We have noticed an unwarrantable freedom in the second chapter of the epistle to the Romans, where he actually removes the sixteenth verse, and places it immediately after the thirteenth; thus violently breaking up the structure of the passage, and, in our judgment, distorting the sense.

We must now say a word respecting the plan on which the work before us has been constructed—the plan, we mean, of blending together the several translations, and incorporating with them the emendations of the editor.

As to the former of these, it is obvious, that, as Doddridge translated the whole New Testament, Campbell the gospels, and Mc.Knight the epistles, the editor has before him two translations of the gospels, namely, Doddridge's and Campbell's; and two of the epistles, namely, Doddridge's and Mc.Knight's. His translation of the former is neither Doddridge's nor Campbell's, but a compound of the two; and, in like manner, his translation of the epistles is neither Doddridge's nor Mc.Knight's, but a compound of the two. We are aware that it may be pleaded, for the adoption of such a method, that it was desirable to combine the valuable materials of both. We are not very sure, however, that the plea is valid. The three translations are as different from one another as almost any performances of the class can be, and are but very slenderly adapted for combination. Those who are acquainted

with Doddridge and Campbell will readily admit this, as to phraseology; but, with respect to Doddridge and Mc. Knight, in the epistles, there is a wide diversity, not in language only, but in sentiment. However, if we were to have a melange compounded of such various ingredients, we think some means should have been afforded us of tracing the respective authors. The value to be attached to a rendering is graduated by the confidence we place in the author of it. We know, for example, the respective characteristics of the divines now in question—the extreme caution and high evangelical sentiment of Doddridge; the freely modernized phraseology of Campbell; the adventurous criticism and Pelagian leaven of Mc. Knight; and it is material that, when we meet with a deviation from the authorized version which seems important, we should know whose it is, that the character of the author may aid us in judging of the criticism. So, at least, it appears to us. Certainly, we should be far from reposing the same confidence in a suggestion of Mc. Knight, that we should yield to one of Doddridge. Now the editor has furnished us no clue of the kind we want. In the gospels we cannot tell whether we are reading Doddridge or Campbell; in the epistles we cannot tell whether we are reading Doddridge or Mc. Knight. We think this a serious disadvantage.

An objection of the same kind applies, and, in one respect, still more strongly, to the 'emendations' which have been introduced by the editor himself. We say nothing, at present, concerning the nature of these emendations; but we think it should have been known which they are. Alexander Campbell, of Bethany, in the United States, may be as eminent a biblical scholar and critic as George Campbell, of Aberdeen, in the realm of Scotland; but, until the last ten years, he has been unknown to fame, and the sense of the learned world has hardly yet been so clearly expressed on his labors, as to give him a passport to equal confidence. In reading the edition of the New Testament before us, we should like to know, we confess, not only whether we are reading Doddridge, Mc. Knight, or George Campbell, but also whether we are reading Alexander Campbell. The feelings associated with the last name in our minds, are quite distinct enough to render the means of such discrimination far from immaterial. None such, however, are afforded. The 'various emendations' are interlarded in the text without any intimation. It may be said, that the editor thus modestly resigns the credit of them to others; but how do we know, or how does he know, that either of the great critics under whose joint names he shelters himself, would have adopted his renderings? He makes us read them as though they proceeded from either Doddridge, Campbell, or Mc. Knight,

when, in fact, they proceed from neither, and when, by possibility, they would have been rejected by all.

That it would have been some trouble to obviate this objection we admit; but we cannot allow that it would have given more trouble than an editor preparing such a book should have cheerfully taken. In the gospels and epistles he has taken, as was natural and inevitable, one translation as the basis, adopting alterations from another, and introducing emendations of his own. Why could he not have told us, respecting the gospels for instance, that he had generally adopted Dr. Campbell, and that his own emendations and Doddridge's would be found marked A. C. and D. respectively? Such a plan would, in our judgment, have materially increased the value of his labor.

Something of this sort was the more necessary, inasmuch as there is no other obvious means of knowing how numerous, important, or extensive the emendations of the editor are, or how far the introduction of them may modify the allegation, that the translation is that of Campbell, Mc. Knight, and Doddridge. Now we do not profess to have entered at any very great length into the investigation necessary to determine this point. Upon a glance, however, it is evident, that the emendations are pretty numerous; and we find that, in the controversy to which the book has given rise on the other side of the water, Mr. Campbell has stated that, in the translation, he has altered the language of Drs. Campbell, Mc. Knight, and Doddridge, about three thousand times. Now these three thousand emendations must be very trivial indeed, if they do not involve some important changes; and it is clearly possible—such, indeed, is the fact—that they may affect the interpretation of critical passages, and the management of existing controversies. The editor should certainly have taken, in the most explicit manner, the responsibility of such changes; and should not have left himself open to the charge of wishing to insinuate his own sentiments under the names of greater men. An editor so circumstanced as Mr. Alexander Campbell, is the very last who should have been guilty of this indiscretion.

Besides those which we have already noticed, there is another feature of the work before us, not indeed an absolute novelty, on which we must remark; we mean the modification of the Greek text. Of this, in the abstract, we are far from complaining. The text of the New Testament, like that of all ancient writings, is difficult of determination. In a large number of manuscript copies, no two are perfectly coincident; the most approved text is derived from a comparison of the whole; and, from time to time, with newly discovered materials, fresh comparisons have been made, giving occasion, as is

hoped, to nearer approximations to absolute verity. Beyond all price are the labors of the men who have devoted themselves to this department of biblical learning, and far is the work from being as yet perfected. That the text from which the authorized version was made is perfect, nobody now imagines. It is, of course, the duty of every translator to adopt the purest text available at the time, the only thing necessary being, that he should acquaint the public what text he has adopted, and by what authorities he has been guided in his choice. In this matter Mr. Campbell fails. Neither in his title-page nor in his preface, does he say anything about an alteration of the text; nor would you suppose, by reading the whole book, that he had deviated in a single instance from the received text, until you come to the appendix, which exhibits a long list of spurious readings, extracted from Griesbach. From this it appears that he has made numerous alterations. Yet it cannot be said he has adopted Griesbach's text; he has rather incorporated into the received text a considerable number of the changes proposed by that critic. But he assigns no reason, either for adopting so many alterations, or for not adopting more. He does not even make his translation tally with his list; for, after having included phrases among spurious readings, he actually inserts, either intentionally or carelessly, the condemned words in their usual place. Nor does he attempt to make his criticisms tally with his translation; for there are many words proposed to be added by Griesbach, and some of these Mr. Campbell introduces into his version, while, nevertheless, he not only gives no list of these, but he does not even state the fact that Griesbach makes any such suggestions at all. We do not know how to express approbation of such a mode of proceeding. It seems to us unscholar-like and superficial in the extreme; indicating very little fitness in Mr. Campbell for so responsible a work as editing the sacred oracles, and not at all adapted to engage the confidence of reflecting and considerate readers.

We think also, that, while the text itself should have been more carefully determined, the deviations from the received text should have been indicated in the version. A skilful editor might easily have devised modes of effecting this which would not have encumbered the page, and which would have promptly rendered to the reader the very important service, of showing him the difference between the text of the authorized version and that employed by Mr. Campbell.

Of the execution of the work generally we cannot speak with commendation. It bears more marks of haste and carelessness than would be creditable in any case, and enough to be seriously discreditable to an edition of the sacred Scriptures. For example, in the appendix the word *Jesus* is stated to be

omitted from John i. 44. Upon looking to the passage, we find that the verse named never contained the word *Jesus*, but that the omission is, in fact, made from verse 43. This may be supposed to have been an error of the press; but it is not. On turning to Griesbach, we find the omission both marked as belonging to the 44th verse, and in that verse actually made, the verses in that chapter being numbered differently by Griesbach from the English. The case then is, that Mr. Campbell adopted his reference from Griesbach, but did not take the pains to see that it corresponded with his own version. Some of the notes under the head of Apostolic Words and Phrases, appear to us to indicate a similar carelessness. For instance, the note on the word *Hades* concludes in the following manner: 'See note on Acts ii. 27, p. 154.' We have endeavored to trace this reference without any success. There is no note on Acts ii. 27, neither does that passage occur at page 154. Indeed, there is not a single note to the text throughout. And, in the absence of all means of explanation, we can only conjecture that the entire note has been hastily extracted from some book, without care having been taken to separate from it inapplicable references. A similar fault occurs immediately below, on the word *Hell*, and is of frequent recurrence. We cannot resist the conviction—unfeignedly sorry as we are to entertain it—that Mr. Campbell has enacted the critic too much in the style of the American back-woods-man. He really seems to us to have run down the margin of some edition of Griesbach, and to have extracted valuable notes from learned works, with an eye and pen too much in a hurry to enable him to accomplish anything of permanent value, in so high a department of learning as the critical editing of the sacred Scriptures.

It is a minor fault, although far from an immaterial one, and resulting, we fear, from the same prevailing carelessness, that typographical errors abound, especially in the spelling of Greek words. Mr. Campbell has given us these in English letters, a plan of which we do not complain, but he should have been correct in his orthography. Instead of this we have *amenos*, as the Greek for wind, instead of *anemos*; *evangelium* for *euangelion*; *angellos* for *angelos*; *dieaiama* for *dikaion*; *dinaiot* for *dikaiosis*; and something so unintelligible to us in the following instance, that we shall quote with extraordinary care. 'Ambassadors of Christ, *Ilzeopepus* (from *presbeuo*, to go upon, or perform an embassy).' Appendix, p. 12. Typographical errors in plain English can, for the most part, be corrected by the reader; but it is an aggravation of the mischief in the case before us, that the English reader, for whom, of course, these morsels of Greek learning are intended, cannot make the necessary corrections. He must take everything as

he finds it, and exercise an implicit confidence. Only let Mr. Campbell imagine some worthy preacher informing his congregation, on so respectable an authority, that *Ilzeopepus* is the Greek for ambassador, and that it is derived from *presbeuo*!

Although it does not enter into the merits of the work itself, we cannot pass altogether without remark the manner in which the performance before us was ushered into the world. The first edition, which was published in the United States about ten years ago, had the following title:—*The Sacred Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ, commonly styled The New Testament, translated from the Original Greek by George Campbell, James Mc. Knight, and Philip Doddridge, Doctors of the Church of Scotland.* If Mr. Campbell really thought that Philip Doddridge was a ‘Doctor of the Church of Scotland,’ where was his information? If he did not, where was his veracity? Before a second edition was called for, he had been informed of his mistake; and then, *mirabile dictu*, he issued it with the same title, only telling the reader in the introduction that the title-page was false. We cannot trust ourselves to say what we think of this. Is it possible Mr. Campbell can have exposed himself to the suspicion, that, for some objects connected, either with the sale of the book, or with its influence upon religious professors in certain communities in the United States, he has practised dissimulation?

With all respect for the powerful talents of Mr. Campbell, we cannot part with him without serious reprehension; and the more, because of the loud vauntings (many of which are wisely excluded from the English edition) by which he has aggravated his fault. He has set an example of a mode of treating the sacred oracles, altogether wanting, we think, in the reverence, caution, and simple mindedness, which every translator of them should cultivate; and it is needful that we should make our view of his error distinctly understood, in order that we may contribute our humble share towards preventing its repetition.

Art. VII. 1. *A New English Grammar, with very copious Exercises, and a Systematic View of the Formation and Derivation of Words.* By ALEXANDER ALLEN, Ph. D., and JAMES CORNWELL. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1841.

2 *The Accidence of English Grammar.* By B. H. SMART. London: Longman, Orme, and Co. 1841.

A GERMAN friend asked us the other day, *how many hours* a week were devoted to English in our classical schools? What answer could we make? We could only say, that in the

best classical schools English was not taught at all, and that in the *worst*, something pretending to be English was doled out to the pupils in a few miserable doses. It is really a disgrace to our country, that our own mother tongue should be so shamefully neglected as it is in all our best schools. In Germany, and even in France, the case is different. In the Gymnasia, or highest class of schools in Germany, the boys in the first classes have to give four hours a week to their own language, while, in the lower classes, German is taught every day. No one can speak or write his own language by nature without making ridiculous mistakes. It is true, that a person can learn to speak a language without being taught, in the same way as the earth will bear produce without cultivation. But as the earth left untilld will bear all kinds of weeds, so a person, who has not been well grounded in the principles on which a language is founded, and in the rules which its best speakers and writers follow, will constantly fall into all kinds of blunders. If English had been generally and soundly taught in our schools, we should not have had such flagrant violations of good taste and good grammar, as constantly come from the pulpit and the press; nor should we have had that affectation of fine writing, and preference of foreign words to those of Saxon origin, which have disgraced a great part of the literature of the present century.

The want of good English grammars has often been brought forward as an excuse for not introducing the study of English into our higher schools. The want of such books we fully admit, but that is only a symptom of the disease; it shows the neglect of such studies, and is no apology for the schoolmaster. If English had been properly taught in our schools, there would have been no want of good grammars; the demand would soon have produced a corresponding supply. Nothing can show the great neglect of the study of English grammar more strikingly than the fact, that the best elementary English grammar we yet have had is that of Bishop Lowth, published fifty years ago. All those which have appeared since Lowth's, are almost as bad as they can be. They have, for the most part, followed closely in the steps of that great pedant Lindley Murray, who has done more mischief to our language than any score of our worst writers. Under his knife our idiomatic English has been lopped away; and phrases and modes of expression sanctioned by Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton, South, Barrow, and all our great writers have been condemned as *inelegant*. It is high time that the heresies of the Lindley-Murray school should be unmasked. It is high time that we should have something better to put in the hands of our children than these books, which do their best to emasculate all

Elementary English Grammars.

genuine idiomatic expressions. We want books which will teach our children how to write *good* English. We shall be quite satisfied if they write as well as South and Addison, even if they do not attain the elegance which they might have acquired in the Lindley-Murray school.

And why should we not have good English grammars? They have plenty of good German grammars in Germany; plenty of good French grammars in France; why should not we have good English grammars in England? The materials for such a work are abundant; the structure and formation of the Teutonic languages have been fully developed by Grimm, Rask, Bopp, and other continental scholars; while the principles on which the science of grammar is founded, have been clearly stated by Becker in his German grammar. We want two English grammars, each of a different kind, and adapted to different classes; one for the use of advanced pupils, which should give a scientific development of the formation of the language, as is done in Becker's German grammar, and another for children, which should contain the results of such a work stated in a practical rather than a scientific form. The former work remains to be done, but the latter is at length given to us in Dr. Allen's and Mr. Cornwell's work. The learned authors are evidently well acquainted with several of the Teutonic languages; they have closely studied the great works of Grimm, Becker, and other German philologists; and the result has been that they have produced a work, which we feel sure will eventually be used in all schools in which the English language is taught in a sound and philosophical manner. The arrangement of the work is excellent; each part is in its proper place; and while it is undoubtedly the most philosophical, we believe it will be found the easiest grammar that has yet been published. We wish we could speak in the same terms of Mr. Smart's work; but it is merely a repetition of the old errors of the common grammars, together with some of Mr. Smart's notions on what he calls the * philosophy of language, which makes the work worse than most others bearing a similar title.

It is impossible to criticize in detail every part of such works as are now under notice. Our limits only allow us to select two or three subjects, from which, however, a fair estimate may be formed of the merits and deficiencies of each work.

In treating of the articles Mr. Smart remarks on p. 27, 'that *an* is the same word as *a*, and that it is used instead of it 'whenever it sounds better before the next word. Thus we say

* See page 8, on the division of verbs into *Dividual* and *Individual*. On p. 28 Mr. Smart speaks of *Mongrel Parts of Speech*. Might not his work be called a '*Mongrel English Grammar*'?

‘*an apple, an hour*, that two vowels may not come together.’ This is both clumsy and incorrect. *An* is never used instead of *a*, but *a* instead of *an*. *An* is the original form, and is only a corruption of the numeral *one*, which was written by our ancestors *ane*. *A* is a still more corrupted form of the same numeral. In German *ein* is both the indefinite article and the numeral *one*. Dr. Allen and Mr. Cornwell give the right explanation. ‘The indefinite article,’ they say (p. 2), ‘is *an*. ‘When the word *an* comes before a consonant, the *n* is dropped, and nothing but *a* remains. But the meaning is the same. *An* means *one*.’

In the Teutonic languages in general, there are three modes of forming the plural of nouns: (1) By adding *s*, (2) by adding *en*, and (3) by modifying the vowel, as *book, books*; *ox, oxen*; *man, men*. One would have thought that every school-boy knew this. Mr. Smart gives the following account of the matter (p. 5), ‘To make a noun plural, we commonly add *s* to the singular; as *boy, boys*: to many nouns we add *es*, as *box, boxes*; *church, churches*; *potato, potatoes*: and we change *y* after a consonant into *i* before *es*; as *fly, flies*. So *f* is sometimes changed into *v* before *es*; as *loaf, loaves*; *life, lives*. ‘A few nouns form the plural according to some ancient custom of the language; as *man, men*; *foot, feet*.’ Why Mr. Smart has chosen to omit all mention of the plurals in *en* we are at a loss to conceive. In the old language such plurals were exceedingly common. *Hosen* still occurs in the English translation of the Bible, and many such words are yet used in Scotland, and in the provincial districts of England. The words *eyen, housen, shoen, &c.*, were used by our ancestors as we use *eyes, houses, shoes, &c.* The word *swine* is merely a softened form of *sow-en*, the plural of *sow*; and *kine*, a softened form of *cow-en*, the plural of *cow*. If Mr. Smart did not think it worth while to introduce such words into an elementary work, he should at least have explained the plurals *oxen, brethren, and children*, which is the plural of our old word *childer*, instead of giving them in an appendix at the end of his book, mixed up with a long list of other words. ‘The ancient custom of the language,’ by which *man* becomes *men*, and *foot* becomes *feet*, Mr. Smart does not attempt to explain, though the matter is easy enough, and would present no difficulty to any one acquainted with German. The way in which Dr. Allen and Mr. Cornwell have treated this part of the grammar, forms a striking contrast to Mr. Smart’s meagre and incomplete account. After explaining the three modes of forming the plural of nouns, they give (p. 7) the following classified list of the formation of the plurals:—

Elementary English Grammars.

CLASSIFIED LIST OF NOUNS.

Singular and Plural.

| FIRST CLASS. | | SECOND CLASS. | | THIRD CLASS. | |
|--------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Plur.</i> | <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Plur.</i> | <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Plur.</i> |
| | (<i>s</i> added) | | (<i>en</i> added) | | (<i>a</i> to <i>e</i>) |
| Book | Books | Ox | Oxen | Man | Men |
| Cart | Carts | (Childer) | Children | | (<i>oo</i> to <i>ee</i>) |
| | (<i>es</i> added) | | (vowel changed) | Foot | Feet |
| Church | Churches | Brother | Brethren | Goose | Geese |
| Brush | Brushes | | (softened form) | Tooth | Teeth |
| Fox | Foxes | Cow | Kine | | (<i>ou</i> to <i>i</i>) |
| | (<i>y—ie</i>) | Sow | Swine | Mouse | Mice |
| Lady | Ladie- <i>s</i> | | | Louse | Lice |
| | (<i>ey—ie</i>) | | | | |
| Journey | Journie- <i>s</i> | | | | |

It is important to distinguish the two different forms of the relative, *who* or *which*, and *that*. The word *that* is a regular form of the relative, though Mr. Smart tells us (p. 23) that 'it is a conjunction, used for a pronoun relative.' This is sheer nonsense. It would not be difficult to prove that the definite article, the demonstrative pronoun, and the relative, were all originally expressed by the same form. The German *de-r*, of which *de* is the root, is at once demonstrative, relative, and definite article. The common form for the relative in German, *dieser*, is merely a kind of doubled form of *der*. Horne Tooke supposes the English article *the* to be the imperative of our Anglo-Saxon verb *dean*, 'to take;' but this etymology is obviously incorrect, as it would not apply to the cognate languages. The article *the* is merely another form of *this* and *that*, and is in reality a demonstrative pronoun. The same root is found in Greek, under the form *to* (*το*), which, in later Greek, is generally used only as the definite article, but in Homer and Herodotus is found as a demonstrative and relative. The *results* of such an investigation should be given in an elementary grammar, though the details would, of course, be unsuitable to a work intended for children.

Dr. Allen's and Mr. Cornwell's arrangement of what are called the irregular verbs, is better than that of any other grammar we have seen. No attempt is made in most grammars at any classification of these verbs, but they are merely put down in alphabetical order. They may, however, be classified according to the vowel which is found in the past tense; and accordingly Dr. Allen and Mr. Cornwell divide them into the five following conjugations.

FIRST (or A) CONJUGATION.*Subdivision 1.*

| PRESENT. | | PAST. | | PARTICIPLE. |
|-------------------------|------|---------------------------|--|--------------------|
| a | | o | | a |
| ea (<i>sounded ā</i>) | | a, oo | | oo |
| Awake | | Awoke | | Awoke |
| Bear | | Bore (<i>or bare</i>) | | Borne |
| Bear | | Bore (<i>or bare</i>) | | Born |
| Break | | Broke (<i>or brake</i>) | | Broken |
| Forsake | (oo) | Forsook | | Forsaken |
| Shake | (oo) | Shook | | Shaken |
| Stand | (oo) | Stood | | Stood |
| Swear | | Swore (<i>or sware</i>) | | Sworn |
| Take | (oo) | Took | | Taken |
| Tear | | Tore (<i>or tare</i>) | | Torn |
| Wear | | Wore (<i>or ware</i>) | | Worn |

Subdivision 2.

| | | |
|------|------|--------|
| a | e | a |
| Draw | Drew | Drawn |
| Fall | Fell | Fallen |
| Slay | Slew | Slain |

Subdivision 3.

| | | |
|------|------|------|
| a | u | u |
| Hang | Hung | Hung |

SECOND (or E) CONJUGATION.*Subdivision 1.*

| | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| ee } ēa } | ě } ěa } | ě } ěa } ēa } |
| Bēat | Běat | Bēaten |
| Bleed | Bled | Bled |
| Breed | Bred | Bred |
| Eat (ēat) | Eat (ěat), <i>or</i> āte | Eaten (ēaten) |
| Feed | Fed | Fed |
| Lead | Led | Led |
| Meet | Met | Met |
| Rēad | Rěad | Rěad |
| Speed | Sped | Sped |

Subdivision 2.

| | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|------------|
| ēa } ěa } ě } | ō } ō } ā } | ō } ō } |
| Clēave | Clove (<i>or</i> clave) | Cloven |
| Freeze | Froze | Frozen |

| PRESENT. | PAST. | PARTICIPLE. |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Get (<i>so</i> Forget) | Got (<i>or</i> gat) | Gotten (<i>or</i> got) |
| Hēave | Hove | |
| Seethe | Sod | Sodden |
| Shēar | Shore | Shorn |
| Spēak | Spoke (<i>or</i> spake) | Spoken |
| Stēal | Stole | Stolen |
| Trēad | Trōd | Trodden |
| Wēave | Wove | Woven |

Subdivision 3.

| | | |
|-----|-----|------|
| ee | aw | ee |
| See | Saw | Seen |

THIRD (*or* I) CONJUGATION.

Subdivision 1.

| | | |
|-------|------|-------------------------|
| i | i | i |
| Bite | Bit | Bitten, <i>or</i> bit |
| Chide | Chid | Chidden |
| Hide | Hid | Hidden, <i>or</i> hid |
| Slide | Slid | Slidden, <i>or</i> slid |

Subdivision 2.

| | | |
|--------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| i | ă, u, <i>or</i> o (<i>sounded</i> u) | a <i>or</i> u |
| Begin | Began | Begun |
| Bid | Bade | Bidden, <i>or</i> bid |
| Cling | Clung | Clung |
| Dig | Dug | Dug |
| Drink | Drank | Drunken, <i>or</i> drunk |
| Fling | Flung | Flung |
| Ring | Rang | Rung |
| Shrink | Shrank | Shrunken, <i>or</i> shrunk |
| Sing | Sang | Sung |
| Sink | Sank | Sunken, <i>or</i> sunk |
| Sit | Sat | Sitten, <i>or</i> sat |
| Sling | Slung | Slung |
| Slink | Slank | Slunk |
| Spin | Span, spun | Spun |
| Spit | Spat | Spat |
| Spring | Sprang | Sprung |
| Stick | Stuck | Stuck |
| Sting | Stung | Stung |
| Stink | Stank, stunk | Stunk |
| Strike | Struck | Stricken, <i>or</i> struck |
| String | Strung | Strung |
| Swim | Swam | Swum |
| Swing | Swung | Swung |
| Win | Won | Won |
| Wring | Wrung | Wrung |

| PRESENT. | PAST. | PARTICIPLE. |
|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| | <i>Subdivision 3.</i> | |
| i | o or a | i or o |
| Abide | Abode | Abode |
| Drive | Drōve or drave | Driven |
| Give | Gave | Given |
| Lie | Lay | Lien, or lain |
| Ride | Rōde | Ridden |
| Rise (so Arise) | Rōse | Risen |
| Shine | Shōne | Shōne |
| Smite | Smōte | Smitten |
| Stride | Strōde | Stridden |
| Strive | Strōve | Striven |
| Thrive | Thrōve | Thriven |
| Write | Wrōte | Written |
| | <i>Subdivision 4.</i> | |
| i | ou | ou |
| Bind | Bound | Bounden, or bound |
| Find | Found | Found |
| Fight | Fought | Foughten, or fought |
| Grind | Ground | Ground |
| Wind | Wound | Wound |

FOURTH (or O) CONJUGATION.

| | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| | <i>Subdivision 1.</i> | |
| o | e | e } o } |
| Behold | Beheld | Beholden, or beheld |
| Blow | Blew | Blown |
| Crow | Crew | [Crowed] |
| Fly | Flew | Flown |
| Grow | Grew | Grown |
| Hold | Held | Holden, or held |
| Know | Knew | Known |
| Throw | Threw | Thrown |
| | <i>Subdivision 2.</i> | |
| oo, or ū | ō or ǒ | ō or ǒ |
| Choose } Chūse } | Chose | Chosen |
| Shoot | Shōt | Shotten, or shot |

FIFTH (or U) CONJUGATION.

| | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|
| o (sounded u) | ā } | |
| u | ă } | u |
| Come | Came | Come |
| Become | Became | Become |
| Run | Ran | Run |

Our limits only permit us to give one more extract from Dr. Allen's and Mr. Cornwell's work. It is taken from the section on the formation and derivation of words, a subject usually neglected in ordinary grammars, but which is treated by Dr. Allen and Mr. Cornwell at considerable length, and in a very satisfactory manner. They divide all derivative words into two classes, primary and secondary. Primary derivatives are made by an *internal* change, and hence are called strong derivatives; while secondary derivatives are made by an *external* addition, and hence are called weak derivatives. The former class of derivatives are generally passed over even in works professing to treat exclusively of etymology. Dr. Allen and Mr. Cornwall give the following arrangement of this class:—

VERBS.

(1.) *Vowel modified.*

Drop, *Droop*; Fall, *Fell*; Rise, *Raise*, *Rouse*; Sit, *Set*; Rest, *Roost*; Shrive, *Shrove* [an old word meaning to join in the festivities of Shrove-tide]; Chip, *Chop*; Din, *Dun*.

(2.) *Consonant modified.*

Stick, *Stitch*.

(3.) *Vowel and consonant modified.*

Wake, *Watch*; Drink, *Drench*; Cling, *Clench*; Wring, *Wrench*; Hook, *Hitch*.

(4.) *Strengthening letter prefixed.*

Mash, *Smash*; Lash, *Slash*; Plash, *Splash*; Wag, *Swag*; Dun, *Stun*; Whirl, *Twirl*, *Swirl*.

NOUNS.

(1.) *Vowel modified.*

[*Vowel shortened.*] Bite, *Bit*; Gāpe, *Găp*.

[*Vowels changed.*] Drive, *Drove*; Strike, *Stroke*; Sing, *Song*; Deal, *Dole*; Lear-n, *Lore*; Sneak, *Snake*; Let, *Lot*; Bless, *Bliss*; Bleed, *Blood*; Feed, *Food*; Bear, *Bier*; Tell, *Tale*; Sell, *Sale*; Gild, *Gold*; Shine, *Sheen*; Deem, *Doom*; Click, *Clock*; Chop, *Chap*; Len(d), *Loan*; Sit, *Seat*; Tip, *Top*.

(2.) *Consonant modified.*

Dig, *Ditch*; Speak, *Speech*; Rise, *Rise*; Wreathe, *Wreath*; Strive, *Strife*; Behoove, *Behoof*; Gird, *Girth*; Lay, *Law*; Say, *Saw*.

(3.) *Vowel and consonant modified.*

Weave, *Woof*; Live, *Life*; Breathe, *Breath*; Break, *Breach*; Hold, *Hilt*; Lōse, *Löss*.

ADJECTIVES.

(1.) *Vowel modified.*

Fill, *Full*; Shine, *Sheen*; Heal, *Hale*; Heat, *Hot*; Rud [an old word whence *Ruddy*], *Red*; String, *Strung* [*i. e. strung* up, nerved]; Wring, *Wrung* [*i. e. wrung* from the right course, not right, or straight, but *a-wry*]; Flit, *Fleet*.

(2.) *Consonant modified.*

Loathe, *Loth*.

(3.) *Vowel and consonant modified.*

Wis, *Wise*; (*Wis* appears in the Past Tense in the phrase *he wis not*); love, *lief*.

Art. VIII. 1. *An Account of the Proceedings of the present Board of Guardians of the Braintree Union, with Copies of the Poor Law Commissioners' Orders and Communications to the Board on the subject of the Appointment of a Chaplain to the Union House. Also, an Appendix, containing the Correspondence between the Board and the Clergymen and Dissenting Ministers residing in the Union.* By an ELECTED GUARDIAN. 8vo. pp. 29. Braintree.

2. *Annual Reports of the Poor Law Commissioners of England and Wales, with Appendices.* 8vo. 1836—1840.

IF Sir Robert Inglis, or any other zealous church-extensionist, had proposed, in the House of Commons, to create six or seven hundred additional curacies, the stipends attached to which should be chargeable upon the poor rate, such an augmentation of the Church Establishment of this country, at the expense of the community at large, would have appeared a flight of Tory extravagance which could not for a moment receive countenance from any Liberal administration. Yet, put the fact into other words, and this is neither more nor less than what has been quietly accomplished by the legerdmain of Whig legislation, in the power given to the Poor Law Commissioners to compel Boards of Guardians to appoint a chaplain to every union workhouse at the expense of the parishioners. When we say that this power was given to them by the Legislature, we mean that the Commission itself, with all the powers it involves, is the creature of a reformed parliament: and for the abuse of the power created, as well as for its existence, the present Administration is responsible. But, as to the specific power assumed by the Commissioners in this matter of chaplaincies to the workhouses, it does not appear to have been the intention

of Parliament to give it: it has been assumed by inference; it has been usurped under cover of an equivocal phrase, which by lawyer-craft has been interpreted to mean more than was avowed or intended by the framers of the act, unless the intention was to deceive. And in the manner in which the Commissioners have gone about the establishment of their ecclesiastical power in this matter, there has been displayed a disingenuousness, a stealthiness of procedure, that deserves to be held up to public reprobation. By means of secret edicts issued from Somerset House, in the shape of 'orders and regulations to be observed,' they have endeavored to do what no minister of the crown would have ventured to propose in parliament, and what Lord Brougham ridiculed the Dissenters for deeming it necessary to guard against by express provision; namely, to deprive the poor of this country, as the condition of parochial relief, of their religious liberty, and to affix a fresh stigma upon the dissenting ministers of all denominations as ineligible to a workhouse chaplaincy, and not fit to be trusted as religious instructors within the walls of a pauper gaol.

These are serious charges: we will proceed to make them good.

By the nineteenth section of the Poor Law Amendment Act, it is enacted:

'That no rules, orders, or regulations of the said commissioners, nor any bye-laws at present in force, or to be hereafter made, shall oblige any inmate of any workhouse to attend any religious service which may be celebrated in a mode contrary to the religious principles of such inmate, nor shall authorize the education of any child in such workhouse in any religious creed other than that professed by the parents or surviving parent of such child, and to which such parents or parent shall object, or, in the case of an orphan, to which the godfather or godmother of such orphan shall so object: provided also that it shall and may be lawful for any licensed minister of the religious persuasion of any inmate of such workhouse, at all times in the day, on the request of such inmate, to visit such workhouse for the purpose of affording religious assistance to such inmate, and also for the purpose of instructing his child or children in the principle of their religion.'

Exception may be taken, as we shall show presently, against the phrasing of this clause; but the general principle is obviously protective of the religious rights of the poor; and its design is not to tie up the hands of the Commissioners or of Boards of Guardians, to prevent their allowing too much liberty, or acting too liberally and too tolerantly, but to prohibit them from passing intolerant and illiberal regulations. Such is clearly the spirit of the restriction, as it was understood at the time of the passing of the Bill, and on this understanding it was

supported by the Liberal members. The ingenuity of the Commissioners, or of their very self-sufficient and pragmatical secretary, Mr. Edwin Chadwick, has nevertheless been exercised in direct contrariety to the spirit of the enactment, in construing its provisions so as to authorize any rules, orders, or regulations, how intolerant and vexatious soever, that are not forbidden by the letter of the law. It is in this respect that we regard their conduct as so reprehensible. Errors in judgment may be pardoned, but the whole conduct of the Commissioners has been systematically opposed to the tolerant intention of the Legislature.

Our exceptions to the clause relate chiefly to the wording of it. In the first place, the phrase 'licensed minister' is inaccurate as applied to dissenting ministers, who are not licensed, nor required to be so. And this blunder runs through all recent enactments of the kind. Surely, the House of Commons ought not to be ignorant of the state of the law, under which ministers and lay teachers are alike protected. A magistrate's certificate of their having taken certain oaths is all that is requisite to secure them against penalties, and this only if their right is called in question; and no license whatever is necessary, even in the case of pastors of separate congregations, not being in trade, to whom alone the special exemptions from civil service, equally with the clergy, belong. A curate must be licensed by his bishop, but curates are evidently not hereby intended. The words 'licensed minister,' therefore, if strictly interpreted—we almost wonder the Commissioners have not hit upon this method of evading and defeating the provision—would exclude all dissenting ministers as unlicensed! The term *certificated* would have been more correct, but equally useless, and liable to become vexatious. In the eyes of the Church of England, all dissenting teachers are laymen: why then confine the permission to *ministers*? Under the old poor law regime, the students at our theological academies were in the practice of visiting workhouses, as well as almshouses, for the purpose of imparting religious instruction; and pious laymen of the Church of England, as well as of dissenting communions, have been wont to employ part of the leisure of the sabbath in similar visits of Christian kindness to the poor. Why should an end be put to all this by an ecclesiastical restriction, founded on the technical meaning of the word minister? It must have been either in ignorance of these facts, or from inadvertence, that the phrase has been adopted in modern legislation.

But the words, 'on the request of such inmate,' are also exceptionable, as well in reference to the inmates of workhouses as to those of gaols. If there are any who more peculiarly stand in need of the 'religious assistance' of ministers of their own persuasion, it is those who, whether degraded by pauperism

or suffering from crime, are too ignorant or too hardened to wish for the visit of a religious instructor. The idea of their requesting that a minister may come to them, is absurd. The last person that a Roman Catholic culprit, for instance, would wish to see, except '*in extremis*,' would be his priest. Those who have visited our prisons on errands of mercy know how often, in the case of offenders who have stifled religious convictions, there is a sullenness, a doggedness, a despondency to be overcome, before the voice of admonition or of consolation will be listened to. In either case (and this more especially applies to workhouses), there is an ignorance almost as difficult to be dealt with, and which will never request an instructor. Not only so, but there may be inmates who stand in conscious need of religious instruction or consolation, and who may even *desire* to be visited by some Christian minister of their own persuasion, and yet may never make the request—through diffidence possibly, and still more probably as not knowing of their right to make it, and not having the power to assert the right, if the request should not be complied with. For, unless it is conveyed by writing or message to the minister (which may not always be very easy), how is the request to take effect? In every point of view, the required condition is at variance with the dictates of good sense and philanthropy.

A third exception to the clause relates to the introduction of the terms 'godfather,' and 'godmother,' as egregiously inappropriate; since it is well known that the larger portion of the poorer classes contrive to make shift without any baptismal sponsors. For the orphans of Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist, or Wesleyan parents, the clause makes no provision.

Having now examined the text of this section of the Act, we proceed to notice the comments of the Commissioners. The first occasion upon which they deemed themselves called upon to interpose in their legislative capacity in the matter of religious instruction, appears to have been in the case of the Abingdon Union, to which reference is made in the following letter of a subsequent date, printed in the Appendix to the Second Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners: we deem it proper to give the document at length, because it lets us into the views of the Commissioners upon the whole subject of religious instruction.

' Letter to the right honorable Lord John Russell, on the subject of the religious instruction of the inmates of workhouses.

' Poor Law Commission Office, Somerset House, 4 Feb. 1836.

' My Lord,

' We have had under our consideration the letter referred to us by your Lordship's direction, in which the writer, Mr. Copeland, desires to be informed whether there is any obstacle in the way of a respect-

able dissenting minister, who offers voluntarily to give an address to the poor inmates of the workhouse, putting his benevolent design into practice, provided it meets with the consent of the majority of the board of guardians.

‘ In answer to this inquiry, we beg leave to point out that there is nothing in the Act which it is our duty to administer, or in the rules issued by us for the management of workhouses, which will prevent the Rev. William Wilkins, who appears to be a minister of a congregation of Independents (provided he is duly licensed), from affording religious assistance to any of the inmates of the workhouse who may require the same, and who are also of the same religious persuasion with himself; and this explanation (*mutatis mutandis*) applies equally to the Rev. John Kershaw, M.A., who is stated to be a Baptist minister.

‘ On this subject the Commissioners are desirous of drawing your Lordship’s attention to the provisions of the 19th section of the Poor Law Amendment act, and also to the directions contained in the rules and regulations issued for the management of the workhouse of the Abingdon Union, in which the Commissioners have endeavoured to give effect to the above-mentioned section of the statute.

‘ For the sake of easier reference copies and extracts of the passages alluded to are hereto annexed.

‘ It appears to us that paupers, living within the walls of a workhouse, have a right to claim to be protected from all annoyance on account of religious belief. They are so situated as to be deprived of the means of defending themselves against intrusion, which a man living in his own cottage is fortunate enough to possess.

‘ To place any one under circumstances in which he cannot but be present at, and in some degree take a share in, the forms of religious worship which are not consistent with his own belief, is evidently an undue breach of religious liberty.

‘ This is peculiarly evident with respect to Roman Catholics, whose clergy maintain and enforce among their flocks, to its fullest extent, the rule, *Nulla communio in sacris cum hereticis*.

‘ That Roman Catholics should be placed in a situation in which they could not easily avoid forming part of a Protestant congregation, is evidently improper. It would, we think, in like manner, and by a strict parity of reasoning, be improper also that members of the Church of England, Unitarians, Baptists, Wesleyans, or Independents, should be either induced or constrained to join in a form of worship which is not that of their own religious community.

‘ The Commissioners, therefore, in the detailed rules they have issued for the management of workhouses, require that, on admission into a workhouse, each pauper should be called on to declare to what denomination of Christians he or she belongs, that, on application to the master of the workhouse, he should have the means of communicating with a licensed minister of his own persuasion, either for the purpose of religious consolation or the instruction of his children. But these interviews are not permitted to take place in the presence of persons who profess a different religious creed, or use a different form of religious worship.

‘ The enforcement of these regulations rests on the main fundamental

principle, that the master of the workhouse is not to admit persons into the workhouse without they have actual and necessary business there ; and the minister of any religious persuasion would necessarily be excluded without his admission was in exact conformity with the foregoing regulations.

‘ We think it our duty to add, that the law enables us to make provision for reading prayers and the performance of divine service within a workhouse according to the forms of the Church of England, as for this purpose a chaplain may be provided with a salary.

‘ In this arrangement the same principle appears to be followed out with respect to a workhouse which prevails with reference to the established church throughout the country ; but though not at liberty to provide the means of divine worship for any class of dissenters, we have anxiously established such regulations as, in all cases in which we have issued workhouse regulations, will exempt all persons who dissent from the church from a compulsory compliance with its form of worship.

‘ We have &c.

(signed)

‘ To the Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
&c. &c. &c.’

‘ T. FRANKLAND LEWIS.

‘ JOHN G. S. LEFEVRE.

‘ GEORGE NICHOLLS.’

The articles in the ‘ Orders and Regulations to be observed in the workhouse of the Abingdon Union,’ to which the letter refers, are as follows :—

‘ 23rd article of the orders and regulations to be observed in the workhouse of the Abingdon Union :—

‘ ‘ No person shall be allowed to visit any pauper in the workhouse, except by permission of the master, and subject to such conditions and restrictions as the board of guardians may direct, provided that the interview shall always take place in the presence of the master or matron, and in a room separate from the other inmates of the workhouse, unless in case of sickness : provided also, that any licensed minister of the religious persuasion of any inmate of such workhouse, at all times in the day, on the request of such inmate, may visit such workhouse for the purpose of affording religious assistance to such inmate, and also at all reasonable times for the purpose of instructing his child or children in the principles of their religion, such religious assistance and such instruction being strictly confined to inmates who are of the religious persuasion of such licensed minister and to the children of such inmates, and not so given as to interfere with the good order and discipline of the other inmates of the establishment.’

‘ 25th article of the orders and regulations to be observed in the workhouse of the Abingdon Union :—

‘ ‘ Divine service shall be performed every Sunday in the workhouse, at which all the paupers shall attend, except the sick and the young children, and such as are too infirm to do so, and except also those paupers who may object so to attend on account of their professing religious principles differing from those of the Church of England.’

‘ 33rd article of the orders and regulations to be observed in the workhouse of the Abingdon Union (3rd section) :—

‘ ‘ To read prayers to the paupers before breakfast and after supper every day, or cause them to be read, at which all the inmates must attend ; but if any of the paupers shall profess religious principles indisposing them to unite in such service, they are to be permitted to sit apart, and not to be compelled to join in the same.’ ’

Now let our readers compare these orders and regulations with the section of the Act above cited, and they must be struck with the utter discrepancy between the spirit of the one and of the other, notwithstanding the affected conformity to the technical provisions of the law. This will be rendered still more apparent, however, if we look not at the precise phrasing of the orders, but at their intended operation, in contrast with the provisions of the statute. For example :—

‘ § 19 of Poor Law Commission Act.

‘ No inmate of any workhouse shall be *obliged* to attend any religious service contrary to the religious persuasion of such inmate.’

‘ It shall be lawful for any licensed minister of the religious persuasion of any inmate, &c., to visit such workhouse for the purpose of affording religious assistance to such inmates, &c.’

Edicts of Poor Law Commissioners.

‘ No inmate of any workhouse shall be *suffered* to be present at any religious service conducted by a dissenting minister, or to be present at an interview between a pauper and a dissenting minister, not of their own communion, how willing or desirous soever to join in such worship, or share in such instruction.

No such ‘ person ’ shall be allowed to visit the workhouse, except under the strict surveillance of the master or matron, in whose presence all conversation with the inmate must pass, and in a room separate from the other inmates ; nor must he be allowed to speak a word of a religious nature to a single inmate who has not *previously* declared himself, on admission into the house, to be of the same religious persuasion, and has not moreover requested to be present at the interview. No Independent minister may visit the member of a Baptist congregation. No Wesleyan may administer religious instruction to an Independent. No Presbyterian clergyman of the Church of Scotland may address a poor Scotch pauper of the Wesleyan community.

‘ It would be *improper*,’ say these Solons of Somerset House, ‘ that members of the Church of England, Unitarians, Baptists,

‘ Wesleyans, or Independents, should be either *induced* or constrained to join in a form of worship which is not that of their own religious community.’ Improper that they should be *constrained*, we all deem it; and if, by ‘induced,’ bribery or corrupt influence is intended, that would be equally improper; but do these gentlemen see no difference between constraining and *allowing* such inmates to join in a form of worship not of their own religious community? Is it then a thing not to be tolerated, that the members of different religious denominations, agreeing in all the essentials of the Protestant faith, should have religious intercommunion? Is the Poor Law to interfere and prohibit the Baptist dissenter from entering an Independent chapel, or the Roman Catholic from listening, even within the walls of a poor-house, to an heretical Wesleyan? Oh yes, it would be *improper*, say Messrs. Lewis, Lefevre, and Nicholls; and they cite Latin in proof of it. We scarcely know whether to admire more the pedantry or the pleasantry of their argument. So then, it seems, the feelings with which Romish priests regard all heretics, are those which are to be supposed to exist, and to be cherished by legislation, between the different sections of the Protestant church—even between Wesleyans and Church of England men! And it would be ‘an undue breach of religious liberty,’ in the estimation of these very enlightened arbiters of religious propriety, to *allow* an inmate the liberty of communing *in sacris* with a minister from whom he differs on the question of dipping or sprinkling, or on points of church-government! Can these gentlemen be serious, or are they attempting to *humbug* (—we beg pardon for using the word) Lord John Russell and the public?

If they are in earnest, their regulations do not go far enough to prevent the mischief they seem so anxious to avert. We have seen how carefully they require, in their far-sighted wisdom, that, on admission to a workhouse, every pauper shall be called on to declare to what denomination of Christians he or she belongs. For the first time in his or her life, it may be, such pauper must make a profession of faith, from which, moreover, thereafter, so long as he or she remains an inmate of the workhouse, there must be no departure. For a Catholic to turn Protestant, or a Unitarian to become a Methodist, in a union poor-house, would be a monstrous evil, a breach of religious liberty and religious propriety. We can easily anticipate some difficulty, however, in obtaining a very distinct declaration of the kind required from the pauper inmate, when we find even well educated gentlemen, bred at our universities, and moving in high circles, so extremely ill-informed with regard to what may be called religious terminology. A Wesleyan pauper, for instance, might know no better than to declare himself a

Churchman ; a Unitarian might report himself a Presbyterian ; an Independent might call himself a Congregationalist, or he might be an Independent Methodist ; and another might know no more than that he was an attendant at some dissenting chapel, never having heard of its precise denomination. But we will suppose all these difficulties got over by a summary process, all doubtful cases being made over to the Church of England. The declaration made and duly registered, these inmates, of different creeds and communions, are allowed to associate together. May they not inoculate each other with their peculiar heresies ? Is there no danger that a Roman Catholic inmate should be a jesuit in disguise, assuming the garb of pauperism, in order to make proselytes ? or that some Methodist old woman should bite the regenerate of the Church of England, and communicate to them her own fanaticism ? The Commissioners, with all their shrewd precautions against the dreadful evil of proselytism, do not appear to us to have adequately guarded against that danger. It seems to us that there ought to be separate wards in every union workhouse, in which Church of England paupers, Unitarians, Wesleyans, &c., should be kept apart. Any thing short of this would seem to be, in their own words, and in strict consonance with their reasoning, ‘an undue breach of religious liberty !’

But to be serious : what occasion is there for exacting any declaration of religious profession from those admitted to the workhouse, or for any regulations founded upon it ? What end do the Commissioners propose to answer by this officious and impertinent intermeddling ? The reasons assigned in the above letter are a shallow pretext, so far as respects any regard for religious liberty, any anxiety to protect paupers living within the walls of a workhouse against the ‘*intrusion*’ of dissenting teachers, or ‘annoyance’ on account of religious belief. All the annoyance originates with their own regulations. The religious distinctions which perplex, and bewilder, and trouble the Commissioners, and which, evidently through ignorance of their nature, are connected in their minds with all the evils of sectarian conflict, polemical rancor, the zeal of proselytism, and rude ‘intrusion,’ would excite neither trouble nor discord among the inmates of either our gaols or union workhouses, if our legislators and rulers would leave such matters alone. The poor, when the gospel is preached to them in simplicity, gratefully receive the instruction proffered by unpaid teachers who put the New Testament into their hands, without caring to know whether the minister is of this denomination or of that. In numerous instances, under the old poor law, the clergyman of the Establishment and the Independent or Baptist minister took part, in turn, in the unpaid service of the workhouse, without any breach of

order or charity. Why should not this still be *permitted*? We cannot expect indeed, that high-church Boards of Guardians should sanction such truly catholic arrangements; but why should Whig Commissioners step in to prohibit even Liberal Guardians from permitting it? Why should intolerance be made the law? Puseyism may abhor all such ecclesiastical irregularities; but do Messrs. Frankland Lewis, Lefevre, and Nicholls belong to the Oxford-tract school? And will Lord John Russell be so untrue to himself as gratuitously to take upon his own shoulders the odium of regulations conceived in the spirit of ignorant or fanatical bigotry? This must not be.

We have, thus far, been examining the Regulations of the Poor Law Commissioners, chiefly as they bear upon the access of dissenting ministers to the inmates of workhouses. In their correspondence with the Board of Guardians of the Braintree Union, we find the Commissioners arguing the point as to the appointment of chaplains to the union workhouses. It appears from a 'supplemental minute' of the Board of Commissioners, dated 14th June, 1838, and printed in the Appendix to the Fifth Report, that 'communications had been received from the Boards of Guardians of *several unions*, requesting that the appointment of a chaplain might be dispensed with.' This fact is deserving of attention; and it might have been as well, if those communications had been made public, either by the Commissioners themselves, or by order of the House, by which means Parliament and the public would have been enabled to form a better judgment of the reasons for objecting to such appointments, and of the strength of the arguments adduced by the Commissioners in support of their own determination. 'The tenor of these communications,' says the minute, 'had led the Commissioners to the opinion, that there will frequently exist circumstances in which, from the limited number of inmates in the workhouse, and the accommodation which can be afforded in neighboring places of worship, those who would be prevented by age, bodily infirmity, or other circumstances, from going to church, would be so few in number as to render it unadvisable to charge the union with the expense of providing divine service in the workhouse on a Sunday by means of a paid chaplain. The Commissioners nevertheless think, that, in every case, some person should be appointed, and *paid as chaplain* to the union workhouse, *in order that he may acquire the right*, and undertake the responsibility, of giving spiritual aid and instruction to the sick, and to those who cannot go to church; and of superintending the religious instruction of the children who are educated in the workhouse.' The axiom, that no man can have a right to give spiritual instruction to the poor, who is not paid for doing it, is worthy of the Somerset House philosophy

in which Mr. Chadwick's compositions so largely deal; and we beg our readers to mark the practical deduction which follows, namely, that the appointment of a paid chaplain bars even any other clergyman of the Establishment from entering the workhouse. In a case submitted by the Poor Law Commissioners to the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General for their opinions, the question is put, 'whether a clergyman of the Church of England is entitled to enter the workhouse, when not appointed as chaplain, on the application of an inmate under the 19th section.' The opinion given upon this point is: 'Where there is a chaplain regularly appointed, we think it was not the intention of the Legislature to enable each inmate to select and invite a different member of the Establishment for himself; but where there is no chaplain, we think it could not have been intended to exclude clergymen of the Church of England.' And therefore, they think, the words 'licensed minister' must be deemed to include 'clergymen of the Established Church.' This is not a very logical or legal conclusion. The simple truth is, we suspect, that it was not deemed necessary to make any provision to allow clergymen of the establishment to enter a parish workhouse. What would Sir Robert Inglis have said, had it been proposed to enact, that no rector, vicar, or other parochial clergyman, shall be admitted to any communication with his parishioners within the workhouse, except on the application of an inmate? Yet, the Commissioners affect to believe that, by the law, the clergy are placed on a less advantageous footing in this respect than dissenting ministers! They say (No. 6779, A.), 'The Commissioners are of opinion, that, as the law now stands, no clergyman of the Established Church, if not regularly appointed chaplain to the workhouse, can claim a right to be admitted to any communication with those of its inmates who may be of the Established Church, or to perform the Church service within its walls. The clergyman of the Church of England is, by law, placed on altogether a different footing from the licensed minister of a dissenting congregation: he, at the request of any inmate of a workhouse of his own persuasion, must be admitted as of right to communicate with such inmate; whilst, without the regular appointment of a chaplain, the clergyman of the Church of England can only obtain admission *by the permission and consent of the guardians.*' That is to say, in most cases, the clergyman being a guardian, by *his own permission*. Could the Commissioners imagine that any person of common sense would not see through this flimsy pretext for their compelling guardians, not to grant admission to clergymen, but to appoint one to the exclusion of all others? If the clergyman cannot claim the right by law, cannot obtain admission without the permission

of the guardians, would it not have been as competent for the Commissioners to issue a regulation to procure such admission, as to 'procure the appointment of a chaplain?' There is a lawyer craft, a low cunning in this attempt to make out a necessity for the exercise of their assumed prerogative, which reflects no credit upon either the Commissioners or their Secretary. The fact is obvious, that it had been predetermined to force workhouse chaplains upon the rate-payers; and then Mr. Chadwick was set to find legal grounds and canting pretexts to justify the conduct of his masters. The main object aimed at was, to *seclude* the inmates of the workhouse from all other spiritual aid and oversight, and to *exclude* all other religious instruction. Thus, in Mr. Chadwick's letter to the clerk to the Braintree Guardians, June 13, 1838, the Commissioners are stated to be 'prepared to sanction such modifications of the 'workhouse rules, as shall enable the guardians to make 'arrangements for permitting the children and the aged paupers to go to church' (the workhouse rules being, it should seem, opposed to this altogether); but, with regard to able-bodied paupers, 'the Commissioners would not feel justified in 'permitting any similar modification of the workhouse rules, 'except in respect to widows with families.' The Resolutions of the Braintree Board, in reply to this arrogant communication, are forcible and spirited.

'That this Board consider it one of the most important and invaluable privileges of the poor, equally with the rich, to unite with their fellow Christians in the public service of religion at their respective places of worship, whether Episcopalian or Dissenting; and that therefore, however willing to concur in carrying into effect the Poor Law Amendment Act, in other respects, they cannot be parties to any regulations calculated to deprive the inmates of this privilege, which they, as guardians, consider to be their inalienable right.

'That all the Episcopalians and Dissenters, inmates of the union house, who are able to attend public worship, are at present, and can henceforward be, accommodated with sittings at the parish church of Braintree, and at the several dissenting meeting houses; and they are regularly accompanied thither by the governor of the workhouse, or by a trustworthy person engaged for the purpose, and who attends them back again after service is ended, so as to ensure a decent and orderly demeanor, and to prevent the possibility of this privilege being abused; and the guardians have the most satisfactory assurance of the clergyman and dissenting ministers, on whose ministrations the inmates respectively attend, that their conduct during divine service is in every respect exemplary and unblameable. *Proceedings of Braintree Union*, p. 7.

Mr. Secretary Chadwick, in his answer to the Board, intimates, that the Commissioners 'entertain no doubt that it will 'be their duty to issue an order for the appointment of a chap-

‘lain,’ if the Guardians do not voluntarily make an arrangement to that effect; but that they wish to ascertain, before they take a final step in the matter, whether the Board of Guardians entertain the ‘erroneous’ opinion, that the appointment of a chaplain may interfere with the attendance of paupers at divine worship out of the workhouse, whether at a church or at a dissenting chapel. The Board reply, that they *do* entertain such opinion; and that their impression is confirmed by Mr. Chadwick’s former communication, in which the attendance of able-bodied paupers is *prohibited*. To the firmness shown by the Braintree Guardians it must be attributed, that the Commissioners, in their next communication, give way so far as to profess themselves ‘desirous that such of the inmates as are ‘able-bodied men, &c., should attend, on Sundays, at their ‘respective churches or chapels.’ In reference to this altered determination, the Board of Guardians say:—

‘It was some consolation to the Guardians to learn from the Commissioners, in their letter to them of the 8th of September last, that they had reconsidered their former declaration (above quoted), and stated that ‘they were desirous that able-bodied men or mothers of bastard children should attend on Sundays at their respective churches and chapels;’ and further to learn, by the extract from the Commissioners’ letter, addressed to some Board, of 11th July, 1838, No. 6779, and accompanying their letter to this Board of the 8th of September, that they (the Commissioners) ‘had made known their desire that all inmates of workhouses, including Dissenters, should’ (with such exceptions, &c.) ‘be permitted on Sundays to attend their respective places of religious worship;’ inasmuch as the Guardians cannot avoid perceiving that public opinion, or some other powerful and controlling influence over the minds of the Commissioners, had impelled them to retract their former harsh determination, and (though evidently very reluctantly) to extend religious liberty (far beyond what the Commissioners evidently intended) to those of their fellow men whom the law had somewhat placed under their power and control.’

—Ib. pp. 18, 19.

The Guardians then proceed to state at length their reasons for persisting in their objection to comply with the order of the Commissioners in appointing a chaplain; reasons so forcible in themselves, and so temperately as well as clearly urged, that, although they appear to have made no impression upon their high-mightinesses of Somerset House, they ought to command consideration from the Legislature.

‘That this Board object to the appointment of a chaplain to this union house, inasmuch as such an appointment would, in fact, be in the bishop of the diocese, who would have power to prevent any clergyman of the Established Church accepting the office or fulfilling its duties,

by withholding his license : and further, because such an officer, when appointed, would not be a responsible officer either to the Commissioners or the guardians, neither of whom would have the power to remove him should he not prove suitable or properly qualified for the situation ; the sole control being with the bishop, who could remove him at his pleasure without giving any reason for so doing, even should the Commissioners or guardians remonstrate or desire to retain him in office.

‘ That this Board are of opinion, that the appointment of a chaplain to this union cannot be made without doing violence to the conscientious scruples of dissenting Guardians and of the whole community of Dissenters, including the Society of Friends (whose firm determination to suffer rather than to pay for ecclesiastical purposes needs no comment) in requiring them to concur in the appointment and contribute to the support of a chaplain.

‘ That the appointment would consequently add to the already very heavy and severe pecuniary burden under which the several parishes within this union are now laboring, consequent to the expensive machinery thought by the Commissioners necessary for carrying out the provisions of the Act.

‘ That this Board consider some regard and deference ought to be paid, and is due, from the Commissioners to the feelings of the guardians composing the Board ; and that when the peculiar character and circumstances of the Board are considered (there being no less than sixteen Dissenters out of the twenty-two elected guardians), the utmost liberality should be exercised towards them by the Commissioners, in order to continue the cordial co-operation of every member, the assistance of all being necessary to ensure the efficient and satisfactory working of the Poor Law Amendment Act. That they further consider the same regard ought to be had to the religious opinions and feelings of the rate-payers in the parishes forming the union, the great majority of which rate-payers are Dissenters.

‘ That this Board have hitherto paid no regard to the religious sentiments of the paupers applying for relief, but there is every reason to suppose that the appointment of a chaplain would very materially obstruct the operation of the poor law in this union, inasmuch as it would be unreasonable to expect that those who dissent from such appointment would either propose or support any proposition for any pauper, who is not a member of the Established Church, to become an inmate of the house, but that, on the contrary, they would grant outdoor relief in every case where the law should in any possible way allow of it.

‘ That this Board are firmly convinced they cannot appoint a chaplain to this union without exposing the dissenting inmates of the house to all the influence which the Commissioners, in their extract from letter No. 6779 A. 11th July, 1838, so strongly deprecate and argue against, evidently on the behalf of those who adhere to the Established Church ; for a chaplain must necessarily have access to all the inmates, and (to quote the Commissioners’ own language), ‘ The first effect which is likely to be produced by the system is to disturb the religious

opinions with which the inmate enters the house, to loosen his adherence to the congregation to which he belonged, and his confidence in the minister which had charge of it, whilst under the influence of this first disturbance, many, who might be but transient inmates of a workhouse, would necessarily quit it; and of those, whose stay was prolonged, few would retain the religious creed with which they entered it.'

'The Commissioners in their extract above referred to, state, they 'well know that the situation in which the inmate of a workhouse is placed, not only entitles him to, but absolutely requires that he should, be protected from all liability to interference with his religious belief.' And again, 'No one denies that every Englishman has a right to attend whatever form of worship he may think fit.'

'On considering the above passages, and the desire of the Commissioners for the appointment of a chaplain, the Board can come to no other conclusion than that the Commissioners *do really desire to interfere with the religious liberty of the inmate*; for if on entering the house the pauper describe himself of the Established Church, or of some other persuasion, he will, by the rules and regulations, to that effect, laid down by the Commissioners, be forbidden and prevented, the whole time he is an inmate, attending upon any other religious instruction, even should he request, or earnestly desire it.

'That this Board are of opinion that wantonly to deprive men in the forlorn and destitute situation of inmates of a workhouse (who may very possibly be confined there for many months, years, or even for life) of any means of moral improvement, or religious consolation and instruction, is harsh and cruel; that it is an assumption of arbitrary power which, this Board conceives, never can have been contemplated by the legislature: and that it is nothing short of persecution, and a practical denial of the declaration and admission made by the Commissioners—'that every Englishman has a right to attend whatever form of worship he may think fit.' A right, which their forlorn and destitute situation does not extinguish; of which their poverty and age ought not to deprive them; and which, without crime, cannot be denied them.

'That the Board are of opinion the power delegated, by the Poor Law Amendment Act, to the Commissioners to appoint '*paid officers*,' is limited to the appointment of such as shall be necessary for carrying the provisions of the Act into execution. And the Board are of opinion that *the office 'of chaplain,'* is not at all necessary 'for superintending or assisting in the administration of the relief or employment of the poor, or otherwise carrying the provisions of the act into execution.' And that this Board is borne out and established in this their opinion, by that of others more competent to judge of the law, and of the power given, and intended to be given, in this matter, by the law to the Commissioners, for the truth of which this Board beg to refer the Commissioners to the Report of the Proceedings of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the Poor Law Amendment Act, in August last, page 4, where it appears that the following motion was made and negatived,—'That should the Board of Guardians

neglect to appoint chaplains to their unions, *the Commissioners shall have that power.*'

'That this Board beg to refer the Commissioners to their resolutions on the subject of the appointment of chaplain, passed by the Board on the 2nd of July last, and for the reasons there set forth, as well as the foregoing reasons, with many others which they might truly advance, this Board are of opinion that there is no necessity, and indeed would be bad policy, and therefore cannot consent, to appoint a chaplain to this union house.'—*Ib.* pp. 19—22.

It has now become urgently necessary that Parliament should interfere, to amend the law which has allowed to the Commissioners so wide and dangerous a discretion, and has afforded occasion for so mischievous an exercise of arbitrary authority. If the framers of the Poor Law Amendment Act had intended to make the appointment of a chaplain obligatory, surely they would not have attempted to accomplish that object by stratagem? There is not a word in the Act about a chaplain. There is no clause of the Act, there is nothing in the functions of the Commissioners, which calls for the appointment of one. Such a 'paid officer' is not required to 'carry the Act, or the Law for the relief of the poor, into execution.' Of what value is the religious instruction or superintendence which a chaplain can give in the perfunctory discharge of his office? Cannot the children be taught the Church Catechism, if taught it must be, without the intervention of an episcopally ordained priest of the Anglican Church? We know of an excellently conducted union workhouse,* in which, every morning in the week, the Church Prayers and a portion of the Scriptures are read *by the schoolmaster*. On the Sunday, the few inmates who prefer it attend the dissenting chapels, morning and afternoon; while the great body go to church and hear two sermons. On the Sunday evening, once a fortnight, a dissenting minister preaches in the workhouse; and once a fortnight, the schoolmaster, who is an Episcopalian, conducts the church service. The attendance of adults at these services is optional; that of the children is directed. There is in this workhouse a daily school for the boys, another for the girls, and three industrial schools; one for straw-plaiting, another for tailoring, a third for shoe-making. The schools are inspected on Mondays by the visiting committee, and the scholars of both sexes are interrogated, so as to test their intelligence and improvement. So popular are these institutions, that girls are continually taken out of the workhouse as servants by the most respectable families in the Union. The religious instruction costs the rate-payers nothing, except the salaries to the schoolmaster and mistress. One might have thought that a system which was working so well would at

* Royston, Herts.

least have been safe from interference. But no; the Poor Law Commissioners have continually urged the Guardians to appoint a chaplain, which the Board have refused to do. Since the decision of the Braintree case, *this direction has been repeated more authoritatively*, with an intimation that legal proceedings will be had recourse to, to compel compliance. Is this to be endured by Englishmen? What is this new irresponsible authority which would thus ride rough-shod over the people? *Who* are these Commissioners, that they should assume, by an abuse of administrative power unexampled since the days of ecclesiastical high-commissions, not only to tax the people without their consent for the support of a body of stipendiary clergy, but also to dictate what religious instruction shall or shall not be given? In the case before us, the Commissioners have taken objection, that the attendance of the children on the dissenting ministers' preaching is not, like that of the adults, *optional*! The answer returned, that if the attendance of children on religious instruction is not directed, it will not be given at all. But the object of the Commissioners is evidently, to throw the education and religious instruction of the children absolutely into the hands of the ecclesiastical hireling, to the exclusion of all dissenting teaching!

The feeling of indignant dissatisfaction which the conduct of these functionaries has excited in all parts of the country, is the more poignant, inasmuch as the grievance is not a relic of the intolerance of past times, or an evil of long standing, but one that has arisen out of the abuse of the powers created by a liberal Government. No circumstance, not even the unaccountable policy of suffering the church-rate question to lie in abeyance, has produced so much distrust and alienation from the present Ministry, on the part of the staunch friends to religious freedom, as the working of this part of the new poor law system, and the apparent sanction given by Government to so new and wanton an infringement of the rights of conscience. We regret that this dissatisfaction has hitherto not assumed the tone of firm remonstrance that it ought to have done. Ministers have not been made aware of the extent to which this feeling prevails. No voice has been raised in Parliament in deprecation of the poor law chaplaincies. It has been left to a liberal Roman Catholic member, the Hon. Charles Langdale, to bring forward amendments which, as far as they go, protect the inmates of workhouses from the vexatious regulations of the Commissioners; and to these, Lord John Russell has intimated his willingness to accede. How is it that the Protestant Dissenters of this country are unrepresented in Parliament? Can they wonder that, so long as this is the case, they should find their claims postponed or their interests neglected by the Government?

Brief Notices.

Miscellaneous Writings, chiefly Historical, of the late T. M'Crie, D.D.
 Edited by his Son. 8vo. pp. 676. Edinburgh : Johnstone.

This volume comprises nearly all the miscellaneous historical pieces which were published by Dr. M'Crie at different periods of his life: some of them appeared in the periodicals of the day, and others in separate pamphlets, and were welcomed by a large class of readers who were capable of appreciating the extensive information and sound judgment of the author. As collected in the present volume, they will be welcomed by a large class, and may contribute to rectify some popular misconceptions which obtained currency under the sanction of great names. The volume contains a Life of Alexander Henderson, extending through seventy-six pages; elaborate Reviews of the 'Tales of My Landlord;' and of the late Mr. Orme's Life of Dr. Owen, together with several other papers now collected for the first time in an authentic form. We cannot, of course, assent to all the views which are broached, yet we cheerfully commend the volume, as one of sterling and permanent value, to all our readers. It should immediately take its place in all historical libraries beside the Lives of Knox and Melville.

The Poetical Works of James Montgomery, Collected by Himself. In four volumes. Vol. I. London : Longman and Co. 1841.

We hail the appearance of this edition of the collected poetical works of the sweet Bard of Sheffield with unfeigned pleasure. While the writings of Byron, Scott, Crabbe, Moore, Shelley, Southey, and Wordsworth, are sufficiently prized and sufficiently read by the public to render it worth while to publish new and complete editions with all the recommendations of beautiful type and beautiful illustrations, it would have been a scandal to the lovers of poetry, and still more to the lovers of religion, had not James Montgomery been deemed worthy of a similar honor. We are also glad that Mr. Montgomery, like some of his poetical contemporaries, has thought proper to take charge of his own posthumous fame. We like well this plan of an author's collecting his works during his own life time, giving them the benefit of his last revision, and accompanying them with such explanations touching their origin and history as are generally left to be supplied from the gossip of friends and relations (sometimes ignorant, and always partial) after the writer's death. It is true, indeed, that an author must have filled a certain space in the public eye to render such self-editing other than ludicrous. But no one will deny that Mr. Montgomery has attained a position and achieved a fame which will exempt him from the charge of being solicitous to collect, revise, and put forth in a beautiful form, that of which the world is quite careless whether it is remembered or forgotten.

In addition to great originality, sensibility, and sweetness, his muse has the far higher praise of having consecrated her powers to the loftiest and the holiest themes. Mr. Montgomery will have the delicious consolation in a dying hour of reflecting that he leaves no verse behind him for which he has occasion to blush, or which can awaken a blush in others; nothing but what is friendly to virtue, to truth, and to religion:—a consolation, alas! of how few of our more voluminous poets! May he, like Cowper, command, as we predict he will, a continually extending circle of readers—the object of love as well as of admiration, and inspiring goodness while imparting delight.

Of his merits as a poet we shall have something more to say when this edition of his collected works is completed. We shall now merely add that the present volume contains, in a very beautiful form, his earliest productions—‘The Wanderer of Switzerland,’ ‘The West Indies,’ a large number of ‘Miscellaneous Poems,’ and the ‘Prison Amusements.’ The volume is introduced by a highly interesting ‘General Preface’ of some length, in which Mr. Montgomery favors us with some pleasing particulars respecting his early history.

Italy and the Italian Islands from the Earliest Ages to the present Time.
By William Spalding, Esq., Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Edinburgh. *With Engravings on Wood by Jackson, and Illustrative Maps and Plans on Steel.* In 3 vols. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.

The Edinburgh Cabinet Library, to which the present volumes belong, has furnished the reading public with several valuable works, distinguished by sound erudition and extensive research; some of these we have introduced to our readers from time to time, and have never done so with more entire satisfaction than on the present occasion. No work has hitherto existed in our language which presented any such popular survey of Italy as Mr. Spalding has here attempted. Distinct branches of the subject have been successfully treated by others, but a combined and proportional view of the whole was yet wanted to complete our knowledge of the country. Few readers have either leisure or opportunity to follow out this most instructive branch of historical inquiry into its various ramifications, and to such the work now before us will prove of incalculable service. ‘The History of the Revolutions, Political, Social, and Intellectual, through which the Italians have passed, in Ancient and Modern Times, is combined with a description of the antiquities, the scenery, and the physical peculiarities of the interesting region which they inhabit.’ Such an undertaking, it will be obvious, required, in order to its successful execution, more than ordinary industry, soundness of judgment, and exemption from the prejudices which pertain to particular periods and countries; nor is it too much to say that in all these respects Mr. Spalding prefers more than ordinary claims to confidence. He has evidently spared neither labor nor time in the preparation of his work, and has arranged his materials with a correct perception of what was due to the proportionate importance of the several periods and topics embraced.

The Work of the Holy Spirit in Conversion, considered in its Relation to the Condition of Man and the Ways of God. With Practical Addresses to a Sinner on the Principles Maintained. By John Howard Hinton, M.A. Third edition revised. London: Houlston and Stoneman.

A third edition of a work on doctrinal theology is somewhat of a rarity in the present day, and we have therefore to congratulate Mr. Hinton on the distinction he has attained. Sensible of what is due to the public by whom his labors have been so highly appreciated, he has subjected his work to a thorough revision, by which its diction has been improved and its course of reasoning rendered more consistent and complete. We heartily recommend the volume to the attention and impartial examination of our readers.

Individual Effort, and the Active Christian. By John Howard Hinton, M.A. London: Houlston and Stoneman.

A new edition of two works by the same author, which were formerly published separately, but are now wisely comprised in one volume. 'They both relate to individual effort for the conversion of sinners.' 'In the former this is *enforced* by a consideration of the emotions adapted to awaken it, in the latter it is *directed* by practical suggestions and specific counsels.'

Letters to Young Ladies. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. A new edition, with two additional Letters never before published. London: Jackson and Walford.

A neat reprint, with the addition of some original matter, of a work which has passed through several editions in America. The subjects of the letters, which amount in number to eighteen, are eminently appropriate to the class addressed, and are treated in a mode adapted at once to interest and to benefit. The style partakes of the defects common to female authorship, but the good sense and correct feeling which pervade the volume render it an instructive and most desirable companion.

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1. ***The Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles. From the Text of Brunck, with the Greek Scholia, the Notes of Brunck and Schaefer, and an English Prose Version.*** By the Rev. J. Pendergrast, B.D. London: Fellows.
 2. ***Sophoclis Tragoediæ. Vol. I. Sect. 2. Cont. Œdipum Regem. Recensuit et Explanavit Eduardus Wunderus.*** London: Black and Armstrong.

The former of these books has the notes in Latin, the title, preface, and translation in English. The Latin is Brunck and Schaefer's; the English is the present editor's. The latter of the books under remark is the best edition of the Œdipus Tyrannus we have seen. The notes are exceedingly useful, and (a great merit, scarcely attainable

except in Latin notes) are kept within judicious limits. Wunder's Sophocles is decidedly one of the best works in the series in which it is appearing—the Bibliotheca Græca, edited by Jacobs and Rost.

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1. *The Eton Latin Grammar Translated into English, with Notes and an Appendix.* By the Rev. John Green. Fourth edition. York.
 2. *The New Eton Greek Grammar, or the Eton Greek Grammar in English.* By Clement Moody. London: Longmans. 1840.

We have our own opinion about the fashionable clamor against Latin notes and grammars. Although, however, we are alive to the fallacies contained in the popular outcry, we can make no apology for any Latin Grammar, whether written in Latin or in English, which takes no notice whatever of those real improvements in the treatment of the classical languages which have been made within the last thirty years. The great features of the structural system of the Latin and Greek tongues must not be studiously or carelessly kept out of sight, if we would lay a sound foundation for a superstructure of true scholarship. Comparatively speaking, it is enough to say that the above works are no worse than the others in common use. The Eton Grammars, with all their faults, have certain merits, which have perhaps escaped the notice of some who condemn *in toto* their general system.

Scriptural Studies. The Creation. The Christian Scheme. The Inner Sense. By the Rev. William Hill Tucker, A.M., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Mr. Tucker has had hard measure dealt out to him by his clerical brethren, who are supposed to give the tone to certain high Church periodicals. We were not surprised that Dr. Pye Smith should alarm and provoke them by his bold and fearless geological investigations. He is a Dissenter, and therefore a very fit object for their orthodox anathemas. But we did not expect that a clergyman of their own Church, who professes the greatest reverence for her institutions, would have encountered their unmeasured severity merely because he has exercised the right of thinking for himself on a subject of science, the facts of which he strenuously maintains are in perfect consistency with the Mosaic account of the creation. It is well for Mr. Tucker that his censors have not the Inquisition at their command, or he might even in the nineteenth century experience the fate of Galileo. We do not profess ourselves converts to Mr. Tucker's speculations in geology, but to impugn his motives, to question his faith, or to imagine that his elucidations of the Scriptures, fanciful and untenable as some of them appear to us, have not a direct and manifest tendency to induce the profoundest veneration for the sacred volume, would be the grossest injustice. We have seldom read a work with deeper interest.

The student of the Bible who regards it in the light in which Mr. Tucker has exhibited it, cannot do better than take him for a companion, though he may not choose always to follow him as a guide.

Family Prayers for every Morning and Evening throughout the Year. Additional Prayers for Special Occasions. By John Morison, D.D. Sixth Edition. London: Fisher.

A new and handsome edition of a work which it would now be idle to criticise, as the favorable judgment of the public has been pronounced in no questionable form. It affords us pleasure, however, in the present case to state our conviction that Dr. Morison's labors are well worthy of the acceptance with which they have met, and will be found admirably conducive to a well ordered and beneficial discharge of family devotion. Where such assistance is needed, a safer or more scriptural guide cannot be obtained, and as such we heartily recommend the volume to our readers.

A Treatise on the Dominion of Sin and Grace. By Dr. Owen. *With Notes and an Appendix* by William Innes. Edinburgh: W. Innes.

An excellent little volume, the attentive perusal of which cannot fail to be productive of much religious benefit. We thank Mr. Innes for having given it to the public in its present form.

The Council of Trent, comprising an Account of the Proceedings of that Assembly, and Illustrating the Spirit and Tendency of Popery. London: Religious Tract Society.

An abridgment of Mr. Cramp's admirable 'Text Book of Popery,' well suited for general circulation, and adapted to impart much information which is specially needed in the present day.

The Christian Visitor; or Select Portions of the Old Testament: Genesis to Job. With Expositions and Prayers, designed to assist the Friends of the Sick and Afflicted. By the Rev. William Jowett, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Seeley.

The general intention of this work is to give evangelical instruction and consolation to afflicted persons, more especially among the poor; but in a style adapted equally to all classes of society. The earlier selections from the book of Genesis are particularly designed to exhibit the great leading doctrines of man's ruin by the fall, and his recovery by Christ. We commend the object and the execution.

Memoir of Thomas Cranfield. By his Son. London: Fisher.

Dr. Harris, the author of *Mammon*, thinks the memoir 'so instructive, so interesting, and withal so well written, that its general excellence is its own recommendation, and that he is persuaded the book will be extensively read by those who take an interest in the progress of the Redeemer's kingdom, and especially by those who are engaged in the spiritual instruction of children.'

The Rev. James Sherman corroborates this testimony. 'The Life of Thomas Cranfield,' he says, 'is a standing memorial of the blessed effects which result from the enlightened zeal and Christian perseverance of one man in the cause of the dear Redeemer.' We quite concur in these opinions of Dr. Harris, and the warm-hearted minister of Surrey Chapel.

Letters from Italy to a Younger Sister. By Catherine Taylor. London: John Murray.

When this elegant volume was placed in our hands, with 'Italy' in golden letters inscribed on its cover, we involuntarily exclaimed, 'Can anything new be said of Italy?' We turned to the preface, and this was the first sentence that caught our eye. The fair writer has not only satisfactorily answered the question, but the work is an admirable illustration of the propriety and the value of the undertaking. Sound sense and good taste pervade the entire volume. Miss Taylor is a most agreeable and instructive travelling companion for the fireside; and families visiting Italy ought certainly to chat with her by the way, and consult her on all occasions where information may be required and a guide is indispensable. In reply to the question with which we have introduced our present notice, Miss Taylor says, 'I at once confess that in writing, my object has not been novelty, but utility; for amongst the various works on Italy that have fallen in my way, I have not found one which brings this country, with all its interesting associations, within the reach of young people.' . . . 'As it has been my chief wish to awaken an interest on subjects of importance—to stimulate rather than to satisfy the young mind—I have endeavored to give such brief historical sketches as might lead to a further and deeper study of the events in which Italy has acted so great a part; in literature, to advert to the treasures which the Italian language contains—and in art, to furnish such information as might assist in the formation of a pure and correct taste.

'In speaking of religion, it has been my earnest desire, whilst lamenting and deprecating the errors and superstitions, as I regard them, of the catholic church, to inspire a charitable feeling towards its sincere and conscientious supporters. While Protestants reject human claims to infallibility, they should yield to others the right which they assert for themselves; and in censuring what to them appears error, no bitterness should be felt or expressed towards those who have sought, and, as they think, found religious truth in the church of Rome. 'Actions, not opinions,' it was truly said, 'are the subjects of human control.' We know not whether Miss Taylor means to apply this quotation in a latitudinarian sense;—whether she would convey the sentiment that men are not responsible for their opinions. From the general tenor of the work we rather conclude that all she intends here is to inculcate charity towards those who differ from us—that charity which, while it sensitively shrinks from persecution even in thought, would resolutely follow truth to the dungeon and the stake.

The Life of Jesus ; addressed to the Young, in Brief Views of the Saviour, with Reflections on his Doctrines, Parables, &c. By O. A. Taylor, A.M. Edited by the Author of the 'Companion to the Bible.' London : W. Smith.

This work was suggested to the author by the publication of an eminent Prussian divine ; it is of transatlantic origin, and is presented to the British public by a writer who has distinguished himself in the walks of sacred literature. While he speaks commendably of the labors of others in their benevolent design to illustrate the exalted character of the adorable Redeemer, he informs us that 'a slight examination of this volume by Professor Taylor, will evince that it far surpasses, in variety of observation, pertinency of remark, and simplicity of style, any previous effort to commend to young persons the exemplary and instructive life of Christ.' We do not like the superlative either of praise or censure. But we can say of this performance that it is admirably adapted to its purpose, and that Mr. Taylor has 'produced a volume which will be highly prized by parents, especially mothers, throughout Great Britain.' The teachers in our Sabbath-schools might consult it with advantage, and it would be an excellent reward-book for children in the highest class.

Exercises in Orthography and Composition. By Henry Hopkins, Conductor of a School at Birmingham. London : Simpkin and Marshall.

Those who find the want of a separate volume of exercises for teaching orthography, will here be very well suited. The book seems carefully prepared.

1. *Initia Latina.* By the Rev. J. Edwards, M.A., and W. Cross.
2. *Oral Exercises for Beginners in Latin Composition.* By the same Author.
3. *Handbook to the Oral Exercises.* By the Same. London : Madden and Co. 1841.

The *Initia Latina* is a Latin Syntax, with numerous examples for translation. A vocabulary is added. The *Oral Exercises* are full of hyphens and bad English. We are not of opinion that a boy will know how to translate *the king* into Latin any better by having it printed *the-king* : nor do we see the use of barbarizing English to try to make it look like Latin. *Greece always of-eloquence the-chief to-be wished*, would puzzle any boy whose ear had not been spoilt. It is a very bad plan, this, of mixing up the idioms of the two languages together. The *Handbook* contains the free version of the sentences, of which the exercises give the barbarous version. These books, however, are not without merit, and they may be made much better than they are.

1. *The Germany and Agricola of Tacitus.* Edited by E. H. Barker, Trinity College, Cambridge. Longman.
2. *TACITUS: Germania, Agricola, and the First Book of the Annals. With Notes from Ruperti, Passow, and Walch; and Botticher's Remarks on the Style of Tacitus.* London: Taylor and Walton.

Of the labors of the late Mr. Barker we must not speak disrespectfully; and yet we cannot say that his is the best edition of the *Germania* and *Agricola* for schools. The notes wander considerably *extra terminum*. The latter of the books under notice is very beautifully got up, and does great credit both to the enterprising publishers and to the learned editor. The criticisms of Botticher on Tacitus's style are well known and appreciated: they are here very well translated. We are glad to find the first book of the *Annals* printed with the *Germania* and *Agricola*.

Eutropii Breviarium Historiæ Romanæ; with a Summary, a Complete Dictionary, and an Index of Proper Names. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

Eutropius is a good book for beginners. This edition of it is accurately printed, and will form a useful school-book, as the pupils have here all they want, text and dictionary, in one volume. It is a bad plan to give boys a complete dictionary of the language when they first begin translating a Latin author. The multiplicity of words and meanings puzzles and confuses them.

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1. *The Comprehensive Primer: with Simple Exercises.*
 2. *The Comprehensive Spelling and Reading Book, with Hints for Questions and Moral Lessons.*
 3. *The Comprehensive Reader in Prose and Poetry, with Analysis and Simultaneous Lessons, adapted to facilitate Intellectual Development and Moral Impression.* London: Hamilton and Adams.

These are a progressive series of lesson and reading books intended for young children. They are excellently arranged, and the hints for the analysis of the lessons are very useful as well as ingenious. We know no books of the kind which we can recommend so confidently.

The Christian System Vindicated against the most Specious Sophisms of Modern Infidelity. In three Parts. By the Rev. Daniel Moore, B.A. London: Tyas.

The three parts into which this work is divided, treat in succession, 1st, of objections against various circumstances in the history of Christianity; 2ndly, of objections against the mysteriousness of the doctrines of Christianity; and, 3rdly, of the divine origin of Scripture evinced from its adaptation to the circumstances of mankind.

The brief history of the work in its present form will more fully explain its nature, and prove its best recommendation. We are in-

formed that the divisions of the volume we have enumerated originally appeared in the form of three essays, to which the Hulsean and Norri-sian Prizes were adjudged by the University of Cambridge. The author, at the suggestion of his publisher, was induced to revise these separate performances, and to connect them together as a threefold argument against the most specious sophisms of infidelity. Hence the appearance in one volume and in one treatise, of 'The Christian System Vindicated.'

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

The Early Life and Conversion of W. Hone, a Narrative, written by Himself; with a Postscript by his Son, William Hone, author of the 'Every Day Book,' &c., &c.

Lectures on Romanism and Anglo-Catholicism. By Joseph Sortain, A.B., of Trinity College, Dublin.

Just Published.

The Miscellaneous Writings, chiefly Historical, of the late Thomas M'Crie, D.D. 1 vol. 8vo.

Le Keux's Memorials of Cambridge. Nos. 13, 14.

A General Outline of the Animal Kingdom and Manual of Comparative Anatomy. By Thomas R. Jones, F.L.S. Parts 14, 15.

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The North American Review, No. CXI., April 1841.

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